

Thomas Shelton H. Shelton Charles Shelton
young men and boys.

THE
HISTORY OF
POLYBIUS THE
MEGALOPOLITAN.

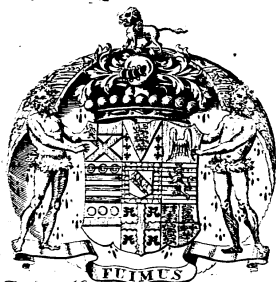
The five first BOOKES entire:

With all the parcels of the subse-
quent Bookes vnto the eighteenth,
according to the GREEKE
ORIGINAL.

Also the manner of the Romane encam-
ping, extracted from the discription
of POLYBIUS.

Translated into English by *Edward
Grimeson*, Sergeant at Armes.

LONDON,
Printed by *N. Okey* for *Cornelius Bee*, and
are to be sold at the Kings
Armes in little
Brittaine.
1634.



*The Right Hon^{ble} Charles Viscount Bruce of
Langhwa (son & heir apparent of Thomas Earl
of Ailesbury) & Baron Bruce of Whortleton*



TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM LORD CRAVIN,
BARON OF HAMSTEED.
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,

B Ardor I beseech you, if (being a stranger and unknowne vnto you) I haue presumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well haue deterred me : But the reason which induced me to this presumption, was your noble and
C generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this History) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in foraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to
D cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who (in the opinion of most men of Iudgement) hath bene held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and receiued the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past
in

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in *Asia*, *Greece*, and the *Romane* State, against the *Gauls*, and *Carthaginians*, which two Cities contended for the Empery of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they fought for the Conquest of *Sicily*) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the second in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthaginians*, continued seuteene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a manner) of the *Romane* State, had not *Scipio* forced *Hannibal* to returne home to defend his owne *Carthage*, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subiection of the *Romanes*. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the errors committed at the presse during my absence: for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lord^{sh}. most humbly deuoted
to doe you seruice,

EDW. GRIMESTON.



Levves Maigret a Lionnois
to the FRENCH Nobility.



Buslemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much poverty, and inuolued in so many miseries, as there is no worke of Man, how small soeuer, which giuing order to his meaneſt actions, doth not minister occasion of some Esteeme. So as where as his diligence guided by reason, shall finde it selfe croſt, I know not by what power, which commonly fortune vsurpes over the iudgement and consideration of Man; wee may (as we thinke) iustly blame it, in excusing with compassion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the other side, to shew her great magnificence and bounty, she imparts her fauours and graces to some one, who without keeping any order or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as that notwithstanding his over-weaning and folly shee makes it perfect: Then we hold her prodigall; detesting her vnreasonable and inconsiderate bounty, grieved at her benefis so ill employed. Behold now, (I know not by what law receined among men) wee commend or blame euery one in his profession and workes, so farre forth as they see his industry and diligence employed or defective. If wee haue reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all our actions; and in matters of the smallest consequence, blaming him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelesnesse and neglect of what in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not onely the honour of his estate, life and honour, but also that of his Countrey, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and Soueraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprize among those which Men pursue, wherein such things ought to bee drawne into Consideration, as proper and ordinary vnto him, and without the danger whereof hee can reape no benefis, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to be preferred before

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fore all others: Although there bee many, which cannot alwaies be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience hath taught in all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally so difficult to manage, as neuer man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recover such rich spoiles, nor obtained such Triumphant victories, but they haue purchased him new causes of Care and feare, not onely of A great Enuie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine: I will not speake of the irreparable defeat of the bravest Men in an Armie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good souldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, so soone after they provoked hatred of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and presage of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres beganne to smile vpon Hanibal, and to giue him a full Gale, so as his exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards hee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and riuers, and in the end to fight with the Extremity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beganne to practise and forge meanes, not onely to ruine her so much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extravagant and sauage Nature) shee makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends: so much (hee feares (as I imagine) the ease and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that trafficke by Sea is not without great terror, amazement and hazard, for the danger of the waues, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if warre once set vp her sailes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which the malice of Men haue invented to make vse of, beleeue mee that these other furies, which the winds procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, will not seeme in regard of those of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a false allarum. What torment at Sea, or violence of the winds hath euer bene so Ioddaine, which the long

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long experience of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokens foresee, deuising sufficient remedies to auoid it? But when a warre is manag'd by Iudgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie, so that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is assembled and kept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if we will confesse the truth, it is a profession which among all others, requires the greatest vigilancie: a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Iudgement must haue the conduct, that by coniecture drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee sees, hee may soone after iudge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a victory.

And although it hath bene alwaies held, that Money is the sinew of Warre: yet I hold its force without Conduct: like vnto that of a strong, able Man, oppress'd with a deepe sleepe, whose senses haue made their retreat for his rest. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quick in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the vnderstanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great aduantage; and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Iudgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes ouer-weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it giues occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemy, to vndertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subiect to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconueniences, whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there euer Nation more hardie, nor more warre-like; nor that more carefully obserued the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal defeat them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitched Battailes, and in the open field,

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field, by his great Iudgement, and his subtilie policies? In what feare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, bene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seek new habitations, haue conquered land in diuers Countreies by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Asia? Who hath defeated and quite ruinated them in a short time, but A their owne Consideration, and an ouer-meaning confidence in their force and courage? I hold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his Armie compleate with foote and horsemen, how resolute fouler, and with all necessary prouisions for a warre: No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must haue to vanquish (the which many times the vanquish- B ed improperly call misfortune) that piece of harnesse so well steeld, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like vnto a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Master, flies without feare thorow Woods, Rocks, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, hee bee neuer so nimble and courageous; so a hardie and resolute souldier doth easily his owne ruine, if hee wants conduct and Iudgement. You must vnderstand that as the body C requires Exercise to preserve in health, and to make it active, and hardened to indure labour and paine; so the vnderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and employed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, haue a greater vivacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past: For that living things are of greater force than D dead. Yet, if we shall duly consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of policies, which warre requires before that a wise Man will dare to adventure himselfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the ancient warres, which haue bene

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left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence vnto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made betwixt warre-like people, nor vnder resolute Commanders, A that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing vnder such to see any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good inuention, nor well executed. Wee say commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous; when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is vnder the leading of a wise and resolute Commander, hauing in front an Enemy equall vnto him in all degrees, there must needs B be valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely managed.

If there haue bene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and gouerned by wise and famous Captaines, beleeue me this present Historiographer hath vsed great diligence to set them downe in writing: Labouring onely to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of C Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconueniences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and souldiers may bee engaged, through want of experience, good aduice and counsell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You shall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreover the warre betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploitse, (which at this present I will forbear)

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you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voyage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such pollicie and wisdom, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, having regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to iudge truly, whether there were ever Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason be compared vnto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise A you in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logres, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your accompt that you shall not finde any Tract or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Beleuee mee in times past, Men did not feede their understandings with dreames, nor fables inuented in barbers-shops, without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children, whilst that for weaknesse of their Age, their understanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient Iudgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as consume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, haue a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C saie, that warre is managed by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but when necessity doth force vs: And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idleness; yet he must fore-see long before, part of that which afterwards he must governe by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, grows restiue; and proves unprofitable to his Master for trauaile: so the understanding of a souldier, D idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inuentions, will faile him at need; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I haue vsed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprize, whose principall study

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study and affections is the reading of such Bookes, rather than in some worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to aduertise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts vnto you ought to be in greater recommendation than those Fables, which haue no grace, but when they are most without reason or any shew of truth.

Finally, I hope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, aswell Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I haue presumed to translate in the best sort I could, those five first Bookes, which of Fourty which hee hath written, haue beene preferred halfe ruined by the negligence of time: Hoping you will receiue them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these five first Bookes, I had reconered some Latine Translations, of three parcells of the sixt, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Coppie, And likewise afterwards another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I employed my selfe to put them into French, adding thereto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could coniecture it, by the description which Polybius makes, in the parcell of the sixt Booke. And when as the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worker, which are certaine parcells, and as it were Reliques (besides the aboue named) of the seuenth and eighth, and of all the subsequent Bookes vnto the seauenteenth inclusive, it was not in my power to deliuer him any other but those of the seuenth and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, besides his obstinacy in vsing a small Character, for the sparing of Paper distasted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

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how good and excellent soever, are thereby found without grace, dull and unpleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer, should not remaine disdained and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the Studios of Histories should bee the more encouraged, I resolved to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will haue a care that for the sauing of his money bee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.



The Printer to the READER.

Courteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some Litterall fautes escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and had but a young Corrector which took too much upon him.

Errata.

PAGE 27. line 21. for report read support, p. 27. l. 9. for wildest r. rigg, p. 23. l. 28. for ready the r. ready for the, p. 34. l. 27. for nor bee r. nor to bee, p. 15. l. 39. for them: then, p. 40. l. 19. for yet began r. yet it began, p. 45. l. 38. for had been r. had not been, p. 51. l. 44. for Banckhall r. Amior, p. 62. l. 37. for Arcaniani r. Acarnaneni, p. 68. l. 12. for 'Isira r. Affe, p. 79. l. 37. Rhine r. Rhone, p. 101. l. 30. r. time to passe, p. 133. l. 7. for and pass r. be pass, p. 131. l. 4. r. fuffe their place, p. 132. l. 38. r. fruite dead or barre, p. 134. l. 47. r. Romane, l. 18. r. unto the Adriatique, p. 177. l. 10. r. so as without, p. 186. l. 43. r. in common assemblies, l. 45. r. dance, p. 189. l. 12. r. raise his Lampe, p. 192. l. 44. r. did not openly, p. 194. l. 15. r. creat a King, p. 198. l. 9. r. with great ships, p. 210. l. 24. r. to bring him, p. 210. l. 40. r. not executed, p. 231. l. 28. r. against them, p. 240. l. 12. r. now, p. 246. l. 10. r. which the Goffets, p. 249. l. 25. borne away by the river, ibid. l. 38. r. was, p. 254. l. 44. r. parted from Lydia, p. 264. l. 3. r. as his, p. 266. l. 46. r. arrived, p. 267. l. 38. r. which Ptolemy was, p. 274. l. 24. r. of the Phenicians, p. 298. l. 6. r. greater danger, p. 279. l. 3. r. for all them which,





THE FIRST BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



IF the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had bene omitted by such as before vs haue written the Worth and Prowesse of Men, happily it should bee necessary to vie some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Receiued: For that there is no way more easie to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a manner all, begin thereby and finish it amply, soas they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and manning of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that the onely is the Mistress, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans aduersities, it is appaent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which haue formerly bene so well deliuered by others: Especially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, wherof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, aswell both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man so depraued or silly, which desires not to vnderstand the

the meanes and manner of Government, by the which the *Romans* have subdued and brought vnder their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three yeares: the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he so much giuen and desiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceiue that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will see how great and excellent our Worke is, if we make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the *Romane* Empire, and namely of those which haue bene in great honour and glory, whereof Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The *Persians*. The Empire and power of the *Persians* for a time hath bene great, but whensoever they did aduentione to passe the bounds and limits of *Asia*, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their liues. The *Lacedemonians* made a long warre for the Empire and command of *Greece*, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The *Macedonians*. It is true, the *Macedonians* haue domineer'd and rul'd in *Europe*, from *Adria* to the *Danowe*, which is but a small portion thereof. And since they haue held the Empire of *Asia*, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the *Persians*. And although that these haue in shew bene great Lords, and enioyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Affricke*, they neuer made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of *Europe*, and the most Westerner, they hardly in my opinion did euer know them: But the *Romans* haue not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by our sequell, how great the profit will be to such as affect the knowledge of History.

The beginning of the History. Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time, since the hundred and eight and forty *Olimpiade*. As for the Actions, and first of the *Grecians*, wee will begin with the sociall warre, the which *Philip* (who was Sonne to *Demetrius*, and Father to *Perseus*) attempted first with the *Acadians*, against the *Etoliens*, and in regard of those which inhabite *Asia*, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus*, and *Ptolome*, *Philopater*. But as for *Italy* and *Affricke*, wee will begin with that betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which many call the warre of *Hanniball*. The History shall begin at the end of that which *Scionius* hath left in writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Ciuility. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of *Italy*, and of *Affricke*, are mingled with those of *Greece* and *Asia*, and that all tended to one and the same end, And therefore wee haue begun our worke in those times, when the *Romans* had vanquished the *Carthaginians* in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to affaile the whole world, they presumed presently after to fall vpon the

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rest, and to passe into *Greece* and *Asia* with great forces.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of liuing, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great search, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of liuing, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* are vnknowne to the greatest part of the *Grecians*, I haue held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should haue no occasion to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of *Rome* had to vnder take the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Considering that they which shall requite it, shall see plainly by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the *Romans* had reasonable cause to vnder take the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper object of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consists principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the same end: So the force which shee hath vsed for the perfection of all publicke government, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chiefly incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vnder taken to write a generall History: neither would wee haue attempted it: But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their priuate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuersall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what issue they had: I conceived it would be well done, if by our meanes our Country-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among man: yet shee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that haue written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had liued in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seene them in picture, imagine presently they know them: and consequently the situation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vnderstanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no lesse from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a liuing Body, thinke by this meanes to haue the knowledge of all the perfecti-
ons and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt, but if any one takes these distinct and separated parts, and doth presently ioyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confesse that hee hath bene de-
ciued,

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A good Com-
parison,

ceived, like unto them that dreame. It is true, we may have some apprehension of the whole by the parts: But it is not possible to have a true and certaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small use for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not respect singular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subseque[n]t to those things which *Timereus* hath last written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth *Olympiade*. We must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what means they had to passe into Sicily: For this is the first voyage they ever made out of their Territories, whereof wee must first downe the reason simply and without disguising: to the end that by the search from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subiects, and that it be knowne to all: the which they may consider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being unknowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase belief: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth easily content the Auditors ears.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the River *Egos*, and sixteene yeeres before the Warre of *Leutira*, where the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Antalcides* King of *Persia*, when as *Demis* the old held the City of *Rhegium* in *Calabria* besieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limits of *Italy*, neere vnto the River of *Eleporis*: and that the *Gauls* hauing wholly ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the *Romans* hauing made an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectation, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the *Latins* had bene vanquished, aswell by their prowess as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the *Tuscanes*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Samnites*: which confine the Region of the *Latins*, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the *Tarrentines* seeing the outrage which they had committed against the *Romane* Embassadors, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King *Pyrrhus* the yeere before the Descent of the *Gauls* into *Italy*, and before the Retreat of those which were defeated in Battell neere vnto *Delpbos*. Then the *Romans* after they had vanquished the *Tuscanes* and *Samnites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre against the rest of *Italy*, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the *Celtes* and *Samnites*.

The

The *Romans* then after that *Pyrrhus* and his forces had bene chased out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they pursued such as had followed his party. Being suddenly become Masters of all according to their desires, and that all *Italy* was wholly subdued, except the *Celtes*, they presently besieged some of theirs which held *Rhegium*. One and the like fortune befell two Cities situated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, *Messina* and *Rhegium*. Some *Campanois* hauing bene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondering at the beauty and wealth of *Messina*, they suddenly when they found an opportunity, assailed it, breaking their Faith, they hauing bene receiued into it by Friendship: where they expell'd some of the Citizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wives and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this suddaine and easie Conquest of so goodly a Countrey and City, they soone found others that did imitate their villanies.

They of *Rhegium* amazed with the descent of *Pyrrhus* at such time as he past into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, being then Masters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the *Romans*. Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius* the *Campanois*, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Citizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamertines*, who solicited them to commit this base act, they falsified their faith, being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rhegium*, and chased away some Citizens and slew others, finally, they seased vpon the City as the *Mamertines* had done. And although the *Romans* were discontented at the misfortune of the *Rhegians*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they besieged them of *Rhegium*, and afterward they entred it by force, where as many were slaine: who being certaine of the punishments they were to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken aliue, who presently after their comming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads strooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vie this punishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they called the Towne and Countrey to be deliuered to the *Rhegians*.

But whilst that the *Mamertines* (you must vnderstand that the *Campanois* caused themselves to be so called after the taking of *Messina*) were relieved by the *Romans* which held *Rhegium* by force, they not onely enioyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committed great spoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the *Carthaginians* as of *Siracusa* (otherwise *Siracusa*.) The greatest part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But soone after when they were deprived of those succours, and that they which held *Rhegium*

B 3

were

Timereus an
Historiogra-
pher.

Demis.

Rhegium be-
sieged by the
Romans.

The taking of
Messina by
some *Campanois*.

The taking of
Rhegium by
some *Campanois*
being there
in Garrison.

The taking of
Rhegium by the
Romans.

The punish-
ment of *Tray-
tors*.

The *Campanois*
holding *Messina*
are called *Mamertines*.

were besieged, they were in like manner by them of *Saragossa*, for the causes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of *Saragossa* camping neere vnto *Mergane*, being in dissention with the Gouernours of the Common-weale, they chose for their Capitaines *Artemidore* and *Hieron*, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally so well endowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Having accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where hauing vanquished the Burgesies of the contrary faction, hee vsed the Victory with so great clemency and A modesty, as by a common consent of all in general he was chosen their Commander: although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

It is true that *Hieron* made knowne to men of iudgement and vnderstanding, that he had conceived greater designs in his mindethen to be their Leader. First knowing well that the *Saragossins* were mutinous and desirous of inuolution, whensoever they sent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that *Leptine* was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens, and that he was very pleasing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make an alliance with him, to the end he might leaue some report in the City for him, whensoever he should goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Hauing therefore taken the Daughter of *Leptine* to Wife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subiect to mutinies, he led his Army of set purpose against the *Barbarians*, who held the City of *Messina*: And hauing seated his Campe neere to *Centoripe*, and put his men in battell close vpon the River of *Ciamossure*, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the Enemy on the other side: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the *Barbarians*, and whilst the others fled, he makes his retreat safely with all the *Saragossins* to the City. When he had by this policy brought his designe vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great leuy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were settled in good order, *Hieron* seeing that the *Barbarians* were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the City with an Army of his Countrey souldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making diligence, he came to *Myle*, where along the Bankes of the River of *Lungane*, he fought with them with all his forces. Hauing vanquished them and taken their Capitaines, seeing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returns to *Saragossa* with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and consent of all the Cittizens saluted King by the Allies.

The *Mamertins* as we haue sayd, being depriv'd of the succours of the Romane Legion, and hauing lost to great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the *Carthaginians*, and yeeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the *Romans*, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring succours

Hieron chosen King of the *Saragossins*.

An alliance made by *Hieron* with *Leptine*.

The policy of *Hieron*.

The River of *Ciamossure*.

The *Mamertins* deliuer their Towne and Fort vnto the *Carthaginians*. Succours required from

as to these that were of the same Nation. The *Romans* were wondrously sensible what to doe: For they found it strange, hauing lately punished their Cittizens so severely, for violating their faith with the *Carthaginians*, to send succours now vnto the *Mamertins*, who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things. Yet considering that the *Carthaginians* had not onely drawne *Messina* vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in *Spain*, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themselves Lords of the rest of *Sicily*. They likewise vnderstood, that it would be easie to effect, if the *Mamertins* were not reliqued: And there was no doubt, that if *Messina* had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently haue recouered *Saragossa*, for that they held all the rest of *Sicily*. And as the *Romans* considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon *Messina*, nor to suffer the *Carthaginians* to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into *Italy* at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that assembly: for it seemed vnto them as vnreasonable as profitable to relieue the *Mamertins*. But as the Commons much weakened with their former Wares, seemed to haue need of rest, to the Capitaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they resolved to succour the *Mamertins*. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently they appointed *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, to passe the Army into *Sicily*, and to relieue the *Mamertins*, who had put out of their Towne, as well by threats as policy the Capitaine of the *Carthaginians* which (as we haue sayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them *Appius Claudius*, deliuering the City into his hands. The *Carthaginians* hanging him on a Crosse which had had the Guard, supposing that he had yeelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddenly they drew their Sea-army neere vnto *Pelloro*, and that at land about the Countrey called *Sene*, holding by this meanes *Messina* streightly besieged.

In the meane time *Hieron* thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chase the *Barbarians* which held *Messina* out of *Sicily*, followed the *Carthaginians* party. And going from *Saragossa*, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other side neere vnto Mount *Calbidique*: By this meanes he tooke from the Townsmen all meanes to fall to on that side. But the Consull passing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end he arrived at *Messina*: where seeing the Enemy moued about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he desired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the *Mamertins* might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchsafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vndergoe the hazard, and resolved first to giue battell to the *Saragossins*. He therefore cauleth his Army to march, and put it in battell: so the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

Appius

the *Romans* by the *Mamertins*.

The *Romans* resolve to succour the *Mamertins* by *Appius Claudius*.

The *Mamertins* recover the Fort from the Capitaine of the *Carthaginians*.

Hieron follows the *Carthaginians* party.

The defeat of
Hieron by Ap-
pinus.

Appian had fought long, in the end he prevailed over his Enemies, pursuing them into their Fort. The Consul after the spoile of the dead, retires into the City: and *Hieron* being frustrate of all hope, recovered *Saragoffe* speedily the Night following.

The defeat of
the Carthaginians
by *Appian*.

The next day *Appian Claudius*, aduertised of the flight of the *Saragoffins*, and having resumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to goe and fight with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and charged his Enemies, whereof some were slaine, and the rest forced to save themselves in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege being raised, he ransaged and spoyled the Countrey of *Saragoffe* and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged *Saragoffe*. Behold then (for the causes aboue mentioned) the first Voyage which the *Romane* Army made out of *Italy*. And for that we haue held it fit for the entrance of our designe, we haue made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leave any occasion of doubt vpon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I haue held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meanes the *Romans* being in extreame danger to lose their Countrey, began to grow fortunate: And when likewise after they had subdued *Italy*, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was since, may seeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seeke for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter: For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be such, as they may plainly vnderstand the meanes and reasons, by the which euery City is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we haue done here of the *Romans*.

It is now time that in leauing this Discourse we returne to our designe, in shewing first summarily and briefly the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* is the first, then followed the *Punique*: In the which the deeds first of *Amilcar*, then of *Asdruball*, are ioyned with those of the *Carthaginians*: At what time the *Romans* began first to sayle into *Slauonia*, and other parts of *Europe*. Moreover their Battels against the *Gauls*, who at that time made a descent into *Italy*: The Warre also which was in *Greece* at the same time, called *Chomenique*, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I haue not held it necessary nor profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that summarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefly, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to ioyn vnto the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliuer by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we haue toucht that which others haue left in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those which

which desire to know. It is true that we haue had a speciall desire to write somewhat at large this first Warre of the *Romans* in *Sicily* against the *Carthaginians*, for that they shall hardly finde a longer Warre; nor greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greater diversity of fortune on eyther side; For those two Nations in those times liued in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces: Wherefore if we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Citties, we cannot so well make a Comparifon by the other subsequent Warres as by this: But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was

A for that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, who are esteemed to haue written well, haue in my Opinion strayed too much from the truth: Yet I would not take them to haue done it maliciously, considering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare vnto their Countrymen, hath deuiated them after the manner of Louers. In regard of *Philinus*, for the affection he beares to the *Carthaginians*, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the *Romans* the contrary. As for *Fabius* he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to loue B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes vpon him to Write a History, must vse such things with discretion, sometimes commending his Enemies when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Belueue me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beast, which hath the eyes plud out, remains vnprofitable: So if truth be wanting in a History, the Discourse prooues fruitlesse. And therefore when occasion is offered, he must not forbear to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a dishonest thing to praise those whom we haue sometimes blamed. Neither is C it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We must therefore in leauing the persons, iudge and speake of their actions sufficiently in our Commentaries.

To prooue my assertion true, we shall easily see it by that which *Philinus* writes. Who in the beginning of his second Booke saith, the *Carthaginians* and *Saragoffins* held *Messina* besieged, and when as the *Romane* Army after they had past the Sea, was arrived, they made a suddaine fallie vpon the *Saragoffins*, where they were vanquished and defeated, and so retired into the Towne: they made a second vpon the *Carthaginians*, where they were not onely defeated, but most part of them taken: Presently after this Speech he saith, that *Hieron* after this Encounter had so great a feare, that he not onely set fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiring by night to *Saragoffe*, but moreover abandoned the strong places, lying betwixt *Messina* and *Saragoffe*. He relates also that the *Carthaginians* being in like sort amazed, dispersed themselves here and there throughout the Townes of *Sicily*, and that they durst neuer after that keepe the Field, and that moreover, the Captaines seeing their men discouraged, gaue aduice that they should no more run into the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He saith moreover that the *Romans* in the D pursuit

The blame of
Philinus and *Fabius*
Historiographers.

Philin.

pursuit of the *Carthaginians*, not onely ruined their Province, and that of the *Saragossins*, but also layed siege to *Saragosse*. This Speech is so farre from reason, as it were but lost time to seek to confute it: For he pretends that, they which besieged *Messina*, (to whom he gives the Victory) presently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fled, retiring into the City with great feare, and that finally they were besieged. In regard of those he affirms were besieged by the *Carthaginians*, after the battell lost, he makes them suddainly Victors, and besieging *Saragosse*, having taken their Camps, and made courses into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtlesse these are discourses which cannot well be reconciled, for either that which he saith first, is false, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the *Carthaginians* and *Saragossins* abandoned their Campe, and raised the siege retiring into their Towne, and that the *Romans* vied great diligence to besiege *Saragosse*: Wherefore the probability is great, that his first Speech is false, and that notwithstanding the *Romans* had gotten the Victory before *Messina*, yet this Historiographer hath supposed that they were defeated by the *Carthaginians*. You shall often see *Philo* in this error: and *Fubio* no lesse, as we have obserued in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will vse all possible indeauour to make the truth of our History cleere and plaine, for those that desire to vnderstand it.

After that the newes of *Sicily* were come to *Rome* of the Victory of *Appian* and his men, *Marcus Valerius* and *Offacilius* being newly chosen Consuls, they were sent thither with all their *Roman* power. The *Romans* had foure Legions in their Army of their owne Nation, besides the succours which they drew from their Allies. Every Legion consisted of foure thousand Foote, and three hundred Horse. By this means as the Consuls comming, many Citties as well of the *Carthaginians*, as of the *Saragossins*, yielded to the *Romans*. But when as *Hieron* saw that the *Sicilians* fainted, and that the *Roman* Army was great, and their forces increased, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the *Carthaginians*. He therefore sends an Embassie to the Consuls, to treat of Peace and Friendship.

The *Romans* seeing the *Carthaginians* Masters of all the Sea, fearing likewise that the passage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly past, had suffred great wants and necessities, they found the friendship of *Hieron* to be of great consequence for them in this regard. Wherefore they treated a peace with the *Saragossins* vnder the following Conditions. First, that the King should free the *Roman* Prisoners without Ransome, and moreover should pay a hundred Talents of Silver, and that hereafter the *Saragossins* should terme themselves Allies and Friends to the *Romans*. Afterwards *Hieron*, who of his owne free will put himselfe vnder their protection, succourd them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he past the Remainder of his life with as great happinesse and fortune that euer *Grecian* had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongst others, who had benee alwayes happy in good Councell, as well for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for his

An accord betwixt *Hieron* and the *Romans* and what it contains.

Marcus Valerius and *Offacilius* Consuls.

The order of the *Romane* Armies, and the number of men in a Legion.

his owne particular. When as the newes of this Treaty came to *Rome*, and that the people had confirmed it, they did not thinke it necessary hereafter to send all their forces out of *Italy*: Wherefore conceiuing that two Legions would suffice there with the alliance of King *Hieron*, they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more easily managed, and that by this means the Army would be the better supplied with all things necessary. But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that *Hieron* was become their Enemy, and that the *Romans* held the greatest part of *Sicily*, they knew well, that they must have a greater power to resist them: Wherefore they made a great levy of *Gentilis* and *Sicilians* likewise of *Spaniards* to fortifie them: And after they had caused them to passe into *Sicily*, and seeing the Towne of *Agragas* very fit for the preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and stood towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw together with store of Munition, making vse of it against the Enemy as of a Fort for the Warre.

After the accord past by the Consuls with *Hieron*, they left the Province in whole place *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Emilius* newly chosen Consuls, come into *Sicily* with an Army: who after they had carefully considered of the *Carthaginians* Designs, and their preparations for Warre made in the Towne of *Agragas*, they were of opinion to mannage the affaires of *Sicily* with greater courage and resolution then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Army, and besieged *Agragas* within eight Furlongs, and so kept in the Enemy. The time of Haruest was come, euery man made his reckoning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Souldiers straying from their Campe, aduentured somewhat too farre in the gathering of Corne. When the *Carthaginians* saw their Enemies thus dispersed, running here and there confidently throughout the Prouince, they conceived a great hope that they should one day be able to defeat them; whereupon some of them assaulted the Campe with great fury, and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the diversity of the action failed the *Romans* for that day, as it had done many times before; they having a custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appointed them during the fight, or which flye from the Campe vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. By this means although the *Carthaginians* were farre greater in number, yet the *Romans* resisted them valiantly, who with great losse of their men made a greater slaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they not onely repulsed them from their Campe, but killed them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a thrung into the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies, as afterwards their feare was great, so as the *Carthaginians* durst no more assault the *Romans* Campe incon siderately, nor the *Romans* suffer their men to gather Corne rashly. But for that the *Carthaginians* made no more sallies, but did onely fight a farre off with casting of Darts and Stones, the Consuls decided their Army in two: whereof the one was planted on the side of *Esculapius* Temple; and the other on that side which doth looke directly vnto *Heraclum*. And that

Supplies which the *Carthaginians* put into *Agragas*.

Agragas besieged by the *Romans*.

Seuerity of the *Romans* towards their Souldiers.

Supplies which the *Carthaginians* put into *Agragas*.

which remained betwixt the two Camps of either side of the Towne, was rampered with a double rank of Piles: Then they made a Trench betwixt them and the Towne, to guard themselves from the Enemies sallies, and another without the Campe, to hinder the succours which the Neighbour-townes doe usually send to the besieged. The places which were betwixt the Trenches and the Campe were well guarded. Moreover all the Allies used great diligence in bringing into the Towne of *Erbesi*, victuals, and all things necessary for the Campe, so as the Souldiers lived at more ease, for it was not farre off.

The *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* were five Moneths in this estate, A fortune shewing herselfe no more favorable to the one then to the other: But what happened by their shocking and casting of Darts: But when as hunger began to presse the *Carthaginians*, by reason of the great multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were in truth about fifty thousand Men) *Hannibal* who was Generall of the Army, having no more hope, sends speedily to *Carthage*, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Palliado made about the Towne, and to demand succours. The *Carthaginians* moved at this Newes, raised an Army with a great number of Elephants, and sent them by Sea into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the City of *Heracleum*, and at the first (after he had considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of *Erbesi* by Treason, the which untill that day had bene a Store-houle to the *Romans*. By this meanes he deprived them of Victuals and other things necessary for their Campe: wherefore the *Romans* were no lesse besieged, then they that were besieged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to resolve to raise the Siege: the which vndoubtedly they would have done, if *Hecren* King of *Saragossa* had not used great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessities.

But when that *Hanno* (after all these things) saw that the *Romans* C were much oppressed with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together about fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were assembled, he drawes his Army out of *Heracleum*, and causeth the *Numidian* Horse-men to march before, giving them charge to skirmish, and to doe all their indeavours to draw the *Roman* Horse-men to fight, vpon whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye vntill they were returned vnto him. The *Numidians* failed not to execute the Command of their Captaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. Presently the *Roman* Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indiscreetly: But the *Numidians* observing the Commandment flye backe to *Hanno*, and re-charging the Enemy againe, slew many, chasing the rest vnto their Campe.

After these things the *Carthaginians* marched, and planted themselves vpon Mount *Toro*, which was not tenne Furlongs from the Enemies Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two Months,

Fifty thousand men within Agragas.

A skirmish offered the Romans by the Numidians.

Months, they attempted not any thing, but skirmished daily with their Arrows and Darts. In the meane time *Hannibal* made fires often in the Night, and sent men to *Hanno*, to advertise him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were referred to the Enemy for want of Victuals. Finally, *Hanno* moved by these reasons, put his men in Battell: wherein the Consull used no lesse diligence in regard of their necessities. Either Army drew forth in Battell into an equal place: Then they came to combat, whereas they charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and equal.

A Finally, the *Romans* brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly, among the Elephants: who being terrified, opened the ranks of the *Carthaginians*. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Route of the Elephants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the *Carthaginians* having lost the Battell, and part of them slaine, the rest retired to *Heracleum*: and the *Romans* after the taking of most of the Elephants, and all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, retired to their Campe. But for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, atwell for the great joy which men usually haue for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell past: *Hannibal* being frustrate of all B hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to save himselfe and his Army, for the reason aboue mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his forces out of *Agragas*, and passed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with straw: By this meanes he escaped without any losse, and without their priuity.

At the breake of day, when as the *Romans* were advertised of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little, but returning soone to take the Towne, they gaue an assault vnto the Gates, where they found no resistance. The whole Army entred and spoyle: It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. C When as the newes came to Rome of the taking of *Agragas*, after the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* lifted vp their Heads, and began to conceiue greater Designes. They did no longer insist vpon the reasons for the which they were first mooued; neyther were they satisfied, for that they had preferred the *Mamertins* and *Messins*, or to haue much weakened the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*: But hoping for greater Matters, they desired to chase them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to enlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentue to this business, and had no thoughts but of *Sicily*: knowing well that they were vndoubtedly the stronger at D Land.

After the taking then of *Agragas*, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Octavius* being chosen Consulls they were sent into *Sicily* with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equal, for that the *Carthaginians* were Masters of the Sea without contradiction; whereof this is the reason, for after the taking of *Agragas*, most of the Townes which were in the heart of *Sicily*, yielded to the *Romans*, fearing their Army at Land: But when as the *Carthaginians* Army by Sea was arrived, many more Sea-townes yielded for feare to their Obedience.

A battell betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans.

The Carthaginians looke the Battell.

The Retreat of Hannibal from Agragas.

Agragas spoiled by the Romans.

Thus their forces were equal. Many times also the Sea coasts of *Italy* were spoiled by the courses of their Army at Sea, the which *Asdrubal* did not suffer. The *Romans* considering carefully of these things, resolved to fight with their Enemies by Sea.

This is the thing which hath moued me most to write this present Warre more at large, to the end the Reader may not be ignorant of this beginning, that is to say, in what manner and for what causes, and in what time, the people of *Rome* were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy. Seeing then that there was no probability that the Warre should be otherwise ended, the *Romans* speedily made fixe score Vessels for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were *Quinqueremes* or of five banks, and the rest were *Triremes*. It is true that the *Quinqueremes* were more difficult to make, for that they had neuer vied any such Vessels in *Italy* vntill that time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the *Romans* is worthy of admiration, considering they had neuer beene inclined to actions by Sea, neither had they euer thought of it vntill that day, yet they aduentured it with such courage and resolution, as they had sooner sought with the *Carthaginians*, then made trial of the dangers of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circue of the World the pre-eminence and command of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predecessours, and left it vnto them as an hereditary right: which is a singular testimony of the things which we haue written, of the *Romans* boldnesse and courage. Beleeue me, when they first aduentured to passe their Army to *Messina*, they were only a Hundred ships of War, and moreover they had not one Galley nor one Briggantine. It is true when they undertooke the Voyage of *Sicily* with an Army, they made vse of the *Quinqueremes* and *Triremes* of the *Tarrentines*, *Locrines*, and *Neapolitans*.

At that time many *Carthaginian* Ships scoured the Seas about *Sicily*, whereof a *Quinquereme* straying farre from the rest, was broken by casualty, and afterwards taken by the *Romans*, which afterwards serued them for a patterne to make the like, so as all their ships were made in that manner. Wherefore if this had not hapned, they would haue found themselves much troubled in their enterprife. Whilest these were a making, they did practise a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did set banks in order vpon the Sand, vpon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentive to the voice of the Patron or Gouverneur, who was in the midst of them, where as they did learne to stretch forth, and pull backe their armes altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whistle. By this meanes hauing learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ships finished, they put to Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Consull *Cornelius*, lately appointed Commander of the Sea Army, had giuen charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port as soone as the Vessels should be ready, he went directly to *Messina* with seauentene ships, and left the rest vpon the *Italian* shore, whereas ha-

Size score
vessels for the
Sea made speedily by the
Romans.

The *Romans*
invention to
inure their
men to the
Oare.

uing made prouision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships, he sailes vpon necessity directly to *Lipparo* sooner then was needfull. At that time *Haniball* Commander of the *Carthaginians*, kept his Sea Army at *Palermo*, who being aduertised of the Consuls coming, sent one *Bonder* a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty ships to draw into that Quarter: Who arriving by night, found the *Roman* ships, and besieged them in the Port, so as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land.

But *Gneius Cornelius* thus vnfortunatly surprised, could finde no other meanes but to yeild himselfe vnto the Enemy. The *Carthaginians* after this prise returned to *Haniball*; soone after this apparent and new defeat of *Cornelius*, *Haniball* (to whom Fortune was at that time gracious) receiued as great a losse. He had intelligence that the *Romanes* Army at Sea, which coasted about *Italy*, was not farre from *Sicily*. Wherefore desiring wonderfully to see their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and sailes into *Italy*. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was fauourable to the *Romanes* by the reason of the Coast of *Italy*, he fell vnadvisedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, where he was suddainly charged, so as he lost in a manner all his ships, and saued himselfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opinion of all the VVorld.

The *Romanes* after this defeat, approached neerer vnto *Sicily*, and being aduertised by the Prisoners of the Consuls ouerthrow, they sent speedily to *Caius Duellius* Consull, hauing at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where hauing attended some space, and receiued newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon euery one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heauy) a kind of Engine, which was afterwards called a *Rauen*; beheld the fashion of this Engine. They did set a Pillar or Mast of foure fathome long, and nine inches thicke vpon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the side was made an assent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broade and foure fathome long, the passage was turning about the pillar, in the two first fathomes of the assent: About the which were barres of eyther side to the height of a mans knee, and they had set at the end of it an Iron like vnto a pestell, which went vp streight, the which had on the top of it a King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was fastned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ships, they fastned the *Rauens* by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ships. Sometimes at the Prowe, sometimes on the side in turning, when as they could not assaile them by the flanke; and after that the *Rauens* were fastned within the bands of the ships, and that the Vessels were grappled and fast, if they found themselves vpon the side, they entred it of all sides: And if it were by the Prowe, they marcht by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the first couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flanks,

Certaine of the
Roman ships
with their com-
mander Sur-
prised by a *Car-
thaginian* Con-
sull.

A defeat of
Haniball's ships,
for want of a
good Wind.

An Engine in-
uented by the
Romans called
a *Rauen*.

and held their Targe-men with the Bars: When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a convenient time for the battell. When as *Cainus Duclius* had bene suddainly advertised, of the misfortune of the Gommalunder at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of *Ware*, and makes haft to that at Sea. And being advertised that the *Carthaginians* spoyle'd the Country of *Myle*, he drew thither with his whole Army: But when the Enemy was certayne of his coming, they were in great hope, thinking the *Romans* understood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of fixe score and ten Vessels, thinking this War not worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this *Haniball* who (as we sayd) retyred his Army by night, and past over the Enemies Trenches, was Commaunder. He had a Vessell of seaven banks which did sometimes belong to *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirotes*.

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called *Rauens* were discovered, the *Carthaginians* were a time in suspence for the novelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with great fury. The ships ioynd and graped, so as the *Romane* souldiers by means of their Engines called *B Rauens*, entred their enemies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the *Carthaginians*. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yielded: you would have sayd it had bene a battell at Land, where the danger is not lesse. The thirty Vessels of the *Carthaginians*, which gaue the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayne, which we haue sayd had belonged vnto King *Pyrrhus*. *Haniball* whose Fortune was otherwise then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe: The rest of the *Carthaginian* Army came with great fury agaynst their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were advertised that their first ships had bene taken by the means of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoyde them, but came vpon their flanke, trusting to the lightnesse of their Vessels, thinking by this manner to auoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in such sort as of what side soeuer the Enemy approached, they could easily grapple with them. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the losse of fifty of their ships.

The *Romans* being now become masters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, sayd about the Sea towards *Segeane*, and rayled the siege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they took the Towne of *Atacelle* by assault. After this battell at Sea, when as *Amilcar* (being then Captayne Generall in *Sicily* of the Army by Land) was advertised, remaying at *Panorme*, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the *Romans* and their Allies, touching the prowesse and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they had bene beaten, were retired apart betwixt *Prope* and *Termine*, hee marcht with all speed to the Allies Campe, and slew foure thousand by surprize. *Haniball* after all these Fortunes, retyred to *Carthage*, with

A battell at Sea betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*.

The flight of the *Carthaginians*.

Atacelle taken by assault.

A defeat of foure thousand men, allied to the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispatcht to goe with an Army into *Sardinia*, with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was soone inclof'd in a Port by the *Romans*, and in a manner lost his whole Army: And as he had elapced the Enemy, he was suddainly taken by the *Carthaginians* which had saued themselves, and was crucified. Moreover the *Romans* employed all their care to seize vpon *Sardinia*, being now Masters of the Sea.

Haniball crucified.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in *Sicily* by the Roman Army. *Cainus Salpicius*, and *Aulus Rutilius* were afterwards made Consuls, and sent to *Palermo*, for that the *Carthaginians* forces wintred there. And after the *Romans* had past, they put themselves in battell before the Towne: But the *Carthaginians* being within it, presented not themselves to battell. The which the *Romans* seeing, they left *Palermo*, and went to *Hippane*, the which soone after they tooke by assault: The Towne of *Mysistrare* was taken likewise by the Consuls, hauing held out sometime by reason of the situation of the place. And as they had besieged the City of the *Camerins*, which had lately abandoned the *Romans*, it was taken by force by the means of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards *Acta* was carried by assault with many other Townes of the *Carthaginians*; *Lippare* was also besieged. The yeare following, the Sea-army of the *Romans* lay in the Haue of the *Tindareins* vnder the charge of *Aulus Rutilius*, who seeing the *Carthaginian* Army neere the shore, he sent word vnto his ships to make haste to follow him. In the meane time he put to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessels: But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that some did but imbarque, others began to set saile, and the first were farre from their Fleet, and neere vnto them; they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compassed the ship, so as most part of them were sunke, and the Consuls ship had like to haue fallen into the *Carthaginians* hands, with all that were within it: He hardly escaped by the force of his Oares and lightnesse.

Hippane and *Mysistrare* taken with many other Townes.

Aulus Rutilius Consul.

In the meane time the rest of the *Romane* Army, which had gotten into the open sea, encountered the Enemy, whereof ten ships were taken, and eight sunke, and the rest recovered the Islands called *Lipparees*. But howsoeuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentue to Maritime affaires: As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did nothing worthy of Note, buying themselves about small things, and of little esteeme. But the Summer following hauing giuen order for their affaires, (as we haue said) they prepared to Warre. In regard of the *Romans*, they made their assembly at *Atacelle*, to the number of three hundred and thirty Vessels armed, and sailing from thence leauing *Sicily* on the right hand, and passing the Promontory of *Pachina*, they sayled to *Echnomum*, whereas the Army by Land attended them: The *Carthaginians* in the manner put to Sea, with three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and stayed at *Lilybeum*, and

The *Romans* Army by Sea. The Promontory of *Pachina*. The *Carthaginian* Army of three hundred and fifty sayle.

from thence went to *Heracleum*, and so to *Minoc*. The *Romans* intention was to passe into *Affricke*, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the *Carthaginians* should not onely run the hazard of the War of *Sicily*, but also have it at their owne Houles. On the other side the *Carthaginians* considering how easly their descent would be into *Lybia*, and what little defence the Countrey-men would make when they should be once entred, they desired to fight presently with the *Romans*, and by that meanes to hinder the descent into *Affricke*. Wherefore the one being resolu'd to defend themselves, and the other to assaile them, considering the obstinacy of either party, there was likely-hood of an vndoubted battell. When as the *Romans* had given order for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their descent into *Affricke*, they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbarke'd them, and then deuic'd their Army into foure, whereof either had two Names. The first was called the first Battalion, and the first Army: So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called *Triarij*, as in an Army at Land. Al this Army at Sea amounted to aboute 140000. men. Euery Vessell had three hundred Rowers, and fixe score Leginaries.

An Army of
140000. Ro-
mans and more
Carthaginians.

In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they were furnished onely with men B accustomed with Sea-fights, being in number aboute 150000. men, according to the order of their Vessels. Wherefore they that were present and saw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of ships, they did not only wonder, but they also who heard speake of it. The *Romans* considering that vpon necessity they must goe vpon the tide, and that their Enemies say'd more lightly, they employed all their Art to make their battell strong and inuincible. For the effecting whereof they set two Vessels in front of fixe Bankes in equall distance, in the which were *Marcus Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*. After which march'd the first and second Battalion of C either side, their ships following one another, so as the distance of the two Battalions did still enlarge themselves. The Aems of their ships looked outward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus in length, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the same fashion, as a foundation, so as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the ships which carried the Horses, were ordered one after another, seuing as a Rampier to the third Battalion.

The *Triarij* followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalio- D on, euery Vessell being ordered in such sort, as they past the precedent on either side. All the *Romane* Army was thus ordered, whereof the first part, that is to say, the two sides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midt: but the sides, following after the foundation were better supplied. By this meane their Army was firme and hard to breake. In the meane time the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them vnderstand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in *Sicily*: But if the *Romans* had the Victory, they must expect not to fight

A Remon-
strance made
by the Cartho-
ginian Cap-
taines to the
Souldiers of
their Army.

fight for *Sicily*, but for their owne Countrey, their Houles and their Children.

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque; the which they did resolutely, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the discourse of their Captaines: Who seeing the order of the *Roman* Army, deuic'd theirs likewise into foure; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, stay'd as if they would inuiron their Enemies, against whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the Left wing of the whole Army. Hanno and Amilcar were Commanders of the *Carthaginians*, Hanno (who was defeated at the battell of *Agragus*) had the leading of the Right wing, with the lightest Vessels, and Amilcar of the Left. This is he who as we haue sayd, fought at Sea neere vnto *Tyndaris*, who hazarding then the middest of his Army, vied this kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate.

The *Romans* seeing at the first charge, that the Battalion of the *Carthaginians* was weake, forc'd resolutely thorough them: But the *Carthaginians* obseruing the Commandment of Amilcar, left the place presently, making shew to flye, to the end the *Roman* Army should se- B parate it selfe, whom the *Romans* followed with too great heate: And therefore the first and second Battalion say'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were stay'd, drawing after them the ships that were laden with Horses, with whom the *Triarij* remained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be farre from the others, the *Carthaginians* after a signe giuen them by Amilcar, as he had instructed them, turning the Prow suddainly, they all assault the *Roman* Vessels which followed them.

A Battell at
Sea betwixt
the *Romans*
and *Carthagi-
nians*.

The Combat was cruell; It is true, the *Carthaginians* had a great aduantage by their lightnesse, and their pollicy in turning: But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the *Romans* had no lesse hope then the *Carthaginians*, for the Force and C Prowesse of their men; and by the staying of their Ships, and casting of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commanders, and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the estate of the Battell: Presently after Hanno, who as we haue sayd had the charge of the Right wing, and did not budge before the first charge was giuen, seeing the Battell begun with the *Romans*, went to Sea and charged the *Triarij*, where there was a great fight, the which was long in suspence. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the *Carthaginians*, which continued neere the shore, turning the Prow vpon the Enemy, assaulted the Battalion in D front, by the which the ships which carried the Horses were towed, who suddainly slip't the Ropes and fought with great fury.

There they saw three parts of the Battell, and three Combats at Sea at one instant, in three diuers places, and farre remote. The Combate was equall, for that the Ships of eyther side were of the like number. Without doubt euery man performed his Duty in fighting, so as all was indifferent and equall. Finally,

D 2

Amilcar

Amilcar was
quitted.

Amilcar was defeated, and forced to flye with his Squadron. And Lucius Manlius towed away the ships that were taken. In the meane time Attilius seeing the Combate of the Triarij, and of the ships wherein the Horfes were, came presently to succour them with the Vessels of the second Battalion, which were yet whole and entire: But when as the Triarij who had bene long and violently charged by Hanno, so as they were in great danger, saw the Confull come, they resumed courage, and recharged him resolutely: And then the Carthaginians being much discontented to have an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be inuested by succours contrary to their expectation, gained the open Sea, relying vpon the lightnesse of their Vessels, and saued themselves by flight. And Lucius Manlius in the meane time seeing the third Battalion prest neere the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians, and Marcus Attilius in like manner, leauing the ships with the Horfes and the Triarij in safety, resolved both together to succour those that were in danger: For they were in a manner besieged, and almost at the last gaspe, and had bene defeated, if the Carthaginians had not feared to ioyne with them by reason of their Engines or Rauens: Neither did they presse vpon them, but onely to chafe them to the shore. Finally, the Carthaginians were suddainly compast in by the B Consuls, whereof fifty of their ships were taken with the men. Some being driuen vnto the shore, saued themselves. Behold the threefeuerall Combats which the Romans and Carthaginians had in one day: Yet the Romans in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell: In the which 24 of their ships were broken and aboue thirty of the Carthaginians. There was not one Roman Vessell taken whole by the Carthaginians with the men. But the Romans tooke three score and foure of the Carthaginians with all the men. Soone after this battell, the Romans parted with an intent to sayle directly into Lybia, after they had made provision of Victuals, and all other munition, ioyning to their Army the ships taken, being well repaired.

A Victory of
the Romans
against the Car-
thaginians.

The Cape of
Mercur.

There is a place in Affricke which they call the Cape of Mercur, running farre into the Sea, and is directly against Sicily, where the Romans arriuing and receiving their Vessels, repaired all: Then passing this strand, they sayled vnto the City of Aspis, where they put their Army in Battell neere vnto the Towne, and retired their ships, rampering them with Ditches and Palliades, resolving to besiege it, for that they which held it would not yeeld to the Romans. It is true that the Carthaginians who a little before had escaped from the Battell at sea, and recovered Carthage by flight, furnished the most necessary places belonging to their City, with Horfe and Foot, and with necessary shipping, supposing that the Roman Army after the Victory would come directly vnto them. But when they were aduertised of their descent, and of the siege of Aspis, they leuied men, and regarding no more the landing of the Romans, but hauing an eye aswell to forreigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was necessary for the Guard of the City and Prouince. In the meane

Aspis taken by
the Romans.

time the Consuls after they had taken Aspis by assault, and

put

put a Garrison into it, and in the Country, and had sent vnto Rome to aduertise the Senate of their successe, to the end they might consider what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the Carthaginians Country, where they found no Resistance, spoiling and setting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, so as they carried away a booty of all sorts of Beasts, with aboue twenty thousand Prisoners, which were Embarked.

Courses made
by the Romans
in the Cartha-
ginians Coun-
try.

In the meane time they receiued newes from Rome, by the which the Senate sent them word, that one of the Consuls should remayne in Affricke, with sufficient forces, and that the other should Returne with the ships. The pleasure of the Senate being knowne, Marcus Attilius Regulus stayed in Affricke with forty ships, fifteene thousand foote, and five hundred Horfe, and Marcus Manlius set sayle with the rest of the ships and Army, hauing the Prisoners with him, and arriued first in Sicily, and then at Rome without any mischance. But the Carthaginians fore-seeing that the Romans War would be long, they first made two Generall Captaynes in their Army, which were Asdruball the sonne of Hanno, and Bostar: Moreouer they sent for Amilcar, who was in Heracleum, who Embarking presently with five thousand foote, and five hundred Horfe, came to Carthage, and was constituted the third Caprayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with Asdruball and Bostar.

Asdruball, Ba-
star, and Amil-
car Command-
ers of the
Carthaginians
Army.

When as these Captaynes had held a Councell, concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to relieue the Prouince, and not to indure so great a pillage and spoyle of the Country, Marcus Attilius some few dayes before marching in to the Country, razed the weaker Castles, and besieged the stronger. But when he was come to the City of Aspis which was worthy of a siege, he plants himselfe before it, and industriously to force it. The Carthaginians aduertised hereof made hast to succour it, desiring to Raife the siege. And therefore they march with all their power against the Romans, Recouering a little Hill to the preiudice of their Enemies, and very commodious for themselves: Whereon planting their Camp, they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the means of their Horfe and Elephants. Leauing therefore the playne, they drew into high and vneuen places, as if they would aduertise the Enemy what they had to doe, the which vndoubtedly they effected. For when the Romans had considered the little vse of Elephants, for they were in a Mountainous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had seled their chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduised not to attend their Descent into the playne: Wherefore vising the opportunity of the time, they shut them up at the breake of day in the Mountayne of all sides.

By this means their Caualtery and their Elephants were altogether vnprofitable: Their aduenturers onely did their duties in fighting on the top, and had already forced the Roman Legiuaris to giue backe a little, when as suddainly the rest which had gayned the top of the Mountayne showed themselves. The Carthaginians seeing themselves inclosed by

all sides abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deserts of the Mountains. The Elephants and Horses recovered the Playne, and saved themselves without danger. The Romans made some little pursuit after the footemen, then they spoiled the Campe, and quer-ran the whole Country, wasting all, and ruining the Towne.

Some few dayes after they besieged *Tunes*, which they tooke by assault, where they planted their Campe, for that the place seemed convenient vnto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to *Carthage* and to the whole Prouince. The *Carthaginians* hauing a little before bene defeated at Sea, and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their Souldiers, but by the basenesse of the Commanders, they fell into a miserable and desperate estate: For after their last defeat and flight by the *Romans*, a great Troupe of *Numidians*, gaping after spoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the *Romans*. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theues, carrying away all they finde.

The *Carthaginians* terrified by the *Numidians* abandoned the Country, and retired to *Carthage*, where they suffered much, aswell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreover the multitude being great they feared a long siege: And although that *Marcus Atilius* was perswaded that the *Carthaginians* were wonderfully weakened, aswell by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time deliuered vnto him: yet fearing that the new Consull, whom they expected soone in *Affricke*, would reape the honour of his prowess and valour, he began to treat of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gaue eare. Wherefore they sent the chiefe of their City in Embassie to the Consull, to make this treaty. But when as they were arriued, they were so farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without choller heare the vnreasonable things that were enioyn'd them. Make your account that *Marcus Atilius* did hope that his offer would bee accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had preuayled in all his affaires: The *Carthaginians* on the other side, thought that when as fortune should reduce them to extremity, the Consull could not make them a more bitter answer.

Their Embassadours therefore returned, not onely without any agreement, but desiring wonderfully the Consuls answer, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the *Carthaginians*, they entered into so great an indignation vpon the Consuls demand, and returned such courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they resolved to attend all extremities, and rather to trye their fortune, and to attend the time, then to suffer so ignominious a thing and unworthy of their valour. It happened at the same time, that some one of those which had bene sent into *Greece*, in the beginning of the warre to *Leue* Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers, among the which there was one *Xantippus* a *Lacedemonian*, a man of Indgement, and pacified in the warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened: hauing also considered the equipage of the

Embassadours sent by the *Carthaginians* to *Marcus Atilius*.

Xantippus a *Lacedemonian*.

the *Carthaginians*, with the number of their Horse and Elephants, he returned suddainly to his Companions, saying, that the ignorance of the Capitaines, not the *Romans*, had defeated the *Carthaginians*. This speech ran presently throughout the whole City, and came vnto the Princes.

The *Carthaginians* caused him to be called, and resolved to vse his Councell, who in their preface deliuered plainly the Reasons of his speech, and the cause of their Defeat; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leauing the hilly Country, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army should be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Capitaines moued with the words of *Xantippus*, presently Resigned vnto him the Conduet of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruit throughout the whole Campe of *Xantippus* speech, with great Hope and Ioy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was so great a difference betwixt his and that of the other Capitaines, who understood not the Art of Warre, that presently the common cry demanded nothing but to fight, so much they were assured vnder the leading of *Xantippus*.

The Leading of the *Carthaginian* Army, giuen to *Xantippus*.

This done, the *Carthaginian* Capitaines seeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marche d to find out the Enemy. There were in the *Carthaginians* Army aboute twelue thousand foote, foure thousand Horse, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as *Marcus Atilius* heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the *Carthaginians* kept their Horses vpon an euén Country, camping contrary vnto their custome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident: Yet hee marcht directly to them desiring battell, and lodged within twelue hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the *Carthaginian* Capitaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude desiring the combate, turned towards *Xantippus*, calling him by his name, with a countenance seeming to be willing and ready to vndergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them speedily vnto the battell. When as the *Carthaginian* Capitaines saw their Men thus resolute, and desirous to fight, and that *Xantippus* sayd the time was sitting and convenient, they suffered them to prepare to battell, and gaue him leaue to do all at his pleasure. Who after hee had taken charge of the Capitaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee sets the Elephants one after another. After which hee causeth a Legion of *Carthaginians* to march, with some distance, and placeth the strangers vpon the Wings. Then hee ordereth the bravest among his foote; to fight of cyther side betwixt the Wings of the Horse men.

The order of the battell by *Xantippus*.

The *Romans* seeing the *Carthaginians* in battell, stayed not to doe the like; yet fearing the Violence of the Elephants, they set in Front the most actiue of their men, re-inforcing their Reare with many Engines, and diuiding their Horse men vpon the Wings. Their Ordinance was lesse then formerly, but more close, for feare least the Elephants

elephants should open them. But as the *Romans* had set a good order against the Elephants, so they had neglected to keepe themselves from inclosing. For as the *Carthaginians* had a greater number of Horse, so the close Ordinance, gaue them an easie meanes to breake and seperate them.

Battell given
by the *Romans*
to the *Cartha-*
ginians.

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first Charge; suddainly *Xanippus* causeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enemies ranks, and that the Horse-men of both Wings should withall charge furiously. The *Romans* cause their Trumpets to sound after the manner of the Country, and charge where the Enemies forces were greatest. It is true that the *Roman* Horse-men terrified with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing waiving from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and put it to flight, pursuing them vnto their Fort. On the other side, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden vader their feete by heapes: It is true that the whole Ordinance continued for a time in battell, for that their supplies being in the Reare were very close. But after that the *Roman* Legions, set in the Reareward, and compassed in of all sides by the *Carthaginian* Horse-men, were forced to make resistance there, and that they (who as wee haue sayd) were appointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulsd into the thickest of the enemies Battallion, where they were defeated and slaine, then the *Romans* being assailed on all sides, some were beaten downe and slaine by the intollerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the Horse-men, in the same place where they had their first posture given them, some few of them seeing no more hope, sought their safety by flight, of which (considering that the Country was very plaine) some were defeated by the Elephants, and the rest by the Horse-men: And some flying with *Marcus Attilius*, were taken to the number of five hundred.

Marcus Attilius
taken with
500. *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians* lost that day but five hundred Adventurers strangers, whom the left Wing of the *Romans* had defeated: But of all the *Roman* Army there escaped but two thousand with their Ensignes, who (as we haue sayd) pursued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the rest were cut in pieces, except *Marcus Attilius* and a few Men which fled with him, in regard of those Ensignes which beyond all hope escaped, they came vnto *Aspis*. Finally the *Carthaginians* after the spoile of the Dead retired to *Carthage*, with the Consull and other Prisoners, making great joy and triumph.

As demonstration
of *Polybius*.

If we shall duly consider this, we shall finde many things profitable for the conduct of Man. First, *Marcus Attilius* serues for a faire example to all the World, that it is a great folly and indiscretion, to put his Hope in Fortune, vnder the colour of good successes and enterprises brought to an end according to our desire. Who of late after so many tryumphant Victories, had not any compassion of the *Carthaginians*, being reduced to extremity, refusing to graunt them peace, which they craued

craued

craued with so much humility, hath bene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreouer that which *Euripides* hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath bene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleeue mee, I haue thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of these Commentaries.

For as there are two meanes easily to correct and amend our errors, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Miseries; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losse and preiudice of him to whom it happens: And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly, for that they cannot helpe without their owne trouble and losse. As for the second, every man follows it willingly; For wee may see by him (without any hazard or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee consider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Iudges of reason without any losse: But wee haue discoursed sufficiently of this Subiect.

The *Carthaginians* hauing ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they reioyced in many sorts, both in giuing thanks vnto God; and sacrificing after their manner, or in viving amongst themselves a mutuall beneuolence and courtesie.

Soone after that *Xanippus* had raised the hearts of the *Carthaginians*, hee returned into his Country, as a man well aduised: For the Prowesse and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of greatness and detraction: Against the which Citizens that are well allied, and haue many Friends, make easie resistance: But strangers which haue not that support, are easily ruined and defeated. They say hee went away for some other reason, which wee will deliuer when it shall be fitting.

Xanippus returned
into his
Country.

After that beyond all hope the *Romans* had receiued Newes of the defeat of their Army in *Affricke*, and the taking of the Consull: And that the remainder of their men was besieged in *Aspis*, consulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in *Affricke*, they appointed an Army to bee raised to goe thither with all speede.

Aspis besieged
by the *Cartha-*
ginians.

In the meane time the *Carthaginians* besieged *Aspis*, striving to force it, with hope soone to haue the remainder of the Battell: But the Vertue and Courage of the *Romans* which defended it, was so great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preuaile. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they raised the Siege. Soone after

E

Newes

Newes came that the *Romans* prepared an Army at Sea to send into *Affricke* : For the which the *Carthaginians* being moued, they vndertooke all diligence to repair their old Vessels and to make new. Presently after they laboured to stand upon their guard, and to hinder the descent of the *Romans* into *Affricke*, with two hundred Vessels armed and well furnished : But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Vessels was ready, they sent *Marcus Emilius* and *Servius Pulcius* with the whole Army into *Affricke* in the beginning of the Spring. When as the Consuls had set sayle, to draw first into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Affricke*, they were not farre from the Cape of *Mercure*, A but they presently discovered the *Carthaginian* Army : the which (as we haue said) watched their coming at the passage, and charged them suddenly with great fury, taking a hundred and foureteene Vessels armed : sailing from thence to *Aspis*, they retired their Men, and after they had stayed some time in *Affricke*, they returned into *Sicily*.

One hundred and foureteene Vessels of the *Carthaginians* were by the *Romans*.

A great number of the *Romane* ships perished by a Tempest.

But when they had past the Sea betwixt *Affricke* and *Sicily* with a prosperous Winde, and had anchored nere vnto the *Camarins* Towne, it is not possible to deliuer the greatnesse of the torment and misery that befell them. Hardly could they preserve foure score Vessels whole B of foure hundred three score and foure which were in their Army. All the rest (either sunke in the Sea, or split against the Rocks) fill'd all the shore with wracks, or dead Bodies.

It is not in the memory of man of any such shipwracke by a tempest. This miserable misfortune happened not casually and by chance, but by the overweening of the Consuls, considering that the *Marriners* had let them vnderstand, that they must avoid the Coast about *Sicily*, for that it was not to be approached, being bad and difficult to sayle in, especially at that season, for they sayled betwixt the *Straites* of *Orion* and the *Dogger*. Whatsoever it were the Consuls disdaining the admonition of the *Marriners*, made haile with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to surprize some Townes along that shore : where as they fell into extreame calamity vnder the shadow of a poore hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their presumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

And although that in all things the *Romans* relye vpon their forces, and thinke whatsoever they resolve, must be put in execution, holding nothing impossible when they haue once vnderaken it, and that this obstinacy doth many times turne to good. Yet sometimes they fall into great and apparent errors, especially in Sea matters. It is true that in Battels at Land fighting with men, it is not so strange if they vanquish : For the Combate is equall, although they bee sometimes vanquished : But as for the Sea, for that they thrust themselves into hazard, and without consideration, they fall many times into great inconueniences.

This happened at this time, and hath done formerly, and will befall them many times hereafter, vntill they haue suppress and reformed

reformed this overweening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all seasons. The *Carthaginians* being aduertised of the shipwracke of the *Romane* Army, they had the greater desire to raise an Army both by Land and Sea : For that their force seemed as great at Land, as that of the *Romans*, by reason of the defeat of *Marcus Attilius* : The like they conceived of the Sea, after the great losse the *Romans* had indured. Wherefore they presently sent *Asdruball* into *Sicily* with the old Bands, and a new leuie of the Men of *Heracleum*, with an hundred and fifty Elephants. They wrig out a Fleece of two hundred Vessels, and other Equipages necessary for Navigation. When as *Asdruball* landed at *Lilybeum* with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exercised his Elephants, making roads into those Countries which were allied vnto the *Romans*. Finally, he was very watchfull and diligent. And although the *Romans* losse had much abated their courage, yet they vndertooke all possible diligence to raise a Fleece of two hundred and twenty Vessels with a Pallisado : the which they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleene, to the end the World should not thinke they would strike sayle vnto the *Carthaginians*. *Lucius Aquilius*, and *Caius Cornelius* Consuls, were appointed to leade this Army, to fight with the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, who passing the Sea presently, arrived at *Messina*, where they received the Remainder of the ships, which had bene preferred in the storme. By this meanes their Army consisted of three hundred Vessels.

Asdruball sent into *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*.

From thence they tooke their Course to *Palermo*, the chiefe Towne of the *Carthaginians*, the which they assailed vigorously, erecting two sorts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, so as they easily ouerthrew a Tower seated vpon the Sea, by the which the Soldiers entering by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called *Naples*. After this the Burgeses dying for feare, yielded vnto the Consuls the other part which they called the old Towne.

Palermo beleagged by the *Romans*, and taken by assault.

After the taking of *Palermo*, the Consuls put in a good Garrison, and then returned to *Rome*. The yeare following, *Gneus Sempronius*, and *Caius Scruilius* were Consuls, who in like manner past into *Sicily* with an Army, to goe from thence into *Affricke* : where being arrived, they dispersed their Men into diuers places, and committed great spoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memory. Finally, they arrived at the Island of *Lusophages*, which they call *Mirmyx*, which is nere vnto a little Shelve or Barre of *Barbary*, where not knowing the passages, they were in a great freight, and were stayed by reason of the ebbing of the Sea : They were for a time in suspence what to doe. Finally, the Flood coming suddenly vpon them, they were almost driven to dispaire : Yet they could not saue themselves vntill they had lightened their ships, and cast out their baggage to saue themselves.

After that Day the *Romans* were so amazed with so many dangers, as they failed continually as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into *Sicily*, and leaving *Lilybeum*, they tooke Port at *Palermo*. But soone after that they were gone from thence to saile into *Italy*, there

One hundred
and fifty
of the Roman
Vessels left.

rose so great a storme as above a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven vp and downe, and in the end perished. And although the *Romans* after so many losses, were of aduice to preferre the honour and Majesty of the Empire before all other things, yet they were so broken with so great miseries, as they resolved to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more confident and of better hope, the which they sent into *Sicily* with the two Consuls, *Lucius Cecilius*, and *Caius Curius*: To whom they delivered only three score Vessells for their Victuals. By this means the *Carthaginians*, became againe Masters of the Sea with out contradiction, seeing the *Romans* had no more any Fleet at Sea. Moreover they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell giuen in *Affricke*, came to *Rome*, and that they vnderstood that the defeat of their men haphed by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Ranks and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull slaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was so great, as for two yeares after they neuer durst charge the *Carthaginians*, although they made many encounters in *Affricke*, and in the Country of *Selinuntia*, nor Campe in the Plains: within five or sixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countreys, to saue themselves from the Elephants; so as they only forced *Theruce* and *Lipara*. Wherefore the *Romans* knowing the feare their Army had, resolved againe to put a Fleet to Sea.

At that time the *Romane* people being assembled, they chose vnto the Consulship *Caius Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*: They also made fifty new ships, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. When as *Asdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, knowing well the feare of the *Romans*, had bene aduertised by the Fugitives, that one of the Consuls was returned vnto *Rome* with halfe the Army, and *Cecilius* remayned alone at *Palermo* with the other, he parts from *Lylibeum* (when as Haruest approached) with his Army to spoile, and falls vpon the Territory of *Palermo*, planning his Campe vpon the Mountaynes. *Cecilius* hauing newes of their coming, and knowing that *Asdruball* desired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towne.

By this means *Asdruball* growing very confident, conceiuing that *Cecilius* kept himselfe close for feare, he causeth his Army to March to *Palermo*, hauing ruined and burnt all the Champion Countreys. The Consul was alwayes of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to passe the River, which runnes nere vnto the Towne Walls. But when he saw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he caused a fally to be made by the nimblest and most aduie men of his Army, commanding them to skirmish with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards considering that matters had succeeded as he desired, he ordaines the lightest and most aduie, to plant themselves beyond the

Towne

A new Army at
Sea, prepared
by the Romans.

Theruce and
Lipara.

The policy of
Cecilius to de-
feate the Ele-
phants.

Towne ditch, giving them charge to cast Pettusians, Darts, and Spits a farts off at the Elephants: And if they came running vpon them with fury and violence, they should slip into the Ditch, alle from whence they could cast their Darts at them. He also commanded the Archers of the *Malke* place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. In the meane time, he issued forth with all his Battalions, and on the side of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with Darts.

Presently after the skirmish began, the Master of the Elephants, who with a desire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incensed them against the enemies, about ending *Asdruball* pleased the *Romans* observing the Consuls commandement, turned head presently, and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they slipped into the Ditch, the Elephants being vpon the side of it: they were suddainly charged with Darts and Pettusians, as well by the Towne men which were vpon the Walls, as by the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further, they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battalions with great slaughter.

In the meane time *Cecilius* goes suddainly to field, having his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and charged his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and charged againe by the Consuls Troupes, were easily defeated. A part of them were slaine, the rest saved themselves by flight: There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Masters, the rest were taken at the battell, their Governours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to *Cecilius*, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had bene the cause that the *Romans* after that unpursuing courage camped in the Plains: When the *Romans* had newes of this Victory, it is not credible the ioy which they conceined, not so much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the *Carthaginians* power was much decreased, as for that the men feared not to be beaten, those hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them: Wherefore they prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly resolved, and sent the Consuls into *Sicily* with two hundred Vessells, desiring to make an end of that Warre. Whether they put huius made provision of Victuals, and other things necessary: This was the fourth yeare since the beginning of the Warre.

The Consuls being arrived, and seeing the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay siege to *Lylibeum*, hoping if the taking thereof, they might easily transport the Warre into *Affricke*. But the *Carthaginians* mooued with the like considerations, rebulged by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the losse of *Lylibeum*, they had nothing else remaining in *Sicily*. The *Romans* in truth held in a manner the whole Island, except *Tripolium*. But at the end that what we speake of *Sicily*, may not seeme obscure to some one, by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deligate the Scituation in few words.

A defeat of the
Carthaginians,
by the Romans.
The Romans
could not
be beaten.

An Army at
Sea prepared
by the Romans.

The Situation
of the Island
of Sicily.

Three principal
promontories
in Sicily.

Many Towers
ruined by their
Engines.

Many Towers
ruined by their
Engines.

A Conspiracy
by mercenary
Soldiers serv-
ing under the
Carthaginians.

Alexan.

All *Sicily* hath its Situation in regard of *Italy* and the limits there-
of, like unto *Morea* in respect of *Greece*, and its bounds. It is true,
there is some difference; for that there is a little Sea betwixt this and
Italy. Whereas *Morea* is joyned unto *Greece*, by a little slip of Land,
for they may go on dry soote from *Morea* unto *Greece*, and not from
Sicily into *Italy* without shipping. *Sicily* is of a Triangular forme, and
so many Angles as it hath, so many Capes or Promontories there are
upon the Sea shore. Among the which, that whereon the *Sicilian*
Sea doth beare is called *Pachinus*, and lookes towards the South: that
which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end, and is not a-
bove a mile and a halfe from *Italy*, is called *Pelorus*. The third
which hath his Aspect towards *Affricke*, and towards the Winterly
West; and which is right against *Carthage*, from the which unto the
Affricke shore, there is not above one hundred twenty and seven miles,
is called *Lilybeum*, dividing the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. There is a
Towne on this Cape, which carries the same name, the which the
Romans besieged at that time: The which is strong with Walls and Dit-
ches, and moreover with Marishes and Pooles, by the which lies the
passage for ships into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not ac-
cessible but by expert Mariners.

The *Romans* then to besiege it thoroughly, made round about it Tren-
ches, Rampiers, and Bastions, one neere unto another. Finally, they
set up their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that
was necessary to force a Towne. At their first beginning they battered
a Tower, which was seated upon the Sea shore, looking towards *Af-
frique*, adding daily new Engines and planting them in order. Finally,
they overthrew at the same time six other Towers neere unto it, by
the shaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like unto a
Rams-head. Wherefore as this siege was troublesome and dangerous,
and that some Towers were much indamaged; and others overthrowen
by the Violence of the Engines, and the Towne continually battered,
the besieged began to faint, and to grow fearefull and amazed.
They were ten thousand Souldiers besides the inhabitants of the Towne.
Yet *Milcon*, who had the guard thereof, maintained this siege a-
gainst the *Romans*, by his Councell and great courage: Wherefore the
Romans made any breach in the Walls, he repayed it within; and if
the entry did Mince, he presented them by countermines. By this
meanes he still defeated their interprise. Sometimes hee also made
salles, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee
could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gave Allarums,
both by day and night; so as there was a greater slaughter and losse
of men by this kinde of encounters; then many times in their set
Battels.

At that time some Commanders of mercenary Souldiers, con-
spired to yeild the Towne unto the *Romans*, who being confident of the
consent of their Companions slippe downe the Wall in the night, and
goes unto the Campe, discovering their charge unto the Consul: At
what time there was likewise a *Grecian* in *Lilybeum* called *Alexan*, who
had

had sometimes saved the Towne of *Agragas* from Treason, when as
the *Saragossins* held it.

This man after that he had understood the enterprize of the Treas-
on, revealed it unto *Milcon*: who caused all the Captaines to bee pre-
sently called, except such as had slippe downe the Wall, and declared
unto them what he had understood of the Treason, intreating them
they would not so ignominiously deliuer him and the Towne unto their
Enemies. Moreover he made them great promises, if they would keepe
their faith: And when they had all consented to that which hee pro-
pounded, he presently sent *Haniball* with them to pacifie a Troope of
Gauls. This was the Sonne of that other *Haniball*, who (as we have
said) was hang'd upon a Crosse in *Sardinia*, after he had made that losse
of the Army at Sea. He hoped well that he would be pleasing unto
them, for that had bene at the Warre with them under his Fathers
command. Hee likewise sent *Alexon* to other bands of strangers, for
that they had great confidence in him. Presently after hee had assem-
bled the Companions, he prevailed so by prayers and promises, as all
generally kept their Faith and Friendship with the *Carthaginians*.
Wherefore as soone as the Chiefs of the Treason were returned, and
ready to speake unto them, and to relate what they had treated with
the *Romans*, they not onely denied to consent unto them, but they
disdained to heare them, driving them from the Wall with Darts
and Stones.

Thus the *Carthaginians* being in a great and manifest danger of Treas-
on, had like to have fallen into their Enemies hands. But *Alexon* (who
formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of *Agragas*, had not onely
preferred the Towne, but the Countrey likewise, their Lawes, and Li-
berty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that
the *Carthaginians* were not defeated. And although they of *Carthage*
could not be advertised of the affaires of *Lilybeum*, yet doubting the
necessities which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed
fifty ships with ten thousand men: whereof *Haniball* the Sonne of *Ambi-
car*, who formerly was Captaine of the *Tyrranes*, and a great friend to
Atarbe, had the leading: to whom they gave charge in few words to
doe what possible he might, to enter into *Lilybeum*, and to succour the
besieged. *Haniball* then with these ten thousand Souldiers, arriveth first
at the Islands of *Eguse*, which are mid-way betwixt *Carthage* and *Lily-
beum*, and there attends the Winde: After which setting saile, he beat
his course directly to the Haven of *Lilybeum*, having his men all in bat-
tell and ready to fight.

The Consul amazed at this suddaine approach of the Enemy, doubt-
ed that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the winde
would likewise drive them into the Port. Wherefore they resolved
not to stop their entry. It is true that they prepared themselves upon
the shore, and sought to terrifie them at their entry. In the meane
time all the troops within the City, seeing succours come, resumed
courage, leaping for hope and ioy, and giving courage by signes and
shouts to their Succours. *Haniball* with incredible courage, sayles won-
derfull

The forelight
of the Cartha-
ginians.

Haniball Sonne
of *Ambicar*,
Captaine of 50
ships with
10000 men.

derfull swiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would haue imagined, and puts his Army safe into *Lylibeum*. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towne conceiued, after their succours were entred, not so much for the refreshing of men, but for that the *Romanes* durst not hinder the entry of the ships.

But *Imilcon* Commander of the *Carthaginians*, seeing that the Souldiers demanded nothing but to fight, aswell the old Garrison, in regard of their supplies, but the new succours, for that they had not felt the former miseries; he would not loose this opportunity, resolving to set fire on the *Romanes* Engines by what means soeuer. Wherefore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a speech vnto them, promising good rewards to such as should shew themselves braue Men: And assured them that the *Carthaginians* would acknowledge it. The Souldiers moued with these speeches, told them that they were ready to do their duties. Moreover they cryed out with a loud voyce, intreating him that without any further stay he would lead them to fight. *Imilcon* commending their courage, sent them to refresh themselves, and gaue them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Captaines should command them: Whom presently after hee drawes a part, and acquaints them with his interprize; then hee appoints vnto euery one his Quarter and place, commanding them that euery one should retire speedily in the beginning of the night, the which they performed.

At the breake of day *Imilcon* made his sallies in many places, and fell vpon the Engines. The *Romanes* who doubted the enemies designe, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard. Wherefore as soone as the *Carthaginians* beganne their sally, they marcht against them, so as the Allarum was great nere vnto the walls. The *Carthaginians* were about twenty thousand men, and the *Romanes* many more. And for that the combate was without any order of battell, the danger was the greater: For in so great a multitude of Souldiers, they did fight Man to Man, as if it had bene a single combate. It is true, that the heate of the fight, and the greatest Allarum was adde vnto the Engines. Belieue that they which were appointed aswell by the *Carthaginians* to assault, as by the *Romanes* for defence, came to so great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Resolutions, neuer abandoning the place which they had bene ordain'd them, but they which were mingled in fighting, cast themselves vpon the *Romanes* with such great courage, assailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and such like Armes, as the *Romanes* that day, seeing themselves not able to resist the enemies interprize, thought in a manner all to bee vtterly lost.

When as the combate had continued long, *Imilcon* seeing the great losse of his men, and that he could not preuaile, hee caused a Retreat to be sounded. And although the *Romanes* were that day in great danger to loose all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines, and all their furniture, resisting the enemies with incredible valour.

After

After these actions, *Hannibal* parting in the Night from *Lylibeum*, unknowne to the Enemy, with all the shippes which hee had brought with him, hee sayled to *Tripanum* to *Adherball*, who was Generall of the *Carthaginians*; for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port: It is but fiftene miles from *Lylibeum*. And although that in the meane time the *Carthaginians* were very desirous to heare newes of the affaires of *Lylibeum*, yet it was not possible, for that the Towne after *Hannibals* departure was kept so short, as no man could enier or come forth.

At that time a *Rhodian* named *Haniball*, an able Man, seeing the great desire of the *Carthaginians*, promised them to enter into *Lylibeum*, mauer all the World, and to bring them certaine newes of their estate. But although the *Carthaginians* were glad to heare him; yet they held it impossible, for that the *Romanes* Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the *Rhodian* assures them, and parts with his ship: And being arrived at an Island nere vnto *Lylibeum*, three dayes after hauing the Winde in Poop, hee sayled directly thither at noone day, and in the sight of the Enemy, (striving by all means to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vnderaken.

One of the Consuls wondring much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port: ten of their best Saylers to surprize him in his returne: with the which hee himselfe kept watch vpon the departure of the *Rhodian*, and gaue charge to the whole Army to doe the like.

The shippes which were at the entry of the Port of either side the Marishes, attended with their Oares ready the returne of the *Rhodian* shippe, thinking that hee could not auoi Tit, but would bee inuested: But the *Rhodian* relying much vpon his courage, and the swiftnesse of his Vessell, past thorough the Enemies ships being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by stealth, but in the open day, and not consenting himselfe to hee thus escaped safew with his Men, seeing himselfe a little out of the presse, hee turned the Prow of his Vessell, calling them to fight, yet no man durst assault him, in regard of the swiftnesse of his Vessell.

Finally, hee returned to *Carthage*, hauing triumphed ouer the Enemies with one Vessell, and related all the newes vnto the Senate. The which hee hath performed since many times, doing great service by this means to the *Carthaginians*, in aduertising them of what was necessary, and bringing hope and comfort to the Besieged, with an animement to the *Romanes* of so great boldnesse, wherein hee was animated, for that a little before the siege that was made vnto him by diligent experience. But suddenly, when hee was discouered, hee turned his Prowe directly to the Tower which stands vpon the Sea towards *Italy*; so as they which looke to *Lybia* were in sight to all Men: which was the onely means whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many moued with the vndaunted boldnesse of

Haniball a Rhodian.

The greatest solution of the *Rhodian*.

for

F

this

this *Rhodian*, and knowing the places presumed to doe the like.

The *Romans* discontented with this great assault and scome, used all diligence to fill up the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants ships with sand, and sunke them: Then they cast great store of earth vpon them, yet they lost their labour and time, for the great depth swallowed all; and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatsoever they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Patre or Banke, where suddenly a *Carthaginian Quadriveme* sent in the Night was stayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the *Romans* attended the coming of others, especially of the *Rhodian* Vessell. By chance hee arrived with the accustomed celerity: But at his returne, the *Quadriveme* pursuing him, began to presse him neere. The *Rhodian* at the first sight wonderd at the lightnesse of the Vessell: But having well viewed it, hee knew that the *Carthaginian Quadriveme* had beene taken by the *Romans*. Wherefore having no more hope in flight, hee resolved to fight.

But when they came to ioyne, the *Romans* had the advantage, aswell by reason of the multitude of their shippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ship was easily taken with the *Rhodian*. After which prize the *Romans* ioynd it to the *Quadriveme*, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which means they tooke from them all easie entrance into *Lylibeum*. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were overthrowne in diuers places with their Engines. But *Imilcon* built a new Wall where as the old had been overthrowne, having no more hope in his Sallies, nor beable to set fire on the Engines. And as they had continued some time in this manner, there did suddenly rise so great a storme, as all the Engines and Instruments were shaken by the vehemency of the Winde: so as the vpper story of some Towers were overthrowne to the ground.

Some *Grecian* Souldiers among the besieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discover their Opinion to the Gouverneur, who finds this counsell good, and after that hee had made provision of things necessary, hee suddenly makes a Sally, and casts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done suddenly, the fire by reason of the violence of the Winde rooke easily, and consumed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burne in the Sunne: Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In truth they were so amazed at this new accident, as they had not judgement to see and consider what they had to doe, so as striving to succour their Engines, some fell, being overthrowne with great Firebrands falling from above, or blinded with smoke. And the more the *Romans* found themselves crossed and troubled for the reasons above mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the *Carthaginians*: For they might easily discover the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they saw any thing against the *Romans* or their

The *Rhodian* taken with his ship.

A Sally of the *Carthaginians* vpon the *Roman* Engines of Battery.

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was so great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were set, were burnt, and the Heads of the *Rammes* consumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, resolving to carry the Towne by a long siege, in causing a great Trench with a Rampier to be cast vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of *Lylibeum* had rampired all places necessary, they indured the Siege with great courage. But after the *Romans* had received newes of this Disaster, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they sent into *Sicily* to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this siege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: These sailed first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe before *Lylibeum*.

Appius Claudius being now Consul, and chiefe of the Army, and the other Consuls vpon their returne to *Rome*, seeing the Succours also arrived, assembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to sayle to *Tripanum* with all their forces by Sea, to surprize *Adherball*, the General of the *Carthaginians* nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arrived into *Sicily*, and would neuer conceiue that the *Roman* Army would put to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of *Lylibeum*. When as this aduice was approved by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vnknowne to the Enemy, and sayled directly vnto *Tripanum*.

But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discovering that they were *Roman* ships, *Adherball* recovered his spirits, and assured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their sudden arrivall, resolving to try the fortune of the fight, and to vndergoe the hazard rather then to be besieged shamefully in the Port. Wherefore hee presently caused their Oares to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to sound, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory: But if they refused to fight, hee layed them before the miseries of men besieged. And when as the Souldiers made shew of resolution, crying out that hee should make no stay to march against the Enemy, then *Adherball* commending their forwardnesse, caused them all to imbarke, giving them charge to haue an eye vnto his ship, and that they should follow with courage. Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary side to the *Romans*.

But the Consul seeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but seeking the Combat with great heate, hee called backe his shippes, whereof some were already

An enterprize of the *Romans* vpon *Tripanum*.

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neere. And when as the first turned head, according to the Consulls command, and that the rest which followed farre off made hast to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the coming forth, so as the *Romans* were in danger to haue lost all. Finally after the Vessells had recovered the open Sea, the Captaines Ranked themselves along the shore one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Consull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, casting himselfe into the open Sea.

In the meane time, *Adherball* hauing gotten about the left Wing of the *Romans* with five Vessells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himselfe by the Sea, commanding other foure which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the enemy, he giues them a signe to charge the *Romans*, whose ships (as we haue sayd) were Rank'd along the shore. It is true they had done it, to the end that the enemies Vessells which should part out of the Port, might be incountred with more ease. The battell was long and furious, so as the danger seemed equall; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the *Carthaginians* had B alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreover they were in the open Sea, where they might turne vp and downe at their pleasure. If any one were neere prest by the Enemy, he knew how to saue himselfe suddainly, by the lightnesse of his ship: And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning presently together, compassed and hemb'd them in by their lightnesse.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes sunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they relieved him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shore neere vnto the *Romans* did annoy them much; for being forced in a stright, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselves, nor succour them that were prest, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a most requisite thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were closed vp in a stright, and their Vessells were heauy, and their Mariners vnskillfull in Sea causes, nor well practised to Rowe. The Consull seeing that all went from bad to worse, some of his ships being broken vpon the shore, others sunke, and finally being void of all hope, he flies away first. There were about thirty Vessells remaining of the whole Army, which by chance were neere him, and followed him; all the rest to the number of fourescore and thirteene were taken by the *Carthaginians*. Moreover all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wracke.

Adherball was in wonderfull great esteeme among the *Carthaginians* for this Victory, hauing well managed the Affaires by his onely Wildome and great Courage. Whereas on the other side, *Appianus Claudius* was infamous, and indured a thousand injuries by the *Romane* people, for that he had carried himselfe so indiscreetly, and had drawne

A Combate at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

A Victory at Sea by *Adherball* against the *Romans*.

drawne the *Romane* Common-wealth into so great danger. Finally, being Deposed from the Consullship, he dyed by the hand of Iustice with great ignomy and shame.

And although the *Romans* were very sensible of this great Defeate; yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddainly prepare a Fleete at Sea with a new Leuy of Men, and send *Lucius Iunius* the Consull into *Sicily*, to whom they giue charge to Relieue the Campe before *Zylibeum*, and to carry them Victuals and other necessary Munitions. He sai'd directly to *Messina* with threescore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Vessells with Beake-heads in *Sicily* out of *Zylibeum*, and makes a Fleete of fixscore Men of Warre, besides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victuals, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gaue in a manner the one halfe to the Questor, with some that had Beake-heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at *Sarragosse*, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from *Messina*, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time *Adherball* sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to *Carthage*. Then he dispatch'd Capitaine *Carthalo* with thirty Vessells, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threescore and ten others.

Moreover he gaue charge to *Carthalo*; to take what ships he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as *Carthalo* (vsing diligence to saile all night) had surprized the *Romane* Fleete suddainly, which was retired into the Port of *Zylibeum*, and had burnt some, and taken others, hee drew the *Romans* into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gaue an Allarum, *Imilcon* hearing the noyse, and seeing theirs coming at the breake of day, he presently made a sally vpon the Enemy. C By this meanes the *Romane* Army being inuironed on all sides, was in great danger.

After that *Carthalo* had taken and burnt some *Romane* ships, he went to *Heracleum*, to cut off the Victuals which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, some Discoverers bring him newes that they had seene a great multitude of ships. After which newes, *Carthalo* without making any shew; (for that hee did not much esteeme the *Romans* in regard of the former Victories) makes hast to meete them. The *Romans* were likewise aduertised that the *Carthaginian* Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselves able to incounter them at Sea, they cast themselves by Forrune vpon the neere shore, where there were some retreates and turnings: Over the which did hang some Rocks, whether the *Romans* retiring, they repuls'd the Enemies ships with stones and slings. And although at the first the *Carthaginians* were resolu'd to keepe them besieged vntill they had taken them. Yet seeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that *Romans*, resistance was greater then they expected, they failed in the end (after they had taken some Merchants vessels) to a River which lay neere vnto them, to obserue the parting of the *Romans*. In the meane

Appianus Claudius deposted from the Consullship, and condemned to dye.

Lucius Iunius.

The *Romans* surprized by *Carthalo*.

time the Consull hauing dispatch'd the Affaires for the which he staied at *Sarragoste*, he past the Cape of *Pachinum* to come vnto *Lylibeum*, hauing no aduertisement of that which had hapned vnto his men some dayes before.

The *Carthaginian* Captayne hauing newes by his Scouts of the Con-
sulls comming, vsed all diligence to encounter him farre from the o-
ther ships. But when as *Lucius Iunius* saw the enemies Army a far off,
he was amazed at the great number, so as he durst not fight; neyther
could he well flye being so neere vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by
dangerous and difficult places, hee staid in the first Port, resolu-
ing rather to indure all extremities, then to suffer the *Roman* Army to fall
into the enemies hands. The which *Carthalo* Commaunder of the
Carthaginians perceiuing, he made no more pursuie, but retyred in-
to a Port betwixt the two *Roman* Armies, hoping by this meanes to
keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there rose a
great storm; the which the *Carthaginians* perceiuing, as Men which had
great experience in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they
were, informed *Carthalo* that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of
Pachinum, he should auoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they
preferred all his Fleet. But the *Romans* were so beaten with the storm,
for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were
broken in such sort, that there remayned not any thing, whereof they
could afterwards make vse. By the meanes of these mis-fortunes at
Sea, the *Carthaginians* were afterwards the stronger.

The *Romans* hauing lately made so great a losse at *Tripanum*, and
now agayne hauing lost all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying
only vpon the Land. The *Carthaginians* on the other side were Mai-
sters without contradiction: neyther were they without hope at Land.
And therefore the Lords of the Senare, and they which were at the
siege at *Lylibeum*, were of aduice to continue the siege, although they
had bin afflicted with the former mis-fortunes. By this meanes the
Romans sent to the Campe at *Lylibeum* whatsoever they thought necessa-
ry, and they of the Campe vsed all possible meanes to continue the
siege. *Lucius Iunius* after this great shipwracke arrived at *Lylibeum*
much discontented, studding continually how he might performe some
Act, whereby he might in some sort Repayne his disgrace for the last
losse. Wherefore loone after he tooke by Treason without any great
occasion Mount *Erix*, the Temple of *Venus* and the Towne. *Erix* is
a Mountayne of *Sicily*, which hath his Aspect vpon the Sea towards
Italy, betwixt *Tripanum* and *Palermo*, but neerest to *Palermo*. It is
the greatest in all *Sicily*, but *Aetna*. It hath a playne vpon the top,
where stands the Temple of *Venus Eriana*, the which (by the Report
of all the World) is the richest and most beautifull of all *Sicily*. A lit-
tle vnder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name,
which is very long, and hath the accesses very vneasily and difficult on
all sides.

The Consull set a Garrison vpon the top of the Mountayne, and at
the foot vpon the approaches from *Tripanum*, thinking by this meanes
that

The *Romans*
Fleet broken
at Sea by the
Violence of a
storme.

Mount *Erix*.

Mount *Aetna*.

that he should be able to keep the Towne and all the Mountayne safely.
After the taking of *Erix*, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar*, surnamed
Barca Captaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling vpon
Italy with his Army spoyle all the coast (it was then the eighteenth
yeare since the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he
made great spoiles in the Countries of the *Locrines*, and *Calabria*) he
returned into the Territory of *Palermo* with his whole Army, where
he planted himselfe in a Place betwixt *Rhegium* and *Palermo*, the
which lay high about the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and safe
for his Campe.

It is a Mountayne inuironed with caues and holes, vpon the which
there is a playne not lesse then twelue miles in compasse, the which is
commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreover all the Sea Winds,
and is not infected with any venomous Beast: Moreover it is inuironed
both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rockes; in regard of the places
which are betwixt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on
the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortresse; it hath like-
wise a very pleasant and commodious Port, for such as passe from *Try-
panum* or *Lylibeum* into *Italy*; and it hath store of Water. There are
but three wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vneasy,
two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. *Amilcar*
Planted his Campe there, where there was no conuenient Towne, but
was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not suffer to liue in rest:
For many times he went to Sea, and spoyle'd the coast of *Italy* vnto
Cumes, and then he led his Army by Land vnto *Palermo*, and besieged
it within eight hundred Furlongs of the *Romans* Campe: where he staid
ed neere three yeares, performing many braue Acts which were diffi-
cult to relate in particular. For euen as when excellent Combatants re-
doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the
Victory being propounded, it is neyther possible for them, nor for the
standers by, to yeild a reason of euery charge and blow, taking in
generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, aswell by the Prowesse
of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience
and Vigile; we must conceiue the like of the Commanders of whom
we now speake.

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Am-
bushes, and intertayne skirmishes and encounters, he should not be
able to number them, and would cause a great trouble without any pro-
fit to the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of
things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They
likewise cannot perceine in this present War, any thing by the History
of the great policies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the pre-
sent case by things done, which haue bin decided with an over-weaning
and violent boldnesse. There are many causes, for the which they
could not discern betwixt the two Campes, for the Armies were equal
and their Forts not easie to be approached vnto, for that the space be-
twixt both was very strong and little; so as there daily hapned particu-
lar combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

Amilcar spoiles
the Coasts of
Italy.

Amilcar.

end of the Warre: For many times in encounters some were slayne, and others turning away, and escaping the danger assured themselves, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good Distributer, changing them from Front to Front, hath inclosed them in a narrower compass, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

Whilst the *Romans* (as we have sayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of *Erix*, *Amilcar* surprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote offe, where the *Roman* garison lay. By this meanes the *Romans* which held the top, were beleagued by the *Carthaginians*, with great danger: The *Carthaginians* likewise were no lesse in the Towne, seeing they were besieged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and having but one way, they could hardly draw vnto them that which was necessary. Thus either Party persisted one against another with extreame obstinacy: Suffering great extremities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased a sacred Crowne, not as *Fabius* sayth, as Men weakened and tyred, but constant and not vanquished: For before that one party overcame the other, although the War continued two yeares, yet beganne to haue an end by another meanes. Finally the Affaires of *Erix*, and the forces were in this estate.

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales, did like vnto Raucening Birds fighting among themselves vnto the last gaspe: For although that sometimes their sight sayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the assaults with great courage, vntill that hiding themselves willingly, they fled away easily; this done some take their flight before the rest. In like manner the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* tyred with toyle, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the *Romans* had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for fifteene yeares, aswell for their misfortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre by the Army at Land; yet seeing their designe not successfull, considering likewise the courage of *Amilcar*, they conceiued a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduised well, that if their designe were successfull, it would be a meanes to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

First, they left the Sea yielding vnto their misfortunes: And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished nere vnto *Trepakum*, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from *Erix*, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most part was like a Combat of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge. But the Citizens contributing every Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expenses; so much the peoples hearts were inflamed to Armes, and to augment the *Romane* Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the *Rhodian*, the which as we haue sayd had beene taken before *Zylibeum*: Wherefore they

The Towne of *Erix* taken from the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

A good Comparison.

they afterwards gaue the command vnto *Lucius Lullatius* Consul, and sent him in the Spring against the *Carthaginians*, who being suddenly arrived in *Sticily* with his Army, tooke the Port of *Trepakum* at his entry; and all the rest which were about *Zylibeum*.

In the meane time all the *Carthaginians* ships retired to their Capraine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take *Trepakum* with his Engins, and other things necessary to force a Towne: But for that the *Carthaginian* Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things past, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not idle nor negligent, causing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually kept in practice, not suffering any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The *Carthaginians* contrary to their hope, hauing newes of the *Roman* Army at Sea, presently prepared their ships, and freighted them with Corn & other Munition, so the end the besieged within the Towne of *Erix* should not haue any want of things necessary. *Hannib* had the charge of this Army, who past first to the Island of *Hierousus*, and from thence he made haste to layle about the Enemy to *Amilcars* Campe, to discharge his ships, and to victualli. But *Lullatius* being aduertised of their coming, and doubting of their enterprize, (for it was not hard to coniecture) made choice of the ablest men of the Army at Land; and saild directly to the Island of *Egysse*, which is not farre from *Zylibeum*: Then hauing giuen courage to the Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that every man should be ready the next day to fight.

Three daies after the Consul seeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and prosperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army, and that the Sea was much troubled with a storme, he was long in suspense what he should doe: but suddenly he resolved, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he should haue nothing to doe but with *Hannib* and his Army at Sea; and with ships that were laden and incumbered. But if he should delay the fight vntill the Sea were calme, he should haue to deale with ships that were light and very swift, and with the choice of the Land souldiers: and moreover with the courage of *Amilcar*, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he resolved to fight with the Enemy notwithstanding the storme and the contrary Winde. The *Carthaginians* coming with full sayle, he put himselfe before them with his Army ready and in battell. When the *Carthaginians* saw their numbers bee hindered by the Enemy, and their ships in battell, they strooke saile, and prepared to fight, where they charged of either side with great courage. But for that things were managed in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of *Trepakum*, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had another success.

In regard of the *Romans*, their ships were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of that which was necessary for the Warre. Their Rowers had beene long practised, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had also made choice of the best men in their Army at Land: the which tell our contrary with the *Carthaginians*.

The Port of *Trepakum* taken by *Lucius Lullatius*, Consul, and sent him in the Spring against the *Carthaginians*.

An Army at Sea prepared by the *Carthaginians*.

Hannib.

A fight at Sea between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

A Victory of
the Romans a-
gainst the Car-
thaginians.

and. Their ships were laden, and therefore vnfit to fight: Their Rowers and Mariners were men gathered together by chance, and not accustomed to the War: their Souldiers were also new, and had not scene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the Romans would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as soone as the Battell began, the Romans had the Victory; whereas fifty of the Carthaginians ships were broken or sunke, and three score and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest set saile and got the Winde, and recovered Hieronise with incredible swiftnesse, by a sudden change of the Winde. After the Battell the Consull retired to A Lylibeum with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Prisoners were deuided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were about ten thousand men taken.

The Carthaginians amazed at this heavy and great defeat, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were all-ways inclin'd to Warres. First they had no meanes to victuall those that were in Sicily, after the defeat of their Army at Sea: Considering that their Enemies were Maisters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to suffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had serued their Common-wealth to be lost. B In regard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to manage it: wherefore they sent a Man to Amilcar, and gaue him full power and Authority to doe what he should thinke fitting for the good of the Common-wealth. Amilcar performed the duty of a good and wise Captaine: For whilst there was any hope in the Carthaginians affaires, he neuer complained of his paines, nor auoided perill, but being a man of great industry and courage, he thrust himselfe continually into all dangers, to vanquish as well as any of the other Captaines. But when as he saw there was no more hope in the Carthaginians affaires, hee sent C Embassadors to the Consull, to treat vpon an accord, yielding wisely and discretely vnto the time. For we must know that the duty of a good Captaine consists as well in considering of the time, not onely to vanquish, but also to strike saile. Whereunto Lucatium did willingly give ear, knowing well the necessities which the people of Rome endured by this tedious War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the Romans and Carthaginians should live in amity and friend-ship. If the people of Rome would consent vnto it: And that the Carthaginians should leaue all Sicily. Neither should they hereafter make War against Hieron, nor against the Saragossins, or their Allies, and that they should restore all the Prisoners without rancome: And moreover they should pay thirtene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were sent to Rome, which the people notwithstanding would not yeeld vnto: but committed ten men with power from them who were sent into Sicily: Being arrived, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they shornd, augmenting the summe with 400000. Crownes more. Moreover they did articulate, that they should not onely dislodge out of Sicily, but also

also out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and Italy.

Behold the end of the first Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians for Sicily. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath bene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they haue fought at one instant with aboute five hundred Quinqueremes on both sides: Afterwards with not much lesse then seauen hundred. The Romans haue lost seauen hundred Quinqueremes, besides those which at sundry times the torments haue sunke, and the Carthaginians about five hundred. Wherefore they which formerly haue admired Armies as well by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of Antigonus, Ptolomy, and Demetrius, haue reason to cease, considering the great deeds of the Romans and Carthaginians. But if they will consider how great a difference there is betwixt the Quinqueremes and Triremes, whereof the Persians made vse against the Grecians, and which the Athenians and Lacedaemonians vsed in their Warre, they shall vndoubtedly see, that there was neuer scene such great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that appears plainly which we haue propounded in the beginning, that the Romans haue not onely indeauoured to conquer the vniuersall Empire by valour, but they haue also accomplished their desire, not by good Fortune as some Grecians suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experience and practice in such great affaires.

Although that some may demand how it happeneth that the Romans, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, considering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole world, cannot draw together so many Vessels, nor raise so great an Army at Sea at one instant. The reason will be easie, when they shall let them vnderstand what the Romane Common-wealth was, what their Lawes and their manner of living, although it will not be profitable neither for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things which concerne not our purpose. Without doubt the Reasons are great: the which notwithstanding in my Opinion no man hath knowen vnto this day by the error of Historiographers: Whereof some knew not what they wrote, and if others vnderstood them, they haue made them obscure and vnprobable. If they would duly consider this War, they shall finde that the courage and power of these two great Cities were equall. First their desire was alike, they had the same courage, and the like desire of glory. It is true, the Romans had the better Souldiers: But Amilcar Generall of the Carthaginians, furnished D Barca, Father to Hannibal, who afterwards made Warre against the Romans, had not his equall in prudence and valour. When as the peace had bene concluded, either of them fell in a manner into the like inconveniences: for Ciuill war followed after. The Romans had plenty of War against the Inhabitants of Mount Iacum: the which was long decided and their Towne taken.

But the Carthaginians being assailed at the same time by Strangers, Numidians and other people of Affrike, who reuolted with them, were in a manner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to fight not onely

armes.

Amilcar Fathes
to Hannibal.

for the Prouince, but for themselves, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate summarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we have promised in the beginning. So they shall easily see by the deeds of these times what this warre was, and of what fury, which they call irreconcilable: And they may likewise obserue to what things the Commander of an Army ought to haue care, and to be wary how he imployes Mercenary men: And moreover what difference there is betwix: the confused manner of liuing of *Barbarians*, and those that are bred vnder Discipline, Lawes, and Policy: And will they may easily see by the knowledge of this warre, the causes for the which *Hannibal* made warre against the *Romans*, which is a principall poynt, whereof in opening the truth, wee haue not done little for those which desire to see our worke. For that they haue not onely bene doubtfull and obscure to those which haue written, but also to such as haue bene present. After that *Amilcar* had treated the peace with the *Romans*, he led his Army from the Towne of *Erix* to *Lylibeum*, and resigned his charge, giving the conduct thereof into *Africke* to Captaine *Gelson*, who was at *Lylibeum*, who fearing that if so great a multitude of men, should passe together into *Africke*, there would grow some mutiny and contention, for that there was much due vnto them for their pay, the which they could not forsee for want of treasure: Wherefore he provided long before, that the troups should not passe altogether, but at diuers times, leauing some respite of purpose: to the end that they might with more ease provide, in sending them backe by troups, and that the first might be retired to their houses, before the second should passe. The *Carthaginians* had consumed their treasure, in their former charges, and did not send them backe to their houses but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the returne of their Companions, so the need they might make some accord with them altogether concerning their Paye. But when the Souldiers committed many Royoties day and night within the City, and that the insolencies of such a troupe were insupportable, the *Carthaginians* called the Captaines, and irritated them, to leade all this multitude assembled in their City to the Towne of *Sicca*, vntill they had giuen order for their Prouinces. Moreover they caused some money to be deliuered to euerie one of them, to the end they might tolerate their expectance the more easily. The Captaines obeying the will of the *Carthaginians*, drew forth their Men.

But for that euerie man desired to leaue his baggage within the City, as they had done, hoping to make a shor returne for their paye: the *Carthaginians* doubted that if they should allow that, some would not bringe for the loue of their children, others for their wiues, and by this means they should see nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage: Being within the Towne of *Sicca*, they liued at pleasure in idleness and basely, which is a pernicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutinies. Some began to demand their pay more audaciously,

tiously then they had bene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Capraines had made vnto them at need, when as they intreated them to fight valiantly. Moreouer they expected much more then their Pay amounted vnto: But they were frustrated of their hope: For assoone as they were all assembled in *Sicca*, *Hanno*, Pretor of the *Carthaginians* was sent vnto them: Who bringing no presents vnto them, intreated them moreover for some abatement of their Pay, shewing them the poverty of the Treasure. They generally mutining at this speech, began to rise suddenly, so as there was a great tumult and sedition in the Army, considering the great diuersity of their manner of liuing, and languages. It is true the *Carthaginians* had some reason to raise their Army out of diuers Nations: For by this meanes so diuers an assembly could not easily make a Conspiracy. Moreover the Capraines better obeyed. And likewise if there did rise any mutiny or sedition in the Army, they should not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are moued with fury. Beleeue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like brute Beasts with an vnrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the *Carthaginians* Campe: For some were

Mutiny of the Souldiers.

Spaniards, others *Gauls*, some *Geneuiss*, and others of the Islands of *Maierqua*, and *Minorqua*.

There was also a good Troope of *Grecians*, most of which were fugitives and slaues, and the greatest number were *Africans*. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not haue taken a better course. Moreover *Hanno* could not vnderstand all their languages: and it seemed in a manner more impossible to imploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army together, and withall to vnderstand the same speech vnto them foure or fve times. The last remedy was to mannage this by the Captaines; the which *Hanno* attempting preuailed nothing: For some vnderstood not what their Captaine sayd vnto them, others related it otherwise then they had spoken, although they had consented vnto the chiefe, some did it of ignorance, but the greatest part through malice. Wherefore all was full of perplexity, inhumanity and distrust.

Among other things they complained, that the *Carthaginians* of purpose did not send one of the Captaines vnder whose charge they had made War in *Sicily*, and who had made them so many promises; but one who had bene in those actions. Finally, they ranne to Armes being all in a mutiny, making no account of *Hanno*, nor of the other Captaines, and march directly to *Cartage*, planting their Campe neere vnto the Towne of *Tunes*, which is fiftene miles from *Cartage*, being about twenty thousand Men. Then the *Carthaginians* began to looke one vpon another, and to acknowledge their great error, when there was no redresse in their affaires. In truth it was a great fault in them to haue drawne together so great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no lesse; when as they did not retaine their Wiues Children and baggage, whereof they might haue made vse in necessity as of Hostages. Being in no small feare

The complaint of the Souldiers.

of so great a multitude of Men, they omitted nothing which they thought behoovefull to pacifie their Rage, causing Corne to be carried vnto them, and all other things necessary, and to be deliuered vnto them at their owne prize.

Moreover the Senate sent Embassies often vnto them, promising to do according to their commaund, so as it were in their power: But the Souldiers who are now growne more insolent, did forge daily new Quarrels, perceiving the feare of the *Carthaginians*, especially for that they had bin trayn'd vp in the War of *Sicily*, and that the *Carthaginians* not any other durst looke vpon them in order of battel. Wherefore whereas formerly they had made their quarrell, but for the pay that was due, they now demanded Recompence for their Horses that were slayne, and not content with that, they pretended there was Corne due vnto them for many yeares, for the which they demanded payment at a prise, whereof vntill that day they had neuer heard them speake. Finally they daily pretended new quarrels to enter into War, for the most Wicked and Mutinous had the greatest credite in the Army.

And when as the *Carthaginians* had made promise vnto them, to do all things possible, in the end they agreed, that for any thing that should be doubtfull, they should Refer themselves to that which the Generall should decree, vnder whom they had made War in *Sicily*. They did not much affect *Amilcar Barca*, vnder whose charge they had bin, for that he came not to see them during this dissention, and that he had formerly Relinquish his commaund ouer them of his owne motion: Contrariwise they all in generall loued *Gescon*, who had bin their Captaine in *Sicily*, and who had intreated them curteously aswell in all other things, as in their passage to *Affricke*; wherefore he had the charge by a common consert. Presently being imbarked with Mony, and arriuing at *Tunes*, he called the Captaines: then he caused every nation to Assemble, and blamed them for their faults past, and admonishing them for the present, and giuing them aduice by a long speech for the time to come, to continue good friends to the *Carthaginians*, who had intertayned them so long. Finally he perswades them to Rest satisfisied with their pay, the which he desired to diuide among the Nations.

There was by chance a *Campanian* in the Army called *Spendius*, who being lately a slave vnto the *Romanes*, had fled into *Sicily*: This was a bold and hardy Man, and a good Souldier: Who (feeling that if they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, he should be Restored to his Maister, and then put to Death according to the *Roman* Lawes) vsed Audacious speeches, and laboured by all means to mutine them all, desiring troubles rather then any accord, and Wars then Pease. Moreover an *Affricaine* called *Matbo*, a free Man who had bene in the Wars of *Sicily*, for the *Carthaginians*, feared to be punished, for that he had much incensed the Munity, during the Dissention. This *Matbo* ioyning with *Spendius*, drawes together all the *Affricaines*, and Aduises them to consider well what they had to doe in this Action, and that they

they should rest assured, that presently after the Retreat of the other Souldiers, having received their pay, the *Carthaginians* would be reuenged wholly vpon them, (labouring by this meanes to terrifie all the *Affricaines* with punishment) and for this reason they should looke well to themselves.

The whole Troupe being much moued with this speech, and likewise for that *Gescon* had onely spoken of their bare pay, without any mention of Recompence for Horses dead, nor of Corne for so many yeares, they drew presently all together to consult of their Affaires. And when as *Spendius* and *Matbo* vsed very bad speeches against *Gescon* and the *Carthaginians*, they easily gaue eare vnto them. And if any one sought to shew the contrary, they had not the Patience to heare them, if it were contrary to the opinion of *Spendius*, but beat them downe presently with stones. By this meanes the Murther was great, not onely of Captaynes but of simple Souldiers, so as there was nothing heard in the Army during this Mutiny, but all cryed out together, Charge, charge. And although they did this continually yet their fury was greater, when they parted drunke from the Table. By this meanes as soone as any one cryed Charge, the stones flew about, so as there was no meanes of Retreat. Wherefore when no Man durst speake any thing in the Assembly, they made choise by a generall consent of *Matbo* and *Spendius* for their Captaines. And although that *Gescon* saw this great trouble and mutiny in the Campe, yet he desired to prefer the Publicke Vtility before all other things. Wherefore seeing that by the mutiny of the Souldiers increasing daily more and more, the *Carthaginians* were in great danger, he resolved to pacifie it, and to trye all meanes with the hazard of his life.

One day he called the Heads of the Conspiracy, another day some Nation apart, labouring to pacifie their fury by prayers and promises. But for as much as they had not yet received the Corne, which they sayd was due vnto them, and that they quarrelled continually, *Gescon* desirous to restrain their contempt, commaunded them to set downe their demands to their Captaine *Matbo*. At which words the Commons increased grew so insolent, as they presently seized vpon all the Silver which was brought thither for their pay, laying hold vpon *Gescon* and the *Carthaginians* that were with him. But *Matbo* and *Spendius* Captaynes of the whole Troupe, thought presently to commit some Act of great Villany, to the end that the War might be the more instant. And therefore in commending the insolency of the Souldiers, they took with the Money all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, and gave order to shut vp *Gescon* with all his company, after they had done them many outrages. After this, they made open War against the *Carthaginians*, with the most cruell Conspiracy, that euer had bene heard (speake of vnto this day). Behold the causes of the beginning of this War, made against the Souldiers, which they call *Jefferians*. After that *Matbo* and *Spendius* had done as wee haue sayd, they sent Embassies to all the people of *Affricke* mouing them to liberty, and

Or *Gescon*.*Gescon* makes remonstrances to the Souldiers*Spendius*.*Matbo*.Embassies sent throughout all *Affricke* by *Matbo* and *Spendius*.

and intreating them to give them succours against the cruell and tyrannous Empire of the *Carthaginians*, who in a manner all found the enterprize good, and sent Men and Victuals in abundance. And after that the Captaines had diuided their Army in two, one part went to besiege *Bisartbe*, and the other *Hippona*, for that they would not consent vnto the Conspiracy. The *Carthaginians* who had beene accustomed to feed their families only by Tillage, and to draw their publicke Treasure from the Tributes of *Affricke*, and moreover to mannage their War by Mercenaries, being then not onely frustrated of all these things, but moreover seeing they were all turned to their Ruine, found themselves suddainly in great difficulties, not knowing which way to turne them. And they found them the more desperate, for that they had hapned contrary to all opinion.

It is true, they were in hope, after they had beene tyred with the long Wars of *Sicily*, and had in the end made a peace with the *Romans*, that they might rest for a time, and take breath; but it succeeded otherwise. Beleeue me, this War suddainly kindled, was more dangerous than the other: For that in the first, they did not fight with the *Romans* but for the Conquest of *Sicily*; but in this they were forced, to vndergoe the danger for themselves, for their families and their Country. Moreover they were vn furnished of Armes, of a Fleet at Sea, and of Equipage for shipping, for that they had lost many in their battels at Sea. They had no more hope of Tributes, nor in the succours of their friends and Allies. Finally they saw then what difference there was betwixt a Forraine and Transmarine War, and the mutiny of a ciuill sedition, of which mischiefe vndoubtedly they themselves were the cause: For in their first War, they did Lord it ouer the people of *Affricke*, with too great Tyranny and conseruencie, for that they were of opinion they had good cause, so as they leuied a full moiety of all their fruites. They also doubled the Tributes, and did not pardon those which had offended through ignorance. They gave Offices not to such as were milde and gracious, but to those which augmented the publicke Treasure, although they had tyranized the people, like vnto *Hanno* of whom we haue spoken.

By this means it hapned that the people of *Affricke* seemed glad to Reuolt, not onely at the perswasion of many, but at a simple Messenger. There is nothing more true, than that the Women of euery City conspired, for that in former times they had lost their Husbands and Children led into seruitude, for that they had not payed the Tribute: so as they made no reservation of their goods which they had remaining, but moreover they did contribute their Jewels, (a hard thing to beleeue) to supply the payment of the Soldiers. By this means *Mathe* and *Spendius* gathered together to great a quantity of silver, as it was not onely sufficient to satisfie the promises which they had made to the Soldiers, from the beginning of the Conspiracy, but they had more than was needfull to mannage the War. Wherefore a wife man must not look vnto the present time, but also vnto the future.

And

And although the *Carthaginians* were enuironed on all sides with so many miseries, yet they fainted not: but gaue the conduct to *Hanno* (for that formerly they held he had ended the Warre neere vnto *Hecatonophylon*) of those Souldiers they could leuie in this necessity of time. They also armed the young men of the Towne, and caused their Horses to be practised: They repaired the remainder of their ships, and old Triremes, and caused new to be made.

In the meane time *Mathe* and *Spendius*, (to whom thre score and ten thousand armed men of *Affricke* had ioyned,) after they had deuised their Army in two as wee haue said, held *Bisartbe* and *Hippona* besieged, yet not abandoned their Campe neere vnto *Tunes*. By this means all *Affricke* was shut vp to the *Carthaginians*. You must vnderstand that *Carthage* is seated vpon a Promontory, which aduanceth into the Sea, and is in forme of an Island, but that it ioynes vnto *Affricke* by a little space of land. In regard of the City, it is enuironed of the one side by the Sea, and on the other by Marishes. The breadth of the Country whereby it is ioyned to *Affricke*, contains not about three miles, whereof the Towne of *Bisartbe* is not far off from that side which looks towards the Sea: And that *Tunes* ioynes vpon the Marishes. The Enemies having planted their Campes at *Tunes* and *Bisartbe*, tooke from the *Carthaginians* the rest of *Affricke*: and making courtes sometimes by Day, and sometimes by Night vnto the walles of the City, they gaue them great Allarums, and put them in feare.

In the meane time *Hanno* made preparation of all things necessary for the Warre. Hee was a diligent man, and well practised in such things; although that soone after hee had gone to field to finde the Enemy, he committed an act of little iudgement, in not discerning the times. You must vnderstand that as soone as he was sent to succour the besieged in *Bisartbe*, he forced the Enemies at the first charge, being terrified with the multitude of Elephants: but afterwards his conduct was so bad, as hee drew the besieged (for whose succours hee was come into great danger, and extreame misery. For when he had brought great prouision of all sorts of Engins for battery, and had lodged his Campe neere vnto the Towne-walles: hee fought with the Enemy, who could not endure the violence of the Elephants: Wherefore they abandoned the Camps, with great losse of their men, and retired to a little Mountaine strong of it selfe, and full of Groues. But *Hanno* who had not beene accustomed to make Warre but against the *Numidians*, who after they haue once taken a flight, doe seldome stay vntill the third day, had no care to pursue them, supposing he had gotten an absolute victory; but entred into *Bisartbe*, not thinking of any thing but to make good cheere.

But the Enemies having made Warre in *Sicily* vnder *Amilcar*, and beene accustomed many times to fye before the Enemy, and suddainly to charge againe the same day, hauing newes of *Hanno's* retreat into *Bisartbe*, and that the Campeas Victors was secure; they layed it by surprize, and slew part of them: the rest were forced to recouer the Towas, to their great shame and ignominy. All the equipage

The situation of Carthage.

Hanno

The Nature of the Numidians.

Surprize of the Carthaginians Campe.

H

of

The cruell and conuolous Empire of the Carthaginians.

The Conspiracy of the Women of Affricke.

The Nature of the Numidians.

of Engins was taken without resistance. It is true, that this was not the onely misfortune which at that time did prejudice the *Carthaginians* by the folly of *Hanno*. For some few dayes after, when as the *Enemies* camped neere vnto *Sorze*, and that an opportunity was offered to defeat him easily, hauing bene twice in quarrell, and twice in battell one against another, as they are accustomed, hee lost these two occasions by his folly and basenesse.

Wherefore the *Carthaginians* considering that *Hanno* did not manage this War well, they by a generall consent made *Amilcar* Captaine againe: to whom they gaue three score and ten Elephants, and all the Souldiers and Fugitiues, with some Horse-men, and the young men of the Towne, so as hee had about ten thousand Souldiers. But as soone as he had marcht forth with his Army, he presently by his admirable vertue brake the hearts of his *Enemies*, and raised the siege of *Bisarthé*: and then he shewed himselfe worthy of the glory which they had giuen him for his prowesse in times past; and that hee was worthy of the hope which all men conceived of him. Behold wherein they first discovered his discretion and iudgement.

The Cape whercon *Carthage* stands, is ioyned to *Affricke* like vnto a crooked backe, and is very stony, with Mountaines full of wood, whereas the wayes are very vneasy and inaccessible, they being most of them made by the hand of man. And therefore *Matbo* had seized vpon all the little Hills that were vpon the way, and had planted good Garisons. Moreouer hee passed the River which they call *Machera*, the which hath high banks, and a very swift course, and cannot be past but by a Bridge, vpon the which stands the Towne of *Se-phya*, the which *Matbo* did likewise hold. By this meanes the passages of *Affricke* were not onely shut vp from the *Carthaginian* Army, but also from a private person. The which *Amilcar* considering, and trying all meanes to passe into *Affricke*, in the end hee vsed this inuention. Hee had obserued that sometimes the course of this River was so stopt by the Winde, as the mouth of it ouerflowed, and made in a manner a great poole, and at that time it had no great fall into the Sea. Wherefore hee was of opinion, that at this season they might passe it neere vnto the Sea. Hee kept this secret, and onely made necessary preparation for the Army to march. Hee carefully attended the opportunity of the time, and then appointed his Army to part secretly in the Night, and to passe the River.

But at the breake of day the *Enemy* and they that were in the Towne, were wonderfully amazed at this passage. In the meane time *Amilcar* marcht with his Army directly to those which held *Se-phya*. When as *Spendius* had the news that *Amilcars* Campe had past, he presently makes haste with his forces to succour his men. Behold how the two Campes succoured one another. There were 10000. men in *Se-phya*, neere vnto the Bridge: and about 15000. in *Bisarthé*. These thinking they might easily compass in the *Carthaginians*, if they all marche against them at one instant, some in front, and the other at their backs, suddenly they tooke courage, and marche against *Amilcar* with

with all their Troopes, who alwayes marche had the Elephants in the fore-ward, then the Horse, and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, and vpon the Reare the Legionaries. But when hee saw the *Enemies* charge his men courageously, he presently changed the order of his Army, and turned it quite contrary: So as they which were in the fore-ward, returned backe, making shew of some flight, and they which were in the Reare, taking another way, marcht directly to the fore-ward. The which the *Lybians* seeing who assailed the *Carthaginians* on either side, and thinking that the *Enemies* amazed at this Allarum, fled, they began to pursue them without order, and came suddenly to fight. But when as they saw the Horse-men approach, and the other Battalions to fall vpon them with great fury, amazed at this new manner of War, they were soone broken, and in the end fled away. Some were defeated by the Legionaries, who charged them vpon the flanks with great slaughter, others by the Elephants and Horse-men who entred after the Legionaries.

There were six thousand men slain, and about two thousand taken; the rest saved themselves by flight: some in the Towne of *Se-phya*, the rest retired to the Campe before *Bisarthé*. After this good fortune, *Amilcar* pursued those which had gotten into *Se-phya*, the which he tooke at his coming; for the Souldiers that were within it, fled presently to *Tunes*: and from thence running ouer the Province, he tooke diuers Townes, wherof some were won by breach and assault. By this meanes the *Carthaginians*, who before were dejected and without hope, tooke heart, and recovered their ancient courage.

At that time *Matbo* held *Hippone* besieged; and had persuaded *Spendius* and *Autarice*, Captaine of the *Gauls*, to pursue the *Enemy*, and that flying the Plaines, by reason of the multitude of Elephants and Horse-men, they should keepe the foote of the Mountaines, and not to goe farre from them vpon any occasion that should be offered. Moreouer he sends often to the *Numidians* and *Lybians*, soliciting and intreating them to giue him succours, and not to lose so great an opportunity to restore *Affricke* to liberty: *Spendius* then hauing made choice of six thousand old Souldiers out of the Campe which was at *Tunes*, lodged continually neere vnto the *Enemy*, keeping the foote of the Mountaines. Moreouer he had the *Gauls* with him, which were vnder the charge of *Autarice*, to the number of about two thousand men: for the rest of their Troope which was in *Sicily*, had retired to the *Romans* during the siege of *Erix*.

Whilest that *Amilcar* stayed with his Army in a Plaine, wholly surrounded with Mountaines, there came great supplies of *Numidians* and *Africans* to *Spendius*. By this meanes the *Carthaginian* Army was besieged with three Camps. The *Africans* were in front, the *Numidians* vpon their taile, and *Spendius* on the side. *Hannibal* was so much in suspence what counsell hee should take, being thus beset. There was at that time among the *Numidians* a certaine man called *Naraut*, of a noble and auncient extraction, and of a Royall courage. Hee had alwayes bene fauourable vnto the *Carthaginians*, keeping his Fathers

The Policy of
Amilcar.

The Victory of
Amilcar.

Supplies of
Numidians
come to *Spen-*
dus.

Naraut.

affection, and who then had succoured them, for that *Amilcar* was chosen their Captain: Thinking now to have found a good opportunity to purchase their friendship, he marched directly to the Campe, accompanied with about an hundred *Numidians*: being neere vnto it he makes a stand, giving them a signe with his hand that he would parley. *Amilcar* wondering at his great boldnesse, sends an Horse-man vnto him, to whom he sayd, that he was come to speake with the Commander of the Army. And as *Amilcar* stood still in doubt, and could not beleeue him, the *Numidian* leaves his Horse, his Lance, and his Company, and goes directly vnto him without any feare or amazement. The whole Army wondered, and were amazed at this *Numidians* great confidence. Finally, being called to parley, he told him that he had alwayes borne a great affection to the *Carthaginians*, and that he had long desired the Friendship of *Amilcar*. Moreover that he was come to doe him service, and to put himselfe and his estate faithfully into his hands vpon all occasions. *Amilcar* hearing this Speech, was so ioyfull at well for the boldnesse of this young Man, who had presented himselfe so confidently vnto him, as for the plainnesse of his Speech, that he not onely made him Companion of his fortunes, but protested and vowed vnto him to giue him his Daughter, in keeping his faith to the *Carthaginians*. After this discourse *Narans* retired to his men, and within three dayes after returned to *Amilcar* with two thousand men which he had vnder his charge.

The *Carthaginians* being fortified with this troope, *Amilcar* durst fight with the Enemy. *Spendius* likewise supplied with *Numidians* and *Africans*, draws his Army into the Plaine, and without any long stay comes to the Combate, which was cruell. Finally, the *Carthaginians* relying in the multitude of their Elephants, and likewise *Narans* performing his duty well, they had the Victory: *Antarice* and *Spendius* having no more hope, fled. There were ten thousand men slaine, and about foure thousand taken.

After this battell *Amilcar* freed those that would follow the Warre vnder him, and armed them with the Enemies spoyle, telling them that refused, that they should no more carry Armes against the *Carthaginians*, and for all that which they had formerly done they were pardoned. Moreover, that it was lawfull for them to retire into their Countrey, if they thought it good: but if they were found hereafter attempting any enterprise, their punishment was certaine. At the same time the mercenary strangers which kept *Sardinia*, assailed all the *Carthaginians* that were there, after the example of *Spendius* and *Antarice*, and having shut vp Capitaine *Bassare* with his Company into a Fort, they put him to death: *Hanno* was afterwards sent with a new Army, against whom the Strangers conspired with the old Souldiers, and after they had committed great cruelties, they hang'd him. Then fearing to be punished for so great a villany, they slew and straggled all the *Carthaginians* which inhabited *Sardinia*, and tooke all the Townes and Forts, enjoying the Island vntill that a sedition rising betwixt them and the *Sardinians*, they chased them away, and forced them

The Victory of the Carthaginians against Spendius.

A mutiny of mercenary Souldiers in Sardinia. Bassare slaine.

Hanno hang'd on a Crosse.

them to flye into Italy. By this meane the *Carthaginians* lost *Sardinia*, a very great Island, well peopled, and abounding with all commodities: It will not be needfull to relate those things which are approved by that which others have written.

Antarice, *Spendius*, and *Antarice* Chief of the *Gauls*, fearing that this clemency of *Amilcar* in freeing the Prisoners with pardons, would grieve the *Lybians*, and other Souldiers, they laboured to commit some villanous act, to estrange the hearts of their men wholly from the *Carthaginians*. And therefore they assembled them together, where soon after a Post comes with Letters, as if hee had beene suddenly arrived from *Sardinia*, the tenor whereof was, that they should keepe *Gefson* and the other Prisoners carefully: and that there were some in the Campe, who to purchase grace and fauor with the *Carthaginians*, would set them at liberty: *Spendius* hauing found this occasion, first aduised his Companions that they should not regard the deliury of the Prisoners, vnder the colour of *Amilcars* counterfeite clemency: For hee had not freed them for any desire hee had to save them, but to the end that by this meane hee might haue them all, and afterwards punish them in generall. Moreover he gaue them charge to keepe *Gefson* with his Company carefully, that they might not escape through negligence: but if they did otherwise, the Enemies would make no great accompt of them, and withall they should haue great inconueniences in their Warre.

But who will doubt that so excellent a Captaine, and of so great experience in the Warre, will not suddenly become their mortall Enemy, when he shall see escaped by their negligence? Whilest hee was thus speaking, behold another Messenger comes from *Tunes*, bringing them Letters of the same Tenour, the which being Read vnto the Assembly, *Antarice* Commander of the *Gauls* stood vp, saying, that he saw no meanes for their safety, but by taking away all the hope they haue in the *Carthaginians*. For as long as any one hath respect vnto their clemency, he can neuer be a loyall Companion in the War. And therefore we must beleeue, heare, and content vnto the opinion of those, which shall giue aduice to do the worst we can vnto the *Carthaginians*, and to hold such as shall say the contrary for enemies and Traytors. When hee had made an end of this Speech, hee aduised them to put *Gefson* and his company to some cruell death, with all the *Carthaginians* which had bin since taken.

This *Antarice* had great credite in their Assemblies, for that they all vnderstood him, speaking the Punique Language, which at that time was common among the whole Army, by reason of the long War, wherein hee had serued vnder the *Carthaginians*; and therefore his Aduice was easily allowed by the Army, in regard of the fauour hee had among the Souldiers. And although many of eury Nation, walking and conferring together, did not thinke it fit to vse such cruelty, especially agaynst *Gefson*, who had done them so much good, yet they heard nothing of that which they spake, for that they talked among themselves in their Languages. But when as they saw that they did not like of putting the *Carthaginians* to Death, a seditious Man

The Carthaginians loose Sardinia.

Letters from Tunes, to the Maines Camp.

A great indignity.

Gescon with his Company put to death.

A cruell resolution.

who was by chance among them, cryed out with a loud voice, Charge: At which word they were presently beaten downe with stones by the Multitude, so as their Kinmen carried them away soon after, dismembred as if brute Beasts had torne them in peeces.

This done, they take *Gescon*, and the other Prisoners which were to the number of seuen hundred, and led them without the Rampiers, and there beginning with the head, whom a little before they had chosen among all the *Carthaginians*, as the Man which had intreated them best, they cut off all their hands, and Dismembred them, and in breaking their Legs, they cast them thus lying into a Ditch. The *Carthaginians* aduertised of so great a cruelty done vnto their Citizens, knew not what to do, but that which was in them, to be wonderfully incensed, and to lament for the great ignominy of their City, and the misery of their Citizens. Finally, they sent to *Amilcar* and *Hanno*, which were the other Commanders of the Army, intreating them that so great a cruelty done vnto their Citizens, should not remayne unpunished.

Moreover they sent an Embassee to these enemies, to require the bodies to be interred. Who not only refused them, but also forbad them not to send hereafter any Treaters of Peace vnto them, nor Embassies, and if they did it they must expect to indure the like paynes that *Gescon* had suffered: and moreover they had concluded, that as many *Carthaginians* as fell into their hands, should be cruellly slayne: And as for their Allies they should lose their hands; the which afterward they did carefully obserue. Wherefore he that will duly consider these things, may boldly say, that the Bodies of Men, and some of their Vicers, do not onely increase sometimes, but also their hearts much more. Believe that euen as Vicers are inflamed by Medicines, and are impaired if they be applied; and if they make no reckoning of them, they dilate and extend themselves of their nature, and neuer cease vntill the Body be wholly corrupted and rotten, so it many times falls out of the Vices and corruptions of mans minde, so as there is no Beast so cruell or sauage as Man: To whom if thou doest any grace or remission of punishment, or some other good, he growes worse, esteeming all this but Deceite, and wilbe more distrustfull of his Benefactors: And if on the other side thou seekest to resist him, there is nothing so vnreasonable, so cruell, nor so wicked, but he will easily vnder take it, glorifying himselfe in his presumption, vntill his proud Spirit hath past the bounds of Reason. Of which things the beginning and the greatest part, proceeds from the lewd life, and bad breeding of Youth. There are other things which adde much vnto it, and namely the Couetousnes and cruelty of the Captaynes. All which Vices were found at that time in this Army, and especially in the Commanders.

In the meane time *Amilcar* bearing the enemies outrages impatiently, caused *Hanno*, another Captayne Generall for the *Carthaginians* to come vnto him, imagining that when the whole Army were together, the Warre would be the more easily ended. Finally, he caused the enemies which were then taken, or afterwards, to bee cruellly

slayne

slayne, or debaured by Beasts, hoping that the Warre would then haue an end; if he might put them all to Death. As the *Carthaginians* seemed at that time to be in better hope, Fortune suddainly changed, so as their Affaires beganne to impair and grow worse. For as soon as these two Captaynes were ioyned together, they fell into such diffention, as they not onely left pursuing the enemy, but gaue them great occasions of their owne defeat.

Diffention betwixt *Amilcar* and *Hanno*.

For which causes the *Carthaginians* being moued, they sent word that one of them should returne to the City, and that hee which the Souldiers loued best, should remayne in the Campe. They had also another inconuenience: For their great shippes wherewith they brought Corne and other necessaries to the Campe, were in a manner all broken in a storme. Moreover *Sardinia*, from whence they were wont to draw great succours for the affaires of Warre, was lost for them, as we haue layd. And to the end their miseries should be full, the Townes of *Hippona* and *Bisartie*, which alone among all the people of *Affrick* had kept their Faith inuolable to the *Carthaginians*, not only in this War, but in that of *Agathocles*, and in the time of the *Romanes*, revolted then not onely ignominiously from the *Affricanes*, but also shewed them suddainly a wonderfull Affection and Loue: And to the *Carthaginians* an implacable hatred, casting into the Ditches all the *Carthaginians* with their Captaynes, which were there for their Guard, to the number of five hundred, after they had cruellly slayne them: And they deliuered the Towne, and would not render the Bodies to the Citizens of *Carthage* to interre them.

The Townes of *Hippona* and *Bisartie* revolted from the *Carthaginians*.

By this meanes *Spendius* and *Mathagrew* more insolent, and layed siege before *Carthage*. *Amilcar* at that time had *Hannibal* for a companion in his charge, whom the *Carthaginians* sent him, when as the Souldiers left *Hanno*, to whom during the diffention of the Captaynes, the people of *Carthage* left a power to retayne whom they pleased. *Amilcar* accompanied by *Hannibal* and *Naraut*, ouer-ran the whole Province, cutting off the Victuals from the enemy, wherein the *Numidians* *Naraut* did him great seruice. This was the estate of their Campes. The *Carthaginians* being thus oppressed by their enemies, were forced to craue succours from their Allies, to whom at that time *Hierax* of *Saragossa* sent them great assistance, supplying them with whatsoever they demanded: For he was of opinion that the preferuation of the *Carthaginians* was necessary for him, as well for the safety of his estate, as to entertayne the friendship of the *Romanes*; to the end that after the ruine of *Carthage*, they might easily do whatsoever they pleased without contradiction.

The Prudence of *Hierax*.

This was wisely considered of him: For in truth no Man must seeke carelesse of such things, neyther must they suffer any one to grow to so great a power, as he shall haue cause euer after to feare a manifest iniustice. The *Romanes* also bound by the Articles of the peace, did what they could possibly to relieue them. It is true, that in the beginning, there was some diffention for the causes which follow. When the *Carthaginians* were first besieged, they tooke about five hundred Men,

The courtesie
of the Romans
vnto the Car-
thaginians.

Men, who layling from *Italy* for gayne, were taken and put in prison. The people of *Rome* took this in ill part. But when as soone after they had sent an Embassie for this cause, the *Carthaginians* freed them, and intreated them curteously. This was so pleasing vnto the *Romans*, as presently they deliuered all the Prisoners, which they had yet remayning since the Warres of *Sicily*, without Ransome, succouring them still whensoever they required it, and suffered their Merchants to carry them Corne, forbidding them to furnish the enemies Campe with any Victuals. Moreover at such times as the old Souldiers of *Sardinia* reuolted agaynst the *Carthaginians*, they would not giue Audience to their Embassadours, who were sent to deliuer them the Island. A while after they would not receiue the *Bisartins*, who would in like manner haue giuen themselves vnto them: For that they would not in any sort infringe the Articles of the Peace: The *Carthaginians* thus relieved by the succours of their Allies, indured the siege more easily.

Matbo and *Spendius* were no lesse besieged than they did besiege: For *Amilcar* had reduced them to such great want of all things, as they were in the end forced to raise the siege. Soone after they made choysle of the ablest Men of all their bands, to the number of fifty Thousand, and went presently to seeke out *Amilcar*. Moreover they kept not the plains, fearing the Elephants and the Horse men, whereof *Narane* had the Charge, but struing still to gaine the high and inaccessible places: during the which, although they were as strong and hardy as the *Carthaginians*, yet they were often beaten, for that they vnderstood not the practise of Warre. Then they might easily iudge what difference there is betwixt the good conduct of a Captaine, and the ouer-weaning of a Multitude. He separated some and inclosed others by his industry, being forced by their priuate necessity. He also defeated many by Ambushes in full fight. Some times he terrified the enemies, falling vpon them by surprize. All such as were taken aliue, were cast vnto the Beasts.

The extreme
necessity which
preist the stran-
gers Campe.

Finally, he lodged about his enemies to their great disadvantage, and to the benefit of the *Carthaginians*, drawing them into such necessity, as they neither durst come to fight for feare of the Elephants and Horse men, neyther could they safely flye, for that they were enuironed with Ditches and Pallisadoes. Finally, hunger did so preist them as they did eate one another. Behold the reuenge which the gods tooke of them for the cruelties they had committed agaynst their Friends. They came not to fight, both for that the *Carthaginians* were assured of the Victory, and their punishment was certayne. They made no mention of any treaty of peace, for that they knew well there was no hope of Mercy, hauing committed such great cruelties. Finally they indured all miseries, expecting daily succours from *Tunes*. But when they had cruelly eaten vp their Prisoners, and their Seruants, (a kind of liuing which they had long vied) and that no succours came from *Tunes*, they knew not what to resolve, for the extremity of the Famine, and the feare of punishment. Finally, *Antarice*, *Zurxe*, and *Spendius* resolved to parley with *Amilcar*. By this meanes they demanded leave to

Famine makes
them to eate
men.

send Embassadours: The which being granted, the Embassie comes with whom *Amilcar* agrees, that it should be lawfull for the *Carthaginians*, to chuse ten such as they pleased out of their whole Army, and that the rest might retire in their shirts without any harme. The which when they had concluded, *Amilcar* told them, that according to the agreement he made choise of those that were in his presence. By this meanes *Spendius*, *Antarice*, and the other heads of the Army were deliuered vnto him.

When the *Lybians* had newes of the taking of their Captaines, thin-
A king that the *Carthaginians* had broken their Faith, for that they knew not the Articles of the peace, they tooke Armes, fortifying themselves in a Quarter of the Campe: To whom *Amilcar* gaue battell with the Elephants and his whole Army, and slew them all, whereof the number was about forty thousand men. This was neere vnto a place which they call *Serra*, for that it doth resemble an instrument, which at this day is called *Sie*. This done, the *Carthaginians* who before seemed to haue lost all hope, began to assure themselves, and to recover their courage and Spirits. In the meane time *Amilcar* with *Hannibal* and *Narane* ouer-ran the Country, and the Townes of the Prouince, where
B hauing reduced the greatest part of *Affricke* with the Townes, they go and lay siege to *Tunes*, and besiege *Matbo* with all his Company. *Hannibal* lay on that side which lookes to *Carthage*, and *Amilcar* was opposite vnto him: Thither they brought *Spendius* and his Companions, who were hang'd on a Croffe.

Forty thou-
sand men slain
by *Amilcar*.

Matbo seeing that *Hannibal* made his retreat but badly, and without order, did not thinke it fit to lose this occasion. Wherefore he presently gaue a charge, and slew part, the rest flying away. Finally hee spoyld the Campe and all the Baggage. *Hannibal* himselfe was taken, whom presently they crucified in the place of *Spendius*, after they had done him a thousand indignities. Moreover they slew thirty Gentle-
C men of *Carthage*, about the body of *Spendius* most cruelly, by a power given them by Fortune for a mutuall reuenge. *Amilcar* was not soone enough aduertised of the enemies sally, by reason of the distance of the two Campes, neyther was it in his owne power to relieue them, in regard of the difficulty of the places. Wherefore leauing *Tunes*, and leading his Army to the River of *Machera*, he lodged vpon the banks at the mouth of it.

A defeat of the
Carthaginians
by *Matbo*.

Hannibal cruci-
fied.

The *Carthaginians* hauing newes of this defeat, began againe to haue a bad conceite of their Warre: But they presently resumed courage, vsing all possible diligence for the preservation of the City. They sent an Embassie to *Amilcar* of thirty Senators, with a leuy of young men vnder the Command of that *Hanno*, who formerly had bene the Generall. They giue these Senators charge, to deale so with the two Captaines, as their priuate hatred might be smothered and suppressed, and that they should force them to manage this Warre by their common Counsell, in laying before them the miseries of the time and the present necessity. After that the Senators had drawne these two Captaines together, and vsed diuers speeches vnto them, in the

Reconciliation
of Amilcar and
Hanno.

Assignment of
a Battell.

A Battell won
by the Carthagi-
nians.

and they perswade them to pardon one another, and to obey the Carthaginians. By this means all the Affaires were governed by a common Council, so as when as *Matbo* was reduced to a strait, after many encounters, Ambushes, and pursuits which they had layd for him neere to the Towne of *Lepis*, and in other places, in the end they appointed a set day of battell with the enemy: to the which both Armies prepared with Resolution. So they called their Allies, and drew men from all parts, euen vn furnishing their Townes of Garrisons, as if by this battell they should decide all their affaires. When as all things necessary for the fight were ready on eyther side, they ioyned vpon the day appointed. The battell was cruell, but in the end the Carthaginians had the Victory. The greatest part of the enemies were slaine in fighting: The rest which retired to the next Towne, yeilded soone after to the Carthaginians. In regard of *Matbo* he was taken aliue. They only of *Bisartbe* and *Hippena* finding themselves guilty, and hauing no hope of pardon and Mercy, continued obstinate in their Rebellion. See how a reasonable contentment hath power in all things, and how much better it is, not to affect and seeke a thing, which afterwards is intolerable to another.

Finally after that *Amilcar* and *Hanno* began to approach neere vnto them, they had no more hope, but were forced to yeild vpon such conditions as pleased the Carthaginians. Thus ended the Warre of *Africke*, but so happily for the Carthaginians, as they not only recovered *Africke*, but punished all the Heads of the Rebellion according to their merites. Thus *Matbo* and all the other Prisoners, were led in Triumph through the City by the Youth of *Carthage*, and in the end punished for their Villanies. This Warre continued neere three yeares and foure moneths, the most cruell and inhumane that euer was heard spoken of.

Note the In-
fluence of the Ro-
mans.

The *Romanes* at that time solicited by the Souldiers which were retired out of *Sardinia* vnto them, prepared to vndertake the Voyage. And when as the Carthaginians were discontented, saying that the Island belonged vnto them, and prepared an Army to send thither, the *Romanes* laying hold of this occasion, signified Warre vnto them, complayning that this preparation of an Army was not so much for *Sardinia* as against them. But the Carthaginians yeilding to the time, vnderstanding well their owne weaknesse, to renew a Warre against the *Romanes*, indeauoured to auoide all occasions, so as they left the Island vnto them. And moreover they paid vnto the *Romanes* leauen hundred thousand Crownes to redeeme the Warre. Thus matters past at that time.

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



As he haue related in the First Booke, at what time the *Romanes* began to invade *Fortaine Nations*, after they had pacified *Italy*: And how they past into *Sicily*, and the causes why they made Warre against the Carthaginians: A: what time also they began first to put an Army to Sea, and Summarily all the Affaires which hapned to the end of this Warre, to the one or the other: In the which finally the Carthaginians abandoned *Sicily*, whereof the *Romanes* were absolute Lords, except those places which *Hieron* King of *Saragoffe* held. Wee haue subsequently set downe, how after the Muriny raised betwixt the Carthaginians and their Souldiers, the Warre was kindled, which they call *Africaine*: And what extremity and incredible cruelty was vsed, and what the end was. Now we will indeauour to write in few Words the accidents which hapned since, touching euery thing as we haue propounded in the beginning.

After that the Carthaginians had reduced *Africke* to their obedience, they sent *Amilcar* presently into *Spaine* with an Army, who (parting with all his Troupes, and hauing his Soane *Hannibal* with him, about nine yeares of age) past beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and recovered a great part of *Spaine*. Where staying about nine yeares, conquering many Townes by force, and others by composition, to haue their liues and goods safe, hee dyed a Death worthy of his actions.

actions. For when he had made Warre against couragious and powerfull people, he dyed after hee had exposed himselfe to all dangers, with great assurance, and the admiration of all the World. After this the *Carthaginians* made *Asdrubal* kinsman to *Amilcar*, (who had commanded the *Triverni*) Generall of their Army: At which time the *Romanes* passed to *Sclauonia*, and to that part of *Europe* with an Army. They which desire to vnderstand truly our Discourse, with the beginning and increase of the *Romane* power, must diligently observe it. This Voyage by Sea, was vnderaken for the causes which here follow.

Asdrubal made
Generall.

Agron King of
Sclauonia.

Demetrius Father
to *Philip*.

Agron King of *Sclauonia*, was the Sonne of *Plurast*. This King drew to field more foote and Horse, than any that had reigned before him in *Sclauonia*. It is true, that he was corrupted with money, at the perswasion of *Demetrius* Father to *Philip*, so as he succour'd the *Midionians*, whom the *Etolians* held besieged. You must vnderstand, that when the *Etolians* saw that they could not draw the *Midionians* to liue according to their Lawes, they began to make Warre against them, laying siege to diuers places, and doing what they possibly could to take the City. And as in the meane time the day of the assembly was come, wherein they were to chuse another Captaine of the Army, and that the besieged were growne so weake, as they seemed to haue no other thoughts but of yielding, he which at that time was Generall, came vnto the *Etolians*, and let them vnderstand that it was reasonable, that he who had indured so great paines, and exposed himselfe to so many dangers during the Warre, should haue the booty and spoile of the enemies if they were vanquished. There were many, euen of those which had any colour to attaine vnto that charge, who discontented with this kind of demaund, intreated the multitude not to determine any thing, but to leaue the booty to him to whom Fortune should giue it. Finally the *Etolians* decreed that whosoever should winne the Towne, he should share a moiety of all the Booty, Riches, and Armes, with him who formerly had bene the Commandeur.

While matters stood on these termes, and that within three dayes after the Assembly was to meete (where according to the Custome of the *Etolians*, the last Commandeur was to be Deposed, and a new chosē) there arrived in the night about a hundred ships neere to *Midonia*, with ten thousand men of *Sclauonia*: Who after they had recovered the Port, and the day began to breake, they landed in haste and by stealth, and then they marched in battell after their manner against the *Etolians* Army. And although the *Etolians* being aduertised of their coming, were at the first amazed at this newes, and the boldnesse of the *Sclauonians*: Yet having great spirits and courage, relying also in their Forces, they drew out before their Campe, the greatest part of their Horse and Armed men, and placed vpon some passages, which were not farre from the Camp, some Horses and such as were lightly Armed. The which were charged and broken by the *Sclauonians*, as well by reason of the multitude of their

Successors from
Sclauonia to
the *Midionians*.

Souldiers,

Souldiers, as for that the middest of their battell was strongly fortified. In regard of the Horse men, they were forced to flye shamefully vnto their Campe: From thence thorough the aduantage of the place, they marcht speedily against those which kept the Plaine, whom they charged and put presently to flight. The *Midionians* fully forth, and pursue them; so as there was a great slaughter of the *Etolians*, and many Prisoners, with the spoile of all their baggage, hauing found no resistance. When as the *Sclauonians* had performed their Kings Command, and shipt all their baggage and booty, they set sayle and A retire to their houses.

A defense of
the *Etolians* by
the *Sclauonians*

The *Midionians* also being thus preferred contrary to their hope, they assembled, and held a Councell among themselves, as well for other affaires, as for the diuision of the booty taken from the Enemy, and of their Armes, to deuide them in common, by an example taken of him who had bene Chiefe of the *Etolians*, and of those which according to the decree of the *Etolians*, should succeed him: as if Fortune had done it willingly, to make the world know her force by the misfortune of the others. In truth, these in a short time made their Enemies to feeble the miseries which they themselves expected suddenly. The *Etolians* after this misery serued for an example to the world, not to hold future things as already done, nor to put their hope in things which may succeed otherwise: And that wee must alwayes reserue some part in things which may happen contrary to our hope, as well as in all other actions, (seeing we are men) as in the affaires of Warre.

When as the victorious ships were arrived, King *Agron* transported with incredible ioy for the exploits of his men, hauing vanquished the *Etolians*, relying much vpon their forces; he gaue himselfe so to banqueting in the night, and to a foolish delight of drinking and watching, as hee fell into a Pleurisie, the which grew so violent, as hee died within few dayes after. After whose death his Wife *Teuca* reigned, governing the Realme by the counsell and aduice of her Friends. But afterwards shee followed her womanish affections, hauing no care but of this prosperity, nor any regard to forreigne affaires: suffering all those that would goe to Sea, to spoile all passengers. Shee also raised a great Army at Sea, letting the Captaines vnderstand, that the Countrey which was right against hers, was Enemy vnto her: Who at the first assailed the *Ebenes* and *Messenians*, whom the *Sclauonians* spoiled often. But for that there is a large Sea, and that the Townes of those Regions were all vpon the firme Land; they could not easily prevent the *Sclauonians* courses: and therefore they did spoile and ruine the Countrey without any obstacle. And as at the same time they sayled to *Epirus* to fetch victuals, they came to *Phenice*, where there were about eight hundred *Gauls*, entertained by the *Epirotes* to guard the Towne. Here they landed and parled with them to deliuer it, whereunto they yielded: so as they tooke it, and all that was within it by the helpe of the *Gauls*.

The death of
King *Agron*.

Queene *Teuca*.

Phenice taken
by the *Sclauonians*.

When the *Epirotes* had the newes, they came presently to succour them with all their people, and lodged vpon the banks of a neere Riuer.

Then they took away the planks of the Bridge, to be free from the danger of those which kept the Towne. In the meane time they were advertised, that *Scerdilaide* came by Land with five thousand men, by the Straights of *Antigonis*. Wherefore they divided their Army in two, whereof the one went to guard the passages of *Antigonis*, and the other remained in the Campeidley and negligently, consuming what was in that Countrey without feare, and dildaying to keepe any watch or guard. The *Sclauonians* within the Town advertised of the separation of the Army, and of the negligence of the Enemy, got forth at mid-night, and lay planks vpon the Bridge. So crossing the River, A they gaine a place strong by Nature, where they passe the remainder of the Night without any noise. At the break of day either side were in battell, and the fight began. The *Sclauonians* got the Victory: so as few *Epirotes* escaped, the rest being taken or slaine.

The Victory
of the *Sclauoni-
ans* against the
Epirotes.

The *Epirotes* seeing themselves involved with so many miseries, and out of all hope, they sent an Embassie to the *Etolians* and *Acheins*, craving Succours from them; who having compassion of their afflictions, & desiring to relieue them, marcht to *Helicrane*: whither the *Sclauonians* (who as we haue sayd had taken the Towne of *Phenice*, being ioy-
ned to *Scerdilaide*) came and lodged neere vnto them, desiring battell. B But the difficulty of the places kept them asunder: together with their *Queenes* letters, who commurnded them to make no longer stay, but to returne, for that some Townes of *Sclauonia* had revolted to the *Dardaniens*. Wherefore after they had spoiled the whole Prouince, they made a truce with the *Epirotes*: by the which they yielded the Citizens and the City, but carried away all the slaues and pillage in their ships. Thus one part retired by Sea, and the other by Land by the streights of *Antigonis*, leauing a wonderfull feare in the Sea-townes of *Greece*. Without doubt when they considered, that so strong and powerfull a Towne of the *Epirotes* had bene spoil'd, contrary to all ex-
pectance, they were not onely in feare (as formerly) for the Coun-
trei, but also for themselves and their Townes.

After that the *Epirotes* had ended their Affaires farre better than they expected, they were so farre from taking revenge of the wrongs which they had received, or to thanke those which had assisted them, as they presently sent an Embassie to *Queene Teuca*, and made a league with the *Arcadians* and *Sclauonians*. Wherefore fol-
lowing after that time the party of the *Ilirians*, they became Enemies to the *Acheins* and *Etolians*. Wherein they were not only ingrate and vnthankfull to their Benefactors, but also they had bene very ill
counselled from the beginning of their affaires. And where as many
(like men) fall sometimes by the hazard of Fortune into great aduersities and miseries, it happens not so much by their owne fault, as by that of Fortune, or by such as are the procurers: But when as men seeke their misfortune by their owne indiscretion, their fault is euident. And there-
fore when we see some great disaster and aduersity befall some men by Fortune, we doe not onely pity them, but relieue them to our pow-
er: whereas we blame, condemne, and hate those whom we know to
haue

A reprehensi-
on of the *Epi-
rotes*.

haue bene the cause of their owne misfortunes by indiscretion and malice. The which the *Grecians* might at that time do with reason vnto the *Epirotes*.

But what man is so confident, which hauing no feare of the common fame of the *Gauls* inconstancy, would haue dared to commit so noble a City vnto their charge, who had so many reasons to doubt of their faith, being banished out of their Countrey, for that they had falsified their faith with their owne Nation: and who afterwards being re-
quired by the *Carthaginians*, at such time as they had Warre with the
A *Romans*, and bearing a bruite of the rebulke of mercenary Souldiers for pay which they had pretended was due vnto them, began first to
spoil *Agragus*, whereof they had the Guard, being about a thousand men. Afterwards they were put in Garrison into *Erix* by the *Car-
thaginians*: in which they would haue betrayed whilst the *Romans* besieged it. The which notable to effe, they retired to the *Romans*,
who received them: After which they spoiled the Temple of *Venus* at
Erixina.

Some *Gauls*
banished their
Countrey for
their disloyal-
ty.

When as the *Romans* saw the treachery and falsehood of these
Barbarians, hauing concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, they
disarmed them, and shipped them away, chasing them out of all Italy.
B These are the men whom the *Epirotes* made the Guardians of their
Lawes and Common wealth, to whom they intrusted to faile and
rich a City: Who will not then blame them? Who will not say but
they haue bene the cause of their owne miseries? Without doubt
it is a great folly and indiscretion to entertaine forces, especially of Bar-
barous men; and to put them into a Towne where they may bee
the stronger, or more in number than the Citizens. But wee haue
spoken sufficiently of the *Epirotes* folly.

The *Sclauonians* before, and many times spoiled such as saild from
Italy and *Phenicia*, seeing that of late dayes they inhabited there,
C who separating themselves sometimes from the Army at Sea, spoiled
many Italian Merchants, or slew them. They had also carried a-
way a good number of Prisoners. When this had bene often com-
plained of to the Senate, they made no accompt thereof: Yet in the
end, they sent into *Sclauonia*, *Caius* and *Lucius Cornelianus* in Em-
bassie, when as the complaints of many came vnto them concerning
the outrages of the *Ilirians*.

VWhen the ships were returned from *Phenicia* in safety, *Teuca*
(wondering at the beauty and greatnesse of the soyle) had a great
D and longing desire to make Warre against the *Grecians*; for in truth,
it was the richest Towne of all *Epirus*: But for that her Countrey
was then in Combustion, shee could not attempt it. Moreover,
after shee had pacified *Sclauonia*, and at such time as shee held *Issa*
besieged, which had alwayes continued firme, the *Romans* Em-
bassie arrived, who hauing a day of audience appointed them by the
Queene, they made knowne vnto her the outrages her men had
done them. The *Queene* gaue care vnto them with great pride and arro-
gancy.

The *Ilirians*
are *Sclauoni-
ans*.

The *Romans*
Em-bassie to
Teuca *Queene*
of *Sclauonia*.

After

After they had delivered their charge the made answer, that the would take order, that her Subjects should not make open War against them; but it was not the custome of Kings to prohibit their private Subjects to make what profit they could at Sea. At which words they onest of the Embassadors made a bold and courageous answer, but in bad season. And therefore layd he, *Madame, it is the custome of the Romans to take a publicke revenge for private wrongs, and to relieve the afflicted: So as if it please God, wee will take such order, that hereafter you shall not be much troubled to reforme this kinde of royall customes.* The Queene an over-weening woman, grew into such a rage, as neglecting the right of Nations, she sent men at the returne of the Embassadors, to kill the youngest who had vied this Speech.

The Romans being aduertised of this great affront, prepared presently to Warre, killed men, and made a good number of Vessels: Finally they prepared all things necessary to take revenge of so great a crime. In the meane time the Queene sent in the Spring a greater number of ships into Greece than formerly: whereof one part saild to Corfu, and the other bent their course to the Port of Duraço. Where making a shew to refresh themselves with water and victuals, they refused to take the Towne. They of Duraço being confident, and fearing nothing, suffered them to enter without Armes, vnder colour of water and victuals; although their true intent was to take the Towne by Treason. But when they saw themselves within the Towne, they took their Armes which they had hid in their vessels for water, and killing the Guards at the Gate, made themselves Maisters thereof. Those in the ships being ready, entred in like manner, and seized vpon a great part of the Walles. And although that they of the Towne were much amazed at this great and suddaine accident, yet they made a long resistance, defending themselves valiantly; so as the Sclauonians were forced to retire. By this meanes it happened, that the Duraçons who were in danger to lose themselves and their City by their negligence, after they had escaped the perill by their vertue, did afterwards settle a better order in their affaires.

The Sclauonian Captaines weighed Anchor presently, and put to Sea, ioyning with those, who, as wee have layd, went to Corfu, and made halfe ioynntly to besiege the Towne. They of Corfu being thus suddenly surprized, and not finding themselves strong enough, sent to craue aide from the Achens and Epiotens; the like they did to them of Apollonia and Duraço: intreating them not to suffer them to bee thus shamefully chased away from their naturall Countrey by the Barbarians; who hauing pity of their fortune, armed ten ships of Warre of the Achens, and within few dayes after sayled to Corfu, hoping to raise the Barbarians siege at their coming: But the Ilirians hauing recovered seven Vessels armed from the Acarnanians, with whom they had made a league, marched against the Achens, whom they encountred neere vnto the Islands which they call Paxes, and there they fought. The Acarnanians and the Achens ships fought equally, and continued long firme, only their men were wounded.

But

But the Ilirians interlaced themselves with their Enemies, who were tied foure together, and cruciuning them, they hindred them much: Then the Enemies Vessels were much troubled, being peirced and grappled withall, their Spurs being fastned to the Sclauonians Vessels: who entred them with fury, and vanquished them easily by reason of their multitude. By this meanes foure Quadrimemes of the Achens were taken by the Ilirians, and one Quinquere me funke, and all that was in it: In the which was Marcus Caryneus, a man of great esteeme among the Achens, who had alwayes performed his duty well for the Countrey. But when as they which fought against the Acarnanians, saw that the Ilirians had the Victory, they fled, relying much in the lightnesse of their Vessels: And saved themselves from the Battell, retiring to their houles. The Sclauonians growing proud of this Victory, besieged the Towne more boldly than they had done. They of Corfu hauing no more hope, after they had maintained the siege for a season, Corfu yielded. in the end yielded it to the Ilirians, receiuing their Garrison, and Demetrius of Pharos their Captaine. After which the Ilirian Capraines returned to Duraço, and besiedged it.

In the meane time the Roman Consuls, Caius Fuluius with an Army at Sea of two hundred ships, and Lucius Posthumus with the Army at Land, parted from Rome: So as Lucius came to Corfu, thinking that the siege had continued still. But when hee saw that hee came too late, for that the Ilirians were within, hee resolved to pishon, as well to vnderstand what had beene done, as to try what Opinion they had of Demetrius: And for that he had vnderstood that his Enemies had brought him in disgrace with the Queene, and that hee feared her fury, he had sent men to Rome, to promise them the Towne, and whatsoever he held. They at Corfu being ioyfull at the Romans arruall, delivered vnto them (by the consent of Demetrius) the Towne and the Ilirian Garrison. Finally, they put themselves vnder their protection, hoping that by this meanes they should bee no more subiect to the outrages of the Ilirians. When the Romans had receiued them into league, they sayled to Apollonia, whither Demetrius guided them. As the same time Lucius Posthumus caused his Land-army to imbarke at Brundisium, being about twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand Horse, all which met at Apollonia; the which being yielded, they sayled to Duraço, for that they had newes the Ilirians had besieged it: who being aduertised of the Romans coming, they raised the siege for feare, and fled here and there.

When the Romans had receiued them of Duraço into friendship, they sayled on into Sclauonia, taking many Townes in their way, and shurvd the Sardians. In the meane time there came an Embassie from Parthenia to the Romans, giving themselves and their City vnto them. Who being receiued with the Antianes, they took their way to Ise, hauing vnderstood that the Ilirians held it besieged, where they entred after they had raised the siege: After which they tooke many Townes in Sclauonia by force; wherein they lost not only many Souldiers, but also some of their Tribunes, with the Questor neere

K

vnto

A bold answer
of an Ambassa-
dour.Duraço surpris-
ed by the Sclauo-
nians.Corfu besieged
by the Sclauonians.A Victory of
the Sclauonians
against the
Achens.Corfu yielded
to the Romans.Apollonia yield-
ed to the Ro-
mans.Parthenia yield-
ed to the Ro-
mans.

vato Nutria. They tooke twenty of the *Ilirian* shippes, which serued them to victuall their Campe. In regard of those which were within *Ise*, they were all deteared, and fled to *Narente*, except those which were of *Pharos*, which were giuen to *Demetrius*. Queene *Tenca* with a small company retired to *Rhyzon*, a strong Towne, and farre distant from the Sea, seated vpon the Bankes of the Riuer of *Rhyzon*.

When the Consuls had put many Townes and great *Seignuries* into the hands of *Demetrius*, they returned to *Duraço*, with their Armies both at Sea and Land. From thence *Caius Fulvius* returned to *Rome* with the greatest part of both Armies. But *Posthumus* stayed at *Duraço*, whereas he rigged forty Vessels, and after hee had leuiued men in the neighbour Countries, he settled his Garrisons, hauing in his company the *Ardieses*, and all the rest that were allied to the *Romans*. When the Spring came, *Tenca* sent an Embassie to the *Romans* to treat a peace, the which in the end shee obtained vpon these conditions. That shee should pay them a yeerely tribute, and that shee should leaue all *Sclauonia*, except some petty places: And as for that which concerns the *Grecians*, shee might not sayle beyond *Ise*, but onely with two shippes without any furniture of Warre. During these actions *Posthumus* sent an Embassie to the *Cheins* and *Eroliens*, to aduertise them of the cause of the Warre, and of the *Romans* voyage by Sea: And to let them vnderstand what they had done, and to reade the condition of the peace. Who after they had obeyed the Consuls commaund, and had bene well received by these two people, they returned againe to *Cosue*; the Citie of *Greece* being then freed from feare by this accord made with the *Ilirians*. For in those times the *Ilirians* did not assault any one in particular, but all the world in generall. These are the causes for the which the *Romans* past first with an Army into *Sclauonia*, and into that Countrey of *Europe*. Since they sent an Embassie to *Corinth*, and to the *Atheniens*, at such time as the *Corinthians* desired to make the *Romans* partakers of the Warre, which they made against them of the *Isthmus*.

At that time *Asdrubal* (for here wee formerly left our discourse of the affaires of *Spaine*) had by his great vertues much increased the *Carthaginians* Empire in *Spaine*, and built a Towne which some called *Carthagena*, others *Villanova*, most commodious by reason of its situation, as well for the affaires of *Spaine* as of *Affricke*. Of whose situation, and of the benefit it may bring to the two Provinces, we will speake in another place when it shalbe fitting. The *Romans* seeing the *Carthaginians* forces growne thus powerfull in *Spaine*, did not hold it fit to let things passe in this manner: But acknowledging their negligence suffered for that formerly like menasleepe, they had by their owne weakness suffered the *Carthaginians* name to grow great there, they resolved to repaire this error: Yet they durst not begin a Warre, fearing a descent of the *Gauls*, whose fury they apprehended much. And therefore they resolved to treat first with *Asdrubal* touching *Spaine*, and then to assaile the *Gauls*: And whatsoeuer should happen to vndergoe

An accord made with *Tenca*.

Carthagena built in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginians*.

vndergoe the danger, in holding it for certaine, that it was not possible for them, to be Lords of *Italy*, nor to keepe their owne Countrey and houses, vntill they had subdued the *Gauls*. Thus they sent an Embassie into *Spaine* to *Asdrubal*, who concluded a treaty of peace: By the which among other things it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* should not passe the Riuer of *Ebro* with an Army, and that they might ouer-runne the rest of *Spaine*. Presently after the conclusion of this treaty, they prepared for Warre in *Italy* against the *Gauls*: the which wee haue thought good to relate summarily, to the end that as wee haue proposed the preparation for the other, Histories may be more manifest. Wee will looke backe vnto the time when as the *Gauls* seized first vpon *Italy*. For in my Opinion the History will not onely be pleasant, and worthy of memory, but most necessary to vnderstand with what people afterwards, and in what Countries *Hannibal* trusting himselfe, durst assaile the *Roman* Empire. And first wee will speake of their Prouince, what situation, and what proportion it hath to the rest of *Italy*. For by this meanes they may the better vnderstand the things which concerne the knowledge of the History, in declaring first the property of places and Countries.

All *Italy* is of a triangular forme. That side which lookes towards the East, is confined by the *Ionian* Sea, and the *Adriatique* Gulfe: and that which tends towards the South and West, is inclosed by the Seas of *Italy* and *Sicily*. These two sides ioyned together make the point of the Triangle: Where in front lies the Promontory, which the people of the Countrey call *Cocynthe*, and hath its aspect to the South, deuiding the *Ionian* Sea from the *Sicilian*. The third side, which tends to the *Pole Artique*, and to the firme land, is limited by the continuation of the *Alps*, the which beginning at *Marseilles*, and in those Countries which are about the *Sardinian* Sea, continue vnto the shore of the *Adriatique* Sea, leaving some little space betwixt both. Within on this side which wee meane to bee bounded by the *Alps*, and is as it were the Basis or foundation of the Triangle, there are from the Southerne Countrey, tending towards the North, Plaines which make the end of *Italy*, and are the greatest and the most fertile in all *Europe*: whose figure is likewise Triangular.

The *Appenin* Hill, and the *Alps* ioyned together make a point of the Triangle, nere vnto the *Sardinian* Sea, and about *Marseilles*. That side which lookes to the North is made by the *Alps*, whereof the extent is two thousand, two hundred Furlongs. That side which hath its aspect to the South, is bounded by the *Appenin* Hill, the which hath three thousand and three score Furlongs in length. The shore of the *Adriatique* Sea holds the fashion of the foundation of the whole figure, whereof the greatest (which begins at the Towne of *Senegaille*, vnto the Gulfe of the same Sea) hath two thousand five hundred Furlongs in compass.

By this meanes the Circuite of the whole Plaine containeth tenne thousand Furlongs in compass. It is not in my power to describe

A treaty made betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

A description of *Italy*.

The fertility
of Ital.
About three
pence.

describe the great fertility of the Country, so much it abounds in all sorts of Fruits, that many times a Bushell of Wheate, after the measure of *Sicily*, hath bene sold in our times for two Souls, and foure Deneers: That of Barley for foureteene Deneers, and a Vessell of wine for almost. Moreouer it is not credible the abundance of Mill and Panique, which they call Indian Oarmeal. There is also a great abundance of Akornes, which come from the Forrests which are in diuers parts of that Region: Considering that the *Italians* breed an infinite number of Swine, to Sacrifice, and for their vse and necessary prouision of an Army; the which the Fertility of this Country doth supply abundantly.

A price hard to
be credited.

It is easie to conceiue that the abundance of other particular things necessary for the vse of Man, is great: Considering that when as Guests come vnto their Innes, they neuer make a particular price for the things they take, as they do in o'ther Countries, but onely what euery Man is to pay for his share. When as the Guests had bene honestly intreated, and haue had whatsoever was necessary for their refection, they neuer payd about halfe an Assaie, which is worth three-halfe-pence, they seldome exceed this price. Moreouer it is very well peopled; the Men are active, goodly, and strong for the Warre, the which is more easie to be knowne by their Actions, than by that which can be spoken. The *Gauls* whom they call *Transalpins* inhabite the Mountainous places on either side the *Alpes* towards the *Rhone* and the North. And on the side of the plaines dwell the *Turinosis*, and the *Agoniens*, and many other Barbarous Nations, which are of the same Race with the *Transalpins*, and differ only in their Habitation: The other are called *Transalpins* because they dwell beyond the Mountaines. As for the top of the Mountaines, it is so farre from being inhabited, as they do not find so much as the track of a man, both by reason of the difficulty and vneasinesse, as for that it is alwayes covered with Snow, and full of Ice.

The *Genouois*.

But the *Genouois* dwell about *Marsilles*, where as the *Appenin* Hill begins to ioyne with the *Alpes*. Moreouer they hold all that Coast which lookes to the Champion Country, and to the Sea of *Italy*: So as along the Sea they hold all vnto the Towne of *Pisa*, which is the first City of *Italy*, towards the West, and towards the firme Land to *Aretzo*. Next to the *Genouois* come the *Italians*, and of eyther side of the *Appenine* Hill lye the *Fimbrians*. Then the *Appenin* Hill being distant about three score and three miles from the *Adriatique* Sea, leaving the Plaine, bends to the right hand, and in crossing *Italy*, extends it selfe to the Sea of *Sicily*. The Country which is betwixt it and the *Adriatique* Sea, extends vnto *Senegalle*.

The *Poe*.

The River of *Poe*, which the Poets call *Eridanus*, and which begins at the Foot of the Mountaines, where as they make in a manner a point of the Triangle (as we haue sayd) takes his course to the plaine towards the South, and from thence bending towards the East, it enters by two mouthes into the *Adriatique* Sea. It is the greatest of all the rivers of *Italy*. For all the waters which descend from the *Alpes* and

and the *Appenins*, fall into the *Poe*. It is farre greater in Summer than in Winter, by reason of the abundance of Snow which melts. It is nauigable from a place which the people of the Country call *Volane*, two hundred and fifty miles towards the *Alpes*. Its spring is but a small Riulet; but after it diuides it selfe in two, and enters into the *Adriatique* Sea by two Armes, which they of the Country call *Padoua* and *Volane*. The last is the safest Port of all those of the *Adriatique* Sea.

Volane.

Padoua.

They which dwell vpon the *Poe*, haue sometimes called it *Bodencus*. Finally, the *Grecians* spake many things of this *Poe*, as that *Phaeton* gouerning the Horses of his Fathers Chariott, fell into it: and how that the *Heliades* powre forth teares continually, the which are preserved by a Tree: and that the people of the Country since that day began to weare blacke Robes in signe of mourning, and haue alwayes vied it since; with many other things, whereof I will now to leaue to speake, for that in my Opinion they doe not conduce to the preparation of our Works. Hereafter notwithstanding we will treat of them, when any necessary occasion shall be offered: being most certaine that *Timens* did not vnderstand those things which did concerne this Region.

The *Tyrreins* haue formerly held all the Champion Country, which is confined by the *Appenine* hill, and the *Adriatique* Sea, at what time also they enioyed the Country called *Phlegreum*, which is about *Capoue* and *Nola*: at what time also they purchased a greate esteeme of vertue. Wherefore Historiographers must not attribute the power of the *Tyrreins* to the Region which they now inhabite. The *Gauls* frequented much with them, by reason of their neighbour-hood: who moued with the beauty and fertility of the Country, vpon a small occasion made Warre against them, and hauing chased them away, settled themselves there. The Country betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*, is inhabited by the *Lages*, then by the *Percellains*. Neere vnto whom are the *Milanois* in great numbers, and vpon the banks of *Poe* lye the *Cenomans*. In regard of those places which are neere vnto the *Adriatique* Sea, they are inhabited by people, which are anciently descended from *Paphlagonia*, whom they call *Veneriens*, who differ nothing from the *Gauls* in their manner of liuing and habite, but onely in their tongues: Of whom the tragical Poets write many strange fables. Moreouer, that which lies betwixt the *Appenin* Hill and the *Poe*, is at its entry inhabited by the *Ananes*, by the *Boloniens*, and the *Eganes*, and then by the *Senogallois*: These are they who (borderers to all the rest) haue inhabited neere vnto the *Adriatique* Sea.

The *Percellains*
come from
Paphlagonia.

Behold the principall Nations of all the *Gauls* which dwell in *Italy*, liuing in Villages without any inclosure, hauing no furniture for their houses, but lay vpon the bare. They liued of flesh, and made no profession but of Warre and Tillage, leading a simple life without Arts or Sciences. Their wealth was in Gold and Catell, for that they were things easie to transport where they pleased, when necessity pressed them. They did all strue to purchase Friends, for they much

The *Gauls*
manner of
liuing.

esteemed a man that was honoured by many. In the beginning they not only held this Country, but they also drew vnto them a great part of their Neighbours, being terrified with their fury.

Rome taken by
the Gauls.

Soone after making Warre against the *Romanes*, they defeated them with their Allies, and put them shamefully to flight. Within three dayes after they tooke *Rome* except the Capitoll, and afterwards returned to their houses, hauing concluded a Peace with them, and restored their City: For that they were forced to returne, by reason of the inuasions which the *Venetians* made into their Country. From thenceforth they began to make Warre amongst themselves: For they which dwelt at the Foote of the Mountaines, seeing the others to increate daily in power, made Warre often against them. In the meane time, the *Romanes* recouering their Forces, preuailed over the *Latins*.

The Gauls re-
turne against
the *Romanes*.

Thirty yeares after the taking of *Rome*, the *Gauls* returned with a great Army to *Alba*: But for that the *Romanes* were surprized, and had no leisure to Levy an Army, nor to require succours from their Allies, they made no resistance against them. And when as they returned twelue yeares after, the *Romanes* being presently aduertised of their coming, and drawing together the succours of their Allies, marcht with great courage to encounter them with an Army, desiring nothing more than Battell, by the meanes whereof they should soone decide who should haue the Empire. The *Gauls* amazed at their Resolution, and withall there falling a mutiny amongst them, they made their Retreat little lesse than a flight, and so continued thirteene yeares without making Warre.

But when they saw the *Romanes* power increase daily, they beganne to treat of Peace, the which they obayned, and continued thirty yeares without Warre. The *Transalpins* renewed the Warre against them. Wherefore fearing to be assailed on two sides, they intreated them, that for asmuch as they were of one Nation they would not be their enemies. Moreover they sent them rich presents, intreating them to turne the Warre against the *Romanes*, and that they would assist them with all their means: Whereunto being easily periwaded, they marcht all with one consent against the *Romanes* by *Tuscany* (for a great number of the *Tuscans* held for them) and hauing made a great spoile, they retired out of the *Roman* Prouinces to their owne Houses without losse. Where as there fell out a great debate vpon the deuision of this great booty, so as they not only lost a great part of their booty, but also the best part of their Empire: the which doth vially happen to the *Gauls*, by reason of their gormondize and drunkenesse. Fourte yeares after ioyning with the *Sannites* they assailed the *Romanes*, of whom they made a great slaughter, in the Region of the *Camertins*. Some few dayes after they assailed them againe, and had a Battell nere vnto the Country of the *Seminates*, where they gaue them a great defeat, and forced the rest to recouer their Houses.

Pillage made
by the *Gauls*
vpon the *Romanes*.

Diuers victo-
ries of the *Gauls*
against the
Romanes.

Ten yeares after they made a great assembly of men of Warre, and descending into *Tuscany* they besieged *Arezo*. The *Romanes* coming to succour the *Arezins*, fought nere vnto the Towne, and lost the battell,

Battell with the Consul *Lucius*: In whose place they did choose *Marcius Curius*, who presently sent an Embassie into *Gaul*, to retire the prisoners, who at his coming was slaine by them, contrary to the Law of Nations.

The *Romanes* incensed at so wicked an Act, made a new Levy of men, and resolved to enter the *Gauls* Country. But they had not done any great matter, when as the *Senogallois* went to encounter them; whom the *Romanes* charged, and slew the greatest part, and those few which remained were chased out of the Country. They recouered the whole Country, and re-peopled the Towne againe, calling it *Senogallia*, as it had beene formerly, when it was first inhabited by the *Gauls*. This Towne (as we haue sayd) is situated vpon the Adriaticke shore, where as the points of *Italy* do end. When the *Bolonians* saw the *Senogallois* chased by the *Romanes* from their Country, they raysed an Army to make Warre against them, calling all the *Tuscans* to their ayde, fearing least the *Romanes* should doe the like vnto them.

A defeat and
ruine of the
Senogallois by
the *Romanes*.

The Situation
of *Senogallia*.

Presently after they fought, where most of the *Tuscans* were slaine, and a few of the *Bolonians* laued themselves by flight. Yet they faint not for this defeat, but the yeare following drew together all the Forces they could make, and all the Youth that could beare Armes, and marcht against the *Romanes*, where they were defeated and slaine, so as they were in a manner vtterly ruined. Wherefore their pride abated, they made an agreement with them by Embassadours. These things hapned, three yeares after the descent of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, and five yeares after the *Gauls* had beene defeated in *Delphos*. Behold how in that time Fortune (as a mortall plague among the *Gauls*) persecuted them in all places. But the *Romanes* made a double profit by the battels which we haue formerly related: For being accustomed to fight with the *Gauls*, who had beene held very fierce and fearefull, they became good Souldiers against *Pyrrhus*. Thus by little and little they abated the pride of the *Gauls*, so as afterwards they were much more assured, first to fight with *Pyrrhus* for *Italy*, and afterwards against the *Carthaginians* for the Souerainty of *Sicily*.

A defeat of the
Gauls in *Delphos*.

The *Gauls* weakned by the meanes of the former Battels, liued in peace forty five yeares, without any breach of the accord made with the *Romanes*. But after that the old men, (who had vndergone the dangers, and felt so many losses) were dead, the Youth who were of a haughty and bad disposition, and had not felt the miseries of former times, grew insolent. These (as it is willingly the nature of men) began presently to vnderake the Warre, and to bee enemies to the *Romanes*, whatsoever should succeed, and morcouet to send to craue succours from the *Transalpins*. It is true, that in the beginning the Princes did manage the affaires without the consent of the people: So as it hapned, that when as the *Transalpins* were come to *Rimini*, the common people of *Bolonia*, being ignorant of this enterprise, and fearing this descent, mutined against their Commanders, and put to death *Elias* and *Gallus* their Kings; then they fought with the *Transalpins*. The

King *Elias* and
Gallus slaine.

Romanes

Romanes likewise amazed at this descent of the *Transalpins*, drew their Men to field: but when they were advertised of the other defeat of the *Gauls*, they retired to their Houses.

Five yeares after, *Marcus Lepidus* being Consul, *Caius Flaminius* made a Law for the people, by the which that Region of *Gaul*, which they call the *Marquise of Ancona*, vnto *Rimini*, from whence the *Senogallois* had bene chased, should be deuided amongst the *Romane* Souldiers. For which cause there suddainly grew a new Warre: For most part of the *Gauls*, especially the *Bolonians*, who were neighbours vnto the *Romanes*, were much incensed therewith, thinking that the *Romanes* did not fight for principallity or Glory, but for pillage and their ruine. Wherefore the *Milannois* and *Bolonians* conferring together, sent suddainly to the other *Gauls*, which dwell beyond the Mountaines along the River of *Rhone*, whom they call *Gessates*, for that they fight for pay, (for so the word imports) offering to their Kings *Congolitan* and *Aneroeste* a great summe of present money. They acquaint them with the great felicity of the *Romanes*; and what a benefit it would be if they could vanquish them.

By this meanes they moue them to make War against the *Romans*; the which was easie to perfwade, considering the former Reason. They promise them also to make them Companions in this Warre, reducing to their memory the prowess of their Predecessors, who had not only defeated the *Romanes* in battell, but after the Victory had taken the City of *Rome* with wonderfull celerity: Where they had taken great spoiles, and after they had bene masters thereof seauen moneths, they restored them the Empire willingly, and returned into their Country safe with all their booty. In propounding these things brauely vnto them, they encouraged these Kings and the *Gauls*, so as there was neuer descent made out of that Country, of a greater Army, nor more valliant men, nor better furnished.

When the newes thereof came to *Rome*, the City was so amazed, as they presently made a new Levy of men, and began to make provision of Victuals, leading their Army sometimes vnto their Frontiers, as if the *Gauls* had bene there present, who notwithstanding were not yet come out of their Country. These things were very beneficiall to the *Carthaginians*, to augment their Empire in *Spain*. But the *Romanes* considering that these affaires were more pressing, for that these people were too neere enemies, they were forced to lay aside the affaires of *Spain*, vntill they had pacified *Italy*. And therefore in renewing the accord with *Asdrubal*, Lieutenant Generall for the *Carthaginians*, they wholly attended the Warre against the *Gauls*, studying only how they might resist their fury.

When as the *Gessates* had drawne a great number of men together neere vnto the *Rhone*, they passed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neere vnto the *Poe*: Where as the other *Gauls* eight yeares after the yielding of that Region, and in like manner the *Milannois* and *Bolonians*, ioyned presently with a great multitude. But the *Venetians* and *Cenomans* pacified by an Embassie from the *Romanes*, preferred their

The occasion
to renew the
Warre betwix
the *Romans* and
Gauls,

The *Gauls*
were seauen
moneths with
in *Rome*,

Amazement of
the *Romans* for
the descent of
the *Gauls*.

A descent of
the *Transalpins*
into *Italy*.

their friendship before the Alliance of the *Gauls*. Wherefore the Kings for feare of them, left a part of their Army in *Milannois* to guard the Countrey, and marcht with the rest into *Tuscany*, being about fifty thousand Foote, and twenty thousand Cars and Horse men. When as the *Romans* had newes that the *Gauls* had past the *Alpes*, they sent *Lucius Emilius* the Consul with an Army to *Rimini*, that being there before the Enemy, hee should stay their passage. They also caused one of the Pretors to march into *Tuscany*, for the other Consul *Caius Appilius*, had in the beginning of his Consulship past in to *Sardinia* with an Army at Sea.

The City of *Rome* was heauy, and much troubled, and did not attend this great attempt of the *Gauls* without great leare. They then remembered their former defeats, and feared this Nation as the ruine of the City of *Rome*. And therefore they had long before prepared a great Army: they dayly made new leues of men, and they advertised their Allies, to bee ready and in Armes. Moreover, they enioyned them to send vnto the Senate the Rolles of the Bands of their Youth, desiring to know the number of Souldiers of all the *Italian* Army. They likewise made provision of Corne and Armes, and of all other things necessary, in greater abundance than they had done in former times.

The other people of *Italy* were no lesse diligent, they were so much amazed at the descent of the *Gauls*: so as they did not thinke to fight for the *Romans*, nor for their Empire, but every man for his owne safety, for his City, and for his Countrey: Wherefore all the *Italians* did willingly obey the *Romans* in this Warre. I will here set downe the preparations the *Romans* made for Warre, and what number of men they had in those times, to the end you may plainly see how great they were, and what forces they had when as *Hannibal* presumed to assaile them, and with what Troopes making Warre against the *Romane* power, hee brought the City into so great danger. First, the Consuls went to field with foure *Romane* Legions, whereof cyther consisted of six thousand two hundred Foote, and two thousand Horse. They had moreover by reason of this arming of the *Gauls*, raised other Troopes. The *Tuscan* and *Sabin* had drawne together three score and ten thousand Foote, and about foure thousand Horse.

As soone as the newes came that the *Gauls* past the *Alpes* of *Apulia*, these were sent into *Tuscany*, vnder the command of the Praefect of the City. After these the *Embrians* and *Sarsenians* inhabiting Mount *Appennin*, were assembled to the number of twenty thousand men. The *Venetians* also, and *Cenomans* were about twenty thousand, all which were appointed to keepe the *Appennin* Hills, and to fall vpon the *Bolonians* when occasion should bee offered. Behold the Troopes which at the first they sent against the *Gauls*. There was moreover another Army within *Rome* to guard the City, and to attend the pleasure of the Senate vpon all occasions: whereof there were twenty thousand foot, *Romans*, and fifteene hundred Horse, and of their Allies thirty thousand

The number
of the *Gauls*
Army.

The diligence
of the *Romans*,

The preparations
which the
Romans made
for Warre.

The number
of Souldiers
which were
raised in *Italy*.

Foot, and two thousand Horse. Moreover they had the Rott of the Army of the *Latins*, which consisted of foure score thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse: and of the *Samnites* of three score and ten thousand men, and fyeen thousand Horse. Of the *Lepiges* and *Meapitins* fifty thousand Foot, and six score thousand Horse, of *Marses*, *Marrucians*, *Ferrentins* and *Vesvins*, twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. Of the *Lucians* thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. There were moreover at that time two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* for the guard of the Countrey: whereof either was of foure thousand two hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse. Moreover, the multitude of the *Romans* and *Campanians*, was about two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and three and twenty thousand Horse. By this means the number of the Troopes which were subiect to the Senate and people of *Rome*, exceded an hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and about six thousand Horse. But the whole force of *Italy* was generally of seven hundred thousand Foot, and three score and ten thousand Horse. Against the which *Hannibal* having but twenty thousand men, durst enter into *Italy*. But this shall bee for another time.

Tuscany ruined by the *Gauls*.

The *Gauls*, finally passing the *Appenin Hills*, entered into *Tuscany* without any resistance, putting all to fire and sword: Finally, they marcht speedily to *Rome*. Being come neere vnto a Towne which they call *Cluse*, within three dayes iourney of *Rome*, they had newes that the *Roman Army* (which as we haue sayd, had bene sent to guard *Tuscany*) was drawne together and followd them. Wherefore they presently turned head sinicely vpon them. And when they were come neere vnto the other at the Sun setting, then they campe, leauing some little space betwixt them. Night being come, the *Gauls* made fires in their Campes after their vsuall manner, and left their Horse-men there, giuing them charge to part at the breake of day, and when they should be discouered by the Enemies to goe on their course. In the meane time making shew of a fight, they part withall their Foot, and march directly to *Fesula*, of purpose to drawe on their Horse-men, and to breake the Enemy which followed them.

The pollicy of the *Gauls*.

The *Romans* seeing the *Gauls* Horse-men part at the breake of day with great noise, thinking it was for feate, halted after them indiscreetly, and drew neere vnto them. Who being ioyned, the combat in the beginning was furious, for that the *Gauls* did charge them on all sides according to their resolution. Finally, the *Romans* lost six thousand men, for that the *Gauls* were more in number and of greater courage. All the rest of the Army fled, whereof a great part retired to a little Hill, strong by situation and nature. The *Gauls* began to besiege them: But for that they were tired with watching the Night before, and with the toyle of the day, they returned to take their refectiō, leauing a strength of Horse-men to keepe the Hill, with a resolution to giue an assault with all their forces, if they did not yield within three dayes. At that time *Lucius Emilius* the Consull, who (as we haue sayd) was at *Armini* with an Army, hauing

advertisment

advertisment, that the *Gauls* had past *Tuscany*, and marcht to *Rome* with all their forces, he used with diligence to come and succour his companions. When he had past the *Appenin Hill*, and was lodged neere vnto the Enemy, they which had retired to the Hill, knowing the Consuls coming, which they easily discouered by the fires in the Night, they presently took courage, and sent some of their men vnarmed vnto him by the Forrest, to let him vnderstand how things had past.

The Consull seeing that all delays in so great a danger of his companions were preiudiciall, he gaue order to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, to march at the breake of day with all the foote: And in the meane time he takes his way towards the Hill with all the Horse-men. The Commanders of the *Gauls* doubting of the Consuls coming by the fires in the Night, assembled to aduise what they had to doe. Then King *Anerocse* was of opinion, that it was a folly to lose time with the Enemy, and to bring their conquest in danger, before they had put so great a spoile in safety (they had in truth an infinite number of Prisoners, and abundance of all other things) and therefore they must first returne into their Countrey, and there leaue all the baggage, and then returne into *Italy* if they thinke it fit: to the end the Souldiers might fight with their Enemies without any incumbrance. The *Gauls* liked of this counsell, and the next day drew forth their Ensignes before the breake of day, returning into *Gauls* along the Sea-shore, laden with all sorts of pillage.

The aduice of *Anerocse*.

The retreats of the *Gauls*.

The pursuit of *Emilius*.

When as *Lucius Emilius* had retired those which had fled to the Hill, he pursued the *Gauls* with his Army. Yet he did not hold it fit to present battell to so great a multitude, but rather resolved to attend some opportunity, either of time or place, where hee might amaze the Enemy, or make them abandon the booty in some sort. At the same time *Caius Atilius* the other Consull, who was lately arrived at *Pisa* from *Sardinia*, landed with his whole Army, and marched directly to *Rome* by the Sea-shore before the *Gauls*. They were not farre from *Telamona* a Towne of *Tuscany*, when as some of their scouts fell by surprize into the *Romans* hands, who discouered vnto the Consull that the *Gauls* were not farre off, and that *Lucius Emilius* pursued them. These things being vnderstood, *Caius Atilius* wondering at this fortune, and hoping partly of the Victory, for that Fortune seemed to haue deliuered the Enemy betwixt their two Campes, he gaue the Legions to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, and gaue them charge to march against the Enemy, as much as the opportunity of place would giue them leaue.

Caius Atilius.

In the meane time seeing a little Hill vpon the way, very commodious for their Warre, to the which the *Gauls* seemed to tend, he took the Horse-men, and resolved to get it before them, and to vndergoe the danger, hoping that if the *Romans* had the Victory by this means, they would attribute the honour vnto him. The *Gauls* ignorant in the beginning of the Consuls coming, and doubting by the things which they saw, that *Lucius Emilius* had past before night with his horse-

L 2

men,

men, to gain the Countrey which was advantageous for the Warre, they presently sent all their Horse, and some of their most active men to recover this Hill. But when they were advertised by the Prisoners that *Attilius* held it, they presently caused their Foot-men to march, and order their battell in the Reare, as in the Front, for that they saw *Emilius* followed them in the taile, and that the other attended them in front, as they had learned by the Prisoners, and by the things which had happened. They which were with *Emilius*, were not yet confident, although it were a common bruit that the Army of *Sardania* was arrived at *Pisa*. But they were assured when as they saw the combat at the Hill: for the Enemies were very acere, and therefore the *Emilian* Horse rejoiced much, and tooke a way by the side of the nearest Hill to goe and succour those which defended it.

Emilius in the meane time marcht after the *Gauls* in the same order hee had beene accustomed. When the *Gauls* saw themselves thus inuolued by the Enemies, they put vpon the Reare the *Gessates* and *Milannois* against *Emilius* who followed them, and vpon the Front the *Piemontois*, and those which inhabite along the *Poe*, appointing the *Boloniens* and the *Cais* with all the baggage apart without the two Battalions, and all the pillage vpon a little Hill, with some Horse-men to guard it. When they had thus ordained their Battell with two fronts, it seemed not onely terrible to behold, but also of a wonderfull efficacy for the combat. The *Boloniens* and *Milannois*, made choice of such as had Breeches, and were most at ease in their apparel. But the *Gessates* for the great courage and wonderfull desire of glory which they had, stript themselves, and put themselves before the Battalion naked, onely with their Armes, hauing a conceit that by this means they should be more active and disposed to fight: For the Buffes (which were thicke there) would stay them by their Clothes, and hinder their fighting.

First, the Combate which was at the Hill, was in the fight of both Armies, whereas the Horse men charged one another, and fought valiantly. There *Caius Attilius* was slaine, fighting too rashly, whose Head was presently carried to the Kings of the *Gauls*. Yet the *Romane* caualery fainted not, but were the more incited to fight: so as in the end they not onely defended the Hill, but defeated all the *Gauls* Horse-men. In the meane time the Foot men approach, and the combat began, the which was not onely horrible and wonderfull to behold for those that were present, but likewise for those which shall heare it spoken of. First considering that the battell was of three Armies, every man may imagine, that the fight was not onely new and fearefull to the assistants, but also their manner of fighting. Moreover, who will doubt but the *Gauls* had the worst, being charged as well in the Reare as in the Front? Or it may be the better, for that they fought altogether against the two Armies, and that the two sides repelled their Enemies, so as at the same instant they defended one another: And that moreover they could not passe on, nor hope for flight backward? There is no doubt but a Battell with two Fronts hath the benefit,

The order of
the Gauls
battell.

Caius Attilius
slaine.

The battell of
the Foot-men.

nest, that the Souldiers haue no means to flye. In regard of the manner, they had hope of Victory, for that they saw their Enemies inclosed, as it were deliuered into their hands: On the other side they feared the fury and order of their Army, the sound of Trumpets and Clairons was terrible; with the which all the Troope made a great cry and shout; so as there was an incredible noise. They could not heare the Trumpets and Souldiers, and moreover, the neighbour places seemed to ecchoe forth their cries.

It was a terrible thing to see the forlorne hope march naked, Beleeue me, these great naked boddes, with their motions vnder their Bucklers, were maruelous and fearefull. The beauty and riches of their Apparel gave also a great luster. For the whole Army shined with chaines of Gold, and Silkes wouen with purple. The which the *Romans* observing, they were partly amazed, and partly encouraged with the hope of spoile. Finally, the taile of the Army which was armed, was not gauld by the *Roman* Archers, who doe usually march before the Battell. But the forlorne hope which fought naked before their Troopes, were contrary to all hope much annoyed: For they could not cauer their great naked boddes with their *French* Bucklers: And therefore the Arrows fell easily vpon them. Finally, when they saw themselves thus beate, and could not bee reuenged of the Archers by reason of the distance, and for the multitude of Arrows which flew from all parts, they cast themselves like desperate mad men, some vpon their Enemies, where they were slaine: others retired vpon their owne Troopes, who being all bloody, daunted the courage of the rest, and put them in disorder.

By this means the fierceness of the *Gessates*, which made the forlorne hope was abated. Then the *Milannois*, the *Boloniens*, and the *Turinnois* maintained the burthen of the battell: where they did not fight a farre off with their Arrows and Darts as formerly, but hand to hand with their Speeres and Swords: and the Combate was as furious as euer any was, for euery man performed his duty. It is true, that their Targets and Swords were not equall. For the *Gauls* Swords were heavy and blunt, and their Targets weak: The *Romans* couered themselves with stronger Targets, and carried short Swords and sharpe. And therefore the *Gauls* were still defeated in what manner so euer they fought, whether in troope, or man to man: Yet they stood firme in battell, vntill that the *Romane* Caualery came downe from the Hill in great fury: Then they were broken and slaine here and there. The Foot-men died in the place where they had their Stations appointed: But the Horse-men fled. The *Gauls* lost in this Battell forty thousand men; there were onely taken ten thousand with King *Congolitanus*, the *neroeste*, which was the other King of the *Gauls*, fled with some few which followed him to a neighbour place, who some dayes after slew themselves.

After this defeat, *Lusius Emilius* the Consul, sent the Enemies spoiles to *Rome*, and restored the booty to those to whom it did belong. From thence he went thorough the *Genouis* Countrey into that of *Bolonia*,

The defeat of
the forlorne
hope of the
Gauls.

The Armes
which the
Gauls did vse.

A defeat of
the *Gauls* Ar-
my.

The taking of
King *Congolitanus*.
The death of
King *Anuroeste*.

The Helonians
Country spoy-
led.

lanie, making great spoyle: And hauing in a short time enricht his Army with all sorts of booty, he brought it backe to Rome, with the Armes, chaines and bracelets of gold, wherewith hee did adorne the spoyle, being a kind of ornament of gold, which the *Gauls* are accustomed to carry about their waists and neckes: the rest of the spoyle and all the prisoners, went before him in triumph. Behold those great attempts of the *Gauls*, which the *Romans* not onely feared, but all *Italy* in like manner, came to nothing.

The *Romans* hoping now to chase the *Gauls* out of *Italy* sent *Quintus Fabius* and *Tiberius Manlius* are made Consuls, with a great Army into *Gaul*. Who at their entry forced the *Helonians* to submit themselves to their obedience. But they could not proceede in the warre, but were forced to retire by reason of the continual Raine and the Plague.

Afterwards *Publius Furio* and *Caius Plautius* being created Consuls, came againe into *Gaul* with an Army: and after they had received the *Ananes* into friendship, which are not farre from *Marcellus*, they marched directly into the Country of *Milan* with their Legions, where as the River *Ad* ioynes vnto the *Poe*. The *Milannois* had made a great leuie to repulse their enemies. By whom when the *Romans* had received great losse, not onely at the passage of the River, but also in fortifying their Campe, they parted thence, and tooke their way to the Country of the *Genomans*: where after they had ioyned their Army to theirs, for they were their Allies, they made a new descent into the *Milannois* by the higher Country, which looks toward the *Alpes*, ruining all where they past.

The Princes of *Milan* hearing the resolution of the *Romans* to be immutable, resolved to vndergoe the hazard and to fight with them. Wherefore after they had drawne an Army together, and taken the Ensignes of gold which they call vnmouable out of *Minerva's* Temple, & made provision of all other things necessary, they marcht against them with great assurance, planting their Campe right against them, to the number of fifty thousand Men. It is true, the *Romans* finding themselves not strong enough, were of aduice to call the *Gauls* to their aide, with whom they were in league. But for that they feared their revolt, & they were to fight with men of the same Nation, they held it dangerous to trust in such men in so great a danger, and especially to put their safeties in their hands at such a time, and in such an action: Finally, being neere the River, they call the *Genomans*, and cause them to passe. When all were past they brake the Bridge, depriving them at one instant of the meanes to ioine with their Enemies, and leauing their Men no hope of safety but in the victory.

When this was done they put their men in order, and offer battell to the *Milannois*. It seemes the *Romans* had ordered this battell discreetly by the aduertisement of the Tribunes, for the meanes to fight in troope, or man to man: For when as their men were in battell they tooke the Pikes from the *Triarii*, and gaue them to such as were in the Front, giuing them charge to entertaine the fury of the *Gauls*, vntill their first heate

of

of fighting were spent: Which being done, leauing their Pikes, they should flye to their Swords; ordaining it in this manner: For that they had seene by the former Warres, that the *Gauls* had a furious poynt, and afterwards their hearts were faint and effeminate, and that moreover their Swords as we haue sayd, were only fit to giue one blow, but afterwards their length grew crooked, and the edge turned by reason of the breadth: So as if they did not suffer them to let the poynt to the ground, and to makethem straight againe with their Feete, the second blow wrought no effect.

The *Romans* following the Command of the Tribunes, charge their enemies with great blowes vpon the breast with their Pikes. The *Gauls* on the other side employ all their fury to cut them. Then the *Romans* abandoning their Pikes, fought hand to hand, breaking by this meanes the fury of the *Gauls*: And taking from them all meanes to steppe backe, which these people are accustomed to vs in their Charge, for that their Swords are blunt and vnprofitable, by reason of their length, but only to giue one blow a farre off. But the *Romans* by meanes of their short Swords, wherewith they did not strike like vnto them, but thrust often through the bodies and throats of the *Gauls*, so as they slew a great number.

Behold how the providence of the Tribunes prevailed much; without doubt the Consull had not made choise of a place fit to fight: Considering that in ordering the battell vpon the River side, hee had taken from the *Romans* the meanes to march, which is vsuall vnto them: Wherefore if during the Combate they had beene forced to retire, they had all fallen into the River by the error of the Consull. Yet they had a goodly Victory by their owne forces, and rettyred to Rome with a great multitude of Prisoners and spoyle.

The yeare following the *Gauls* weakened with so many battells lost, sent an Embassie to the *Romans* for a Peace, making them goodly promises. But *Marcus Claudius*, and *Caius Cornelius* chofen Consuls, vsed all diligence to draw their Army into their Country, to the end the Senate should not yeld vnto it. Wherefore the *Gauls* hauing no more hope of peace, being as it were in despair, raysed a new Army, and intertayned thirty thousand *Gessates*, who, as we haue sayd, dwell on this side the *Rhine*, hauing them all ready and in Armes attending the descent of the *Romans*. When as the Consuls were entred the *Milannois* Country in the Spring, they besieged the Towne of *Aceras*, which lyes betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*. And although it were not in the power of the *Milannois* to succour the besieged, for that the *Romans* held the passages: Yet their full intent being to raise the siege, they cause a part of their Army to passe the *Poe*, to whom they giue charge to besiege *Clasidium*, a Towne belonging to the Allies of the *Romans*, hoping by this meanes the Consuls should be forced to rayse their siege. But presently when they had the newes, *Marcus Claudius* makes hast with the Horse-men, and the most aduised of the Foote, to succour the besieged. When the *Gauls* were aduertified of the Consuls comming, they presently rayled the siege, and

The weakness
of the Gauls
Swords.

A Victory of
the Romans
against the
Milannois.

The Gessates
dwell on this
side the Rhine.

Aceras be-
sieged.

Clasidium be-
sieged.

went

The Army of
the Milannois
Army draw

All *Moræa* reduced into a league.

The Name of the *Acheins* well enterprised in *Moræa*.

summarily : As for that which concernes the *Macedonians*, the proofe will bee easie : And as for the *Acheins*, there hath bene made (as wee haue formerly sayd) an augmentation and wonderfull accord in our time. For when as many laboured formerly to reduce *Moræa* to one accord, and could not effect it, considering that all men aime more at their private profit, than the liberty of the Countrey; there hath bene at this day made so great a change, as they haue not onely contracted friendship, and a strict league, but moreover they vse the same Lawes, the same weight, the same measure, the same money, and more, the same Princes, the same Counsell, and the same Iudges : Asas there is no defect in *Moræa* for the making of a Burgesse, A but that they dwell not all in one Towne : All the rest was alike and the same thing.

It shall not bee therefore vsfitting to shew how the Name of the *Acheins* hath first reigned in *Moræa*. You must vnderstand that they which were first so called, had no better Countrey nor more Townes, nor more Wealth, nor more virtue. Without doubt the *Arcadians* and *Lacedemonians* doe farre exceed the other people of *Moræa*, both in number of men and Townes : Neither is there any Nation in *Greece* which passeth them in prowesse and virtue. What is B the cause then that these men whom wee haue named, and the other people of *Moræa*, haue willingly suffred not onely the Comminalty of the *Acheins*, but also to take the Name? It were a folly to say that it was by chance. Wherefore it were better to seeke the cause without the which wee cannot finish those things which are done with reason, nor those which seeme to bee done without it. For my part I conceive it was the equality, and the common liberty which was kept amongst them all, as a certaine president of a true Common-wealth : For there is no City in all *Greece*, where there are found better Lawes, or Behold the cause which hath caused the greatest part of *Moræa* willingly to follow this Common-wealth C Some thorough reason and perswasion, others forced by little and little with the time, and yet they haue presently pacified their discords. And for that they did not from the beginning leaue more to one then to another, but would haue all things equal to all men, it presently brought the *Acheins* to this great Authority, vsing two meanes of great efficacy, that is, Equality and Clemency : Behold the cause which wee must imagine, for the which all *Moræa* being of one will and accord, attained to this prosperity and peace wherein wee see it at this day.

It is true, that this manner of liuing, and meanes of government of a Common-wealth was long obserued by the *Acheins* : the which is probable by the testimony of many witnesses. Yet wee will produce but one or two at this time. You must vnderstand that at what time a Company of the *Pythagorians* were burnt for a secret conspiracy in the Region of *Italy*, which they then called great *Greece* : It happened that the Countrey and the Townes were much afflicted with murders and sedition, by a strange alteration of Common-wealths whose D

Princes

The *Pythagorians* burnt in *Italy*.

Princes were wickedly saine. And therefore Embassadours came from all parts to pacifie their debates. Who leauing all the rest, they refer'd themselves in all their quarrels to that which the *Acheins* should decree. Soone after they resolued to vse their Lawes, and to frame their Common-wealth like vnto theirs. Without doubt the *Crotonians*, *Sybarites*, and *Calonites*, after they had ended their quarrels in a friendly manner, edified a Temple in publique, to *Iupiter Omarie*, where they might assemble the people, and giue them instructions. Moreover hauing accepted the Institutions and Lawes of the *Acheins*, they would onely liue in them, and erect their Common-wealth. But the tyranny of *Demis* of *Syracusa* and the *Gauls*, who at that time spoiled the Countrey, hindered them from bringing their enterprize to an end. Moreover, after the defeat of the *Lacedemonians* beyond all hope, before *Luldes*, and that they of *Thebes* had already troubled the Empire of *Greece*, there was a great mutiny and a strange combustion throughout all *Greece*, namely, betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and the *Thebains* : For that the *Lacedemonians* conceived they had bene vanquished, and the others did not thinke they had gotten the Victory. Notwithstanding either of them by a common consent made choice of the *Acheins* among all the *Grecians*, to whose iudgement they submitted themselves touching their quarrels, not hauing so much regard to their forces or power (for in truth it was the least of all the Prouinces of *Greece*) as to the faith and iustice of the people, which at that time was held great in the opinion of the World. It is true, they had then but bare virtue, hauing done nothing worthy of fame or estimation. Wherefore their comminalty did not increase much for that they had not any Lord which was worthy to gouerne them, for that they had bene alwaies kept vnder by the Empire of the *Lacedemonians* or *Macedonians*.

The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebains*.

C But after by succession of time they had found Gouernours worthy of their estate, they presently purchased honour and glory. They reconciled all *Moræa*, which was an excellent worke : whereof no man doubts but *Arate* the *Sicyonian* had bene the Authour and contriuer : the which *Philopomene* the *Megalopolitan* finished, and afterwards confirmed : and that *Licerta* was the third which amplified and augmented it, and subsequently all his Companions. Hereafter wee will endeavour as much as the Subject shall require, to relate their deeds, the manner and the time : Yet wee will make a summary mention of the actions of *Arate* at this time, and hereafter, for that hee hath comprehended all things in his Commentaries according vnto truth plainly and amply. But as for others our discourse shall be something more diligent and more copious.

Arate.

It is true, that in my opinion, the declaration would bee more easie, and the History more plaine to those that desire to know it, if wee take it from the time, when as the *Acheins*, who had bene dispersed into diuers Cities by the Princes of *Macedon*, drew themselves againe together as it were in one body, and afterwards they augmented in such sort, as they came to this great amplitude whereof

M 2

wee

wee haue hitherto spoken in particular, and which continues vnto this day.

A league be-
twixt the Dy-
mensians and
them of Patras.
Tysamenes.
Sygus.
The alliance
of twelue Cit-
ties.

They of *Patras* and the *Dymensians* made a league together, in the hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiade*, at such time as *Prolo-*
my the Sonne of *Lagus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Prolemy Cerau-*
nien dyed, without doubt they all dyed during this *Olympiade*. Behold
in what estate the *Acheins* were in former times: They began to be go-
uerned by Kings, at such time as *Tysamenes* the Sonne of *Horestes* chafed
from *Lacedemonia*, after the descent of *Heraclites*, held the Coun-
trei which is about *Acheia*. After whom Kings governed continu-
ally by succession vntill the time of *Sygus*. After whom the Regall
power began to be tedious, for that the Children of *Sygus* did not gou-
erne the Prouince legally, but by Tyranny. Wherefore they chafed
away their Kings, and governed in common: wherein they liued di-
uersly according to the diuersity of the times, vntill the dayes of *Alex-*
ander and *Phillip*, yet struing with all their meanes to gouerne their
Common-weales in a Comminalty, which containyd twelue Townes,
who are yet in being, except *Olena* and *Elix* which an Earthquake swal-
lowed vp before the Battell of *Leuctres*. Behold the Cities, *Patras*,
Dymes, *Phare*, *Trittee*, *Leanty*, *Egire*, *Pellene*, *Bure*, *Ceraunie*, *Cary-*
nie, *Olena* and *Elix*.

But in the time of *Alexander*, and before the *Olympiade* which we
haue mentioned, they grew into so great dissention, namely for the
Kings of *Macedon*, that the Townes thus deuided, held it would bee
a great good vnto them to make Warre one against another. So as some
drew vnto them the forces of *Demetrius* and *Casander*, and soone af-
ter those of *Antigonus*: The others were employed by the Kings,
whereof there were many at that time in *Greece*. But in the hundred
and foure and twentieth *Olympiade*, as wee haue sayd, they began againe
to be reconciled, at such time as *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* past into *Italy*.

The beginning
of the league.
C

First, they of *Patras*, *Dymes*, *Trittee*, and *Phare*, were reconciled,
when as there was no tide of common alliance betwixt them. Fie
yeeres after they of *Egire* chafed away their Garrison, and ioyned to
the rest: whom the *Buriens* followed killing their King: and soone af-
ter the *Cerauniens*.

When as *Iseas* (who at that time was King of the *Cerauni-*
ens) saw that they of *Egire* had chafed away their Garrison, and they
of *Bure* had slaine their King, seeing himselfe in a manner inuolued with
Warre, hee relinquishd the principallity, leauing the administration of
the Common-weale to the *Acheins*, after the Couenants concluded
with them to saue his life. But why haue wee brought these things
from so farre? To the end first that the World may know by what
meanes, and at what time, and who were the first among the *Acheins*,
which reuised this comminallty againe, the which at this day wee see
flourish: And that knowing their order, every man may easily beleue
not onely our History, but also our actions. Beleue mee, they haue
alwayes obserued one course concerning the gouernment of their Com-
mon-weale, and one reason by the which keeping continually an
equality

equality among them, and defeating those who of themselves, or
by their Kings laboured to take their Country, they haue in the end
preuailed in all their interprises, as well by their owne forces as by the
help of their Allies.

Finally those things which haue beene since done in this Prouince,
ought to be attributed to the *Acheins*, who being companions to the
Romans in many great affaires, haue not attributed any thing vnto
themselves of that which was done, hauing no other thought but of
liberty, and the common accord of *Morea*. But we shall see it more
plainly by their actions.

A All these Cities which we haue named, did administer the Com-
mon-weale from the beginning fise and twenty yeeres with the *A-*
cheins, making choyse of one *Quesser* and two Captaines. After-
wards they resolu'd to haue but one, who should haue the charge of
their principall affaires. But *Gerynee* was the first which had this ho-
nour. When his foure yeeres were expired, *Arate* the *Sicyonian* was
chosen at the age of twenty yeeres. Who presently by his singular
Virtue, and great courage, freed the Country from Tyrants, and resto-
red the Common-weale of the *Acheins*, to the which from the be-
ginning he bare a great affection. Some time after hauing gouerned
eight yeeres, he was chosen againe: And then he beganne to thinke of
the meanes by the which he might take the Fort of *Corinthe*, which
Antigonus then held. The which after he had effected, he freed all
Morea from great feare: And when as the *Corinthians* were freed from
Tyranny, he ioyned them to the *Acheins*. Some few dayes after he
did the like to the *Megariens*.

Gerynee.
Arate.

The Fort of
Corinthe taken
by Arate.

C These things hapned the yeare before the battell of the *Carthagini-*
ans, by the which they were forced to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay
tribute vnto the *Romans*. When as *Arate* had in a short time finished
all his interprises, he spent the remainder of his life in the gouernment
of the Common weale, studying by all meanes how to chafe the *Ma-*
cedonians out of *Morea*, to ruine the Kings, and to preferue the com-
mon liberty of the Country. And therefore he resisted the attempts
and prauiſes of *Antigonus Gonate*, whilest he liued, and the coue-
tousnesse of the *Etolians*, who with *Antigonus* grew so audacious and
ouer-werning, as they were not ashamed to diuide betwixt them by a
common consent the Townes of *Acheia*. But after the death of *Ant-*
igonus, and that the *Acheins* and *Etolians* had made a league, when as
Demetrius made Warre against them, the dissentions and discords were
D somewhat pacified, and they contracted a common and mutuall friend-
ship betwixt them.

But after the Death of *Demetrius*, who Reigned onely ten yeeres,
and at such time when as the *Romans* passed first into *Sclauonia*, the *A-*
cheins made themselves wonderful great: For all the Kings which Reig-
ned in *Morea* fell into despair, as well for the death of *Demetrius* who
was their Commandeur and Emperour, as for that they saw *Arate*
rise with all his power, to deprive them of their Crownes, propoun-
ding to such as shall doe it willingly great honours and dignities, certifi-

ing and vnting threats to such as should be oblate and wilfull. Finally he did admonish them all to leane their Crownes, and restoring the Country to liberty, they should embrace the League of the *Acheins*. Wherefore *Lyfidas* the *Megalopolitaine*, who during the life of *Demetrius*, had wisely fore-seene future things, presently layes downe his Crowne. *Aristomachus* King of the *Argiues*, *Xenon* of the *Hermionians*, and *Cleomines* of the *Phliasiens*, renounced their Royall Principallities, and ioynded themselues to the League of the *Acheins*.

Lyfidas.

Aristomachus.
Xenon.
Cleomines.The enuy of
the *Etolians* a-
gainst the *A-*
cheins.Antigonus Tu-
tor to Philips
Sonne.

But for that their Forces were by this meanes growne wonderfull great, the *Etolians* as men ambitious by nature, enuied them, and hoping to be able to breake the League of the Townes which were allied, as they had done in the beginning, they promised to *Alexander* to share with him those of the *Acarnaniens*, and to *Antigonus* those of the *Acheins*. By this meanes they gayned vnder colour of the same hope *Antigonus* then Gouverneur in *Macedony*, and left by *Philip* Tutor to his Sonne; they also made *Cleomines* King of the *Lacedemonians*. When as they saw that *Antigonus* had the government of *Macedony*, who was a Souldier and an enemy to the *Acheins*, for the losse of the Fort of *Corinthe*, they were of opinion, that if the *Lacedemonians* were companions in this Warre, in assailing the *Acheins* on all side they should easily defeat them. The which yndoubtedly had hapned, if *Arate* a man of great Virtue and Courage, (which they did not consider) had not taken vpon him the defence of the others.

They began a most wicked War with all their Forces, wherein they were not only frustrated in their expectance, but they made *Arate* more stout and Resolute, being then Commander of the *Acheins* and the whole Nation, by his pollicy and diligent providence in all things, as we shall see by that which followes. For when like a man well aduised, he had considered that the *Etolians* were ashamed to declare Warre against the *Acheins*, for the benefits they had lately received from them during the Warre of *Demetrius*, and that for this cause they had solicited the *Lacedemonians* to attempt it: And that they were transported with enuy against the good Fortune of the *Acheins*, so as they were nothing incensed against *Cleomines*, who had taken from them by *Health Tegea*, *Maninea*, and *Oristomene*, very strong Townes of *Etolia*; but contrarywise they confirmed them willingly vnto him; and that moreover they sought all occasions of Warre, onely for a desire they had to Reigne, the *Acheins* having neuer offended them, suffering the King to violate his Faith vnto them, and that by fraud he had taken from them such rich Townes, to the end that the forces of *Cleomines* (increased by this meanes) might with more ease defeat the Commonalty of the *Acheins*.

Arate then (as I have sayd) and the other Capitaines considering these things, resolved not to declare any Warre, but to only resist the attempts of the *Lacedemonians* with all their power. Behold the first Resolution of the Capitaines. But soone after when as they saw that *Cleomines* build a City without feare, which afterwards was called *Athens*, in the Country of the *Megalopolitains*, and that he declared

Arate.

himselfe an open enemy to the *Acheins*, they make an assembly, where it was resolved to make open War against the *Lacedemonians*, and not by Diffimulation.

This Warre called *Cleomynique* beganne thus at that time: In the which the *Acheins* beganne first to resist the *Lacedemonians* with their owne Forces, without the helpe of any other, both for that they held it a greater honour to defend their Country and Townes themselves then with assistance of others: And they likewise indeauoured to enter-tayne their friendship by all meanes with *Prology*, fearing least he should be discontented, if they should require succours from any others then from him.

The Cleome-
ynique Warre.

But when the Warre was begunne, and that *Cleomines* in ruining the Common-weale; had turned a iust Empire into a Tyranny, governing the Warre with Policy and Courage: *Arate* foreseeing future things a farre off, as a man who vnderstood the Counsell and presumption of the *Etolians*, was of opinion that they must breake their attempts. And considering that *Antigonus* was a man of great experience in the Arte of Warre, and more sound of his Faith then any other: Knowing that Kings by nature haue neither friend nor Foe, measuring Friendship and Hatred according to their profit, he resolved to addresse himselfe vnto him, and to let him visibly see the euents of the Warre, and finally to make a League with him. He had many reasons why he should not do it openly: For if *Cleomines* and the *Etolians* had becom aduertised, they would haue made greater preparations for the Warre, and most of the *Acheins* would haue left him, being amazed at such an alteration, for that they would haue thought, the ir Commander would haue fled to the enemy for refuge like a man in despair. Wherefore to auoyde these inconueniences, he notionely kept these things secret, but he spake and did many things contrary to his thought, by the which he shewed the contrary of that which heo praesided.

A good consi-
deration of
Arate.The nature of
Kings.

Seeing then the *Megalopolitains* to bee more preft with Warre then any other, being neighbours to the *Lacedemonians*, and hauing no hope to obtayne succours from the *Acheins*, being subiect to the same Warre, and being moreover in League and friendship with the *Lacedemonians*, for that they had done great pleasures to *Philip* the Sonne of *Amynas*, there was no doubt but as soone as *Cleomines* should begin the Warre against them, they would require succours from *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Finally he declared his secret to *Nicophanes* and *Cerides* *Megalopolitains*: They had becom friends to his Father, and seemed fit men to manage this businesse. By their meanes hee incites the *Megalopolitaines*, to send an Embasie to the *Acheins*, to intreate them to demand succours from *Antigonus*. The *Megalopolitains* send *Nicophanes* and *Cerides* to the *Acheins*, with Commission after their consente to go to *Antigonus*, the which the *Acheins* did easily allow. This Embasie went to King *Antigonus*, and let him vnderstand their Charge: and in regard of the Affaires which concerne their Country, they deliuered only those things which were most necessary in few words: But they made a long Discourse of the whole in general, as *Arate* had

Nicophanes,
Cerides.A good inue-
stition of
Arate.

had instructed them. They layd before him the attempts which the *Etolians* and *Cleomenes* might make, confessing that this Warre for the present was of great consequence for the *Acheins*. But if the others prevailed in their interprize, it would be much more dangerous for him. They make no doubt, but the *Acheins* being assailed at one instant by these two forces, they would bee easily ruined: So there is lesse doubt, that if *Cleomenes* and the *Etolians* have the Victory, that they will not bee satisfied therewith: For you must understand that *Morea*, no nor all *Greece* cannot glut the covetousnesse of the *Etolians*. In regard of the ambition of *Cleomenes*, although hee seemes for the present not to affect any thing but the principallity of *Morea*, yet if he prevaille, he will never cease vntill he hath Conquered all *Greece*: Whereunto he can never attaine before he hath ruined the principallity of *Macedon*.

By these reasons and such like, they moue the King to thinke carefully of things to come, and to consider what may seeme fittest for his affaires, whether to Allie himselfe to the *Acheins* and *Boetians*, and to make Warre against *Cleomenes* touching the Empire of *Greece*, or leauing the party of so many people, to haue it soone after against the *Etolians*, *Boetians*, *Acheins*, and *Lacedemonians* in *Thessaly*, for the principallity of *Macedony*. But if the *Etolians* be ashamed, to seeme to breake the accord made with the *Acheins*, during the Warre of *Demetrius*, and should still make shew to persist in friendship, as they did yet, the *Acheins* would be too strong to defend themselves against *Cleomenes*. And therefore if Fortune fauours them, they shall not need any mans succour. But if contrarywise it should bee rather for the *Etolians*, they intreated the King that he would be pleased to giue them succours, and that (not losing the opportunity of the time,) hee would preserve *Morea*, before it should be vitterly ruined.

They sayd moreover that he had no reason to care at that time for Faith and Recompence, and that *Arate* would finde the meanes in the greatest heere of affaires, to giue him satisfaction, and that hee would aduertise him of the time when he should neede succours. When *Antigonus* had heard the Embassie, hee did wonderfully commend the prudence of *Arate*, and made answere that hee was ready to vndergoe the danger. Moreover he wrote letters to the *Megalopolitains*, by the which he sent them word that hee was ready to giue them succours, so as it were with the consent of the *Acheins*.

This done *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* returned to their Countrey: Where after they had deliuered their Letters, they made report of the Kings good affection. The *Megalopolitains* ioyfull of this newes, sent an Embassie againe to the *Acheins*, intreating them to contract with *Antigonus*, and that they might relye in him for all his businesse: *Arate* hearing all this by *Nicophanes*, and the good affection the King bare vnto the *Acheins*, and to himselfe, was wonderfully ioyfull, both for that he was not frustrated of his hope, but forasmuch as *Antigonus*, (contrary to the hope of the *Etolians*,) did not seeme to flye his friendship. Hee did not finde that reasonable which the

Arate.

Megalopolitains aimed at, that the *Acheins* should submit themselves vnder *Antigonus* in all this Warre: For he was not of aduice to require succours of any man but in extreame necessity; and if that hapned, he would not haue it done at his request alone, but by all the *Acheins*. In truth he feared that if *Antigonus*, hauing the victory by the defeat of *Cleomenes* and the *Lacedemonians*, should in the end make any enterprize against the Comminalty of the *Acheins*, they should not lay the blame vpon him, as if he had indiscreetly giuen the aduice for the drawing of the King into their Countrey, who was offended for the taking of the Fort of *Corinthe*.

When the Embassadors of the *Megalopolitains* came into the Countcell, and had made relation of *Antigonus* his Letters; and of the Kings loue and affection, and had made a remonstrance vnto the *Acheins* for a peace with *Antigonus*, and that it seemed the whole assembly found it good, *Arate* commended the Kings affection, and the good desire of the whole assembly. Yet he let them vnderstand by many reasons that they should indeauour to keepe their Townes and Countrey with their owne forces, but if they could not effect it, then they could not doe any thing more commendable and more profitable. But if Fortune were contrary vnto them, that they must first doe all that could be possible: And if there were no hope, then they should require succours from their friends. The whole assembly allowed easily of his Countcell; and it was resolved, that for the present they should ordaine no new thing, and that the *Acheins* should manage this war alone.

But when as (during these negotiations) *Ptolomy* had furnished *Cleomenes* with men, and other things necessary for the Warre, desiring by this meanes to make him an enemy to *Antigonus*, for that hee had greater hope to bee able to Conquer the Realme of *Macedon* by the meanes of the *Lacedemonians*, then of the *Acheins*; and that the *Acheins* were first Defeated by *Cleomenes* by a surprize neere vnto *Lycea*, and that afterwards they made a great losse neere vnto the Town of *Megalopolis*, and that finally the third time, they were so beaten, Defeated, and slaine, neere vnto the Towne of *Dyme* in a place which they call *Hecatombee*, as they were in a manner quite ruined: Their *Arate* seeing himselfe inuironed with so many miseries, knew it was no time to Dreame, and that hee was forced (as hee had formerly resolved) to demanda succour from King *Antigonus*. For the effecting whereof he sent his Sonne in Embassie to confirme the Articles of the agreement. Yet hee was in doubt and much troubled, for that hee did not hope *Antigonus* would succour him, if they did not deliuer him for his security the Fort of *Corinthe*, which they called *Eucorinthe* with the Towne: Neyther did hee see any meanes to deliuer it to the *Macedonians* without the consent of the *Corinthians*. And therefore hee deferred the Countcell to aduise of the meanes of safety. In the meane time *Cleomenes* glorious of his good Fortune, ouer-ran the whole Prouince, taking Townes aswell by persuasion as by terrour. When by this meanes he had taken *Caphie*, *Pellene*, *Phucee*, *Argos*, *Phlie*, *Cleone*, *Epidaurae*, *Hermion*, and *Trizene*, and in

The fore-sight of *Arate*.

Diuers defeats of the *Acheins*.

N

the

the end *Corinthe*, hee seated his Campe neere vnto the Towne of the *Sicyonians*, and by this meanes freed the *Acheins* of that care whereof wee haue spoken. For when as *Arate* had the newes, that the *Corinthians* had chaled away the Garrison of the *Acheins*, and sent an Embassie to *Cleomenes* to deliuer him the City, hauing found a good occasion, hee yeelds vnto *Antigonus* the Fort which the *Acheins* held. By this meanes hee repaired the wrong which hee had done vnto the King, and it serued him for a pledge, and as it were a Fort and retreat for the future Warre.

Acrocorinthe
yeilded to *Antigonus*

But when as *Cleomenes* vnderstood the league which the *Acheins* had made with *Antigonus*, and that the Fort had bene freely deliuered vnto him, hee presently raised his Siege, and feared his Campe neere vnto *Isthmus*, and rampred diligently with Pallisadoes and Ditches, the place which lies betwixt the Fortresse and the Mountaines, which they of the Countrey call *Onies*, as if hee had a hope to make himselfe Lord of all *Morea*. *Antigonus* who had his Army ready, expected onely the opportunity of the time. But when hee saw by those things which had happened, according to the aduertisement of *Arate*, that the time approached of *Cleomenes* voyage into *Thebessy*, hee causeth his Army to march towards *Isthmus* by *Beocia*, hauing aduertised the *Acheins* of his affaires: For the *Etolians* being discontented at his descent, sent him word, that hee should not passe within the freights of *Thermophiles*; and if hee vnderooke it, they would take Armes to hinder his passage. Thus *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* lodged their Armies before one another. The one to enter into *Morea*, and the other to keepe his Frontier. And although the *Acheins* had receiued great losses, yet they fainted not. But being suddainly aduertised of the reuolte of *Aristote* of *Argos* against *Cleomenes*, they reliued him vnder the conduct of *Timoxene*, and tooke the Towne of *Argos*, which was of great consequence vnto them: For by this meanes the fury of *Cleomenes* was much abated, and the Souldiers hearts broken, as appeared plainly: For although that *Cleomenes* Army was much stronger by reason of the opportunity of places, and abundance of victuals, hauing also good and resolute Souldiers, yet there was so great and suddaine an alteration after the taking of *Argos*, that *Cleomenes* leauing all, made a retreat, fauouring of a flight: So much hee feared that hee should bee inclosed by his cruell Enemies.

Reuolte of *Aristote*
of *Argos*

Argos taken by
the *Acheins*.

Acrocorinthe
taken by *Antigonus*.

From thence hee marcht directly to *Argos*, where hee made great attempts to carry it by assault. But for that the *Acheins* resisted like braue men on the one side, and the *Argiues* on the other, for feare of the fault committed, hee was deceiued in his hope: And in passing by *Mantinia*, he led his Army to *Sparta*. When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Morea*, hee tooke *Acrocorinthe*. Then hee made haste to goe to *Argos*, where hee much commended the *Argiues*, and serued an order for the affaires of the City. From thence he returned againe into *Arcadia* with his Army, and chaled away the Garrisons out of those Forts which *Cleomenes* had built, the which he restored to the *Megalopolitains* passing

ing by the Region *Egitane*. Then he went to *Egia*, where he called an assembly of the *Acheins*: and made a great discourse of the present affaires, and shewed them in few words the times to come. Finally, being created chiefe of the whole league, he past the Winter in the Countreys of the *Corinthians* and *Sicyonians* with his Army. Then in the Spring he went to the field, to whom the *Acheins* ioynd, and being come within three dayes to the Towne of *Tegee*, hee besieged it. The *Tegetains* seeing the *Macedonians* very busie in making of Trenches, Mines, and all other preparations to take the Towne, they yeilded, being void of all hope: Whereas after he had ferled a good order, *Antigonus* marcht suddainly to *Laconice*. By this meanes approaching neere vnto *Cleomenes*, who kept vpon the Frontiers, hee had some small encounters with the Enemy. In the meane time they were aduertised by their Spies, that there were succours come from *Orchomeno* to *Cleomenes*. Wherefore *Antigonus* turned head to *Orchomeno*, and takes it without resistance. From thence he besieged *Mantinea*, which was also presently yeilded. Then hee led the Legions to *Heraca* and *Telphusa*, the which in like manner were yeilded in a short time. After this in the beginning of Winter, hee sent the *Macedonians* to their houses, and retired with the mercenaries to *Egia*, there to consult of the present affaires.

Tegee yeilded
vnto *Antigonus*.

Orchomeno taken
with other
Townes.

At that times *Cleomenes* aduertised that *Antigonus* had dismissed his Army, and that hee stayed at *Egia*, which is about three dayes iourney from *Megalopolis*, a vast Towne, and ill peopled: especially for that the greatest part had bene slaine in former batels, as we haue said, neere vnto *Licea*, and *Laodicea*: and that moreover at that time it was not carefully kept, by reason of the presence of *Antigonus*, he had a hope to surprize it. Wherefore hee marcht suddainly, being guided by some *Messenians*, who being chased and banisht from their Countrey, had retired to *Megalopolis*: and brought them by Night into the City. But day being come, he was in danger to be defeated with his whole Army, considering the great resistance the *Megalopolitains* made: the which happened vnto him three Moneths before, when he assailed a City seated in *Colea*. It is true, that in the end he had the Victory, as well by reason of the multitude of his men, as for that he had formerly gotten the places of aduantage.

After hee had taken and spoiled the City, and chased away the *Megalopolitains*, hee razed it vnterly, to the end they should haue no more hope to re-edifie it. In my opinion hee did it tending to that which the *Lionenses*, the *Megalopolitains*, and the *Stymphaliens* with other bordering people, conceiue, that Traytours, or those which loue reuoltes, are neuer in safety. Without doubt the wickednesse of one man blemisht all the virtue of the *Clitoriens*: This was *Thearce* whom with reason the *Clitoriens* denied to bee borne in their Countrey, saying, hee was of *Orchomeno*, and the Sonne of some stranger. Moreover, for that there are some which preferre *Philarchus* before al others that haue written this History, although that many times hee speaks and iudges of things contrary to *Arate*, I haue thought it

Thearce.

good, nay rather necessary, not to conceale this: To the end they may discern truth from falshood, and the rather for that we haue followed *Arate*. Hee hath spoken many things throughout the whole History as Affection hath transported him; which are not needfull to debate at this present, holding those things to be deliuered by vs, which happened at such time as we Write, that is to say, during the *Cleomenique* Warre: For that they would be more then sufficient to discouer the errors and faults of this Author.

First when he labours to set forth the cruelty of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and moreover that of *Arate* and the *Acheins*, he sayd A that as soone as he had Conquered the *Mantineins*, they caused them to suffer great outrages and cruelties, and that the City which was one of the noblest and most auncient of *Arcadia*, fell into so great misery and ruine, as it mooued all *Greece* to weepe and lament. And when as afterwards he seeks to make the cruelty seeme greater, and to mooue the Readers hearts, he relates a burning of Women, their haire scattered vp and downe, their Paps naked, the teares and lamentations made by men and women, who dragg'd after them their little Children and their Parents broken with age. This hee doth often throughout his whole History, to let every man see the agravating of their miseries. Leauing then this basenesse and effeminacy of his heart, let vs seeke the things which are most proper and profitable for the History.

The duty of a Historiographer.

What is required in a Tragedy.

A Historiographer ought not to mooue the affections of men, nor seeke occasions fit for it, neyther let him pursue the miseries of men (the which belongs to the makers of Tragedies) but let him deliuer truly the sayings and doings of men, although they be not great. Without doubt a History and a Tragedy, tend not to one and the same end, but rather are quite contrary. For they must labour in a Tragedy to draw by coniecture the hearts of the Auditors to Hope, Feare, Care, Pleasure, and such like affections. But in a History hee must imploy his whole indeauour to relate truly the sayings and doings of men. Wherefore things that are likely and coniectural, are necessary in the one, to abuse the Assistants, and those which are true in this being Written for the profit of the Readers.

You must vnderstand likewise that this Historiographer many times doth not yeild the cause in his History, nor the reason of things, without the which they cannot easily mooue any to pity, or indignation in humane affairs. But what is he that will not finde it strange to see a Cittizen whipt: yet if any one be so by reason of his offence, wee finde it reasonable. And if any one strikes a free man to punish and amend him, shall wee not hold him an honest man and praise worthy? Murder in a Cittizen is likewise forbidden, and severely punisht: But if any one kills a Thiefe or an Adulterer, is hee not held for innocent? And if any one kills a Traytor to his Country, or a Tyrant, shall hee not be commended by all the World, held deare and honoured? VVee must therefore looke to the end in all things, and to the intention of the man, not to that which is acted, but to the causes and Discourses, with

with consideration of the differences. The *Mantineins* leauing first the Common-weale of the *Acheins*, gaue themselves and their Countrey willingly to the *Etolians*, and soone after to *Cleomenes*. In the meane time, whilst they liued vnder the *Lacedemonians*, the *Acheins* tooke them againe vnder the Conduct of *Arate*, foure yeeres before the Descent of *Antigonus*: where they were so far from being punished for the offence committed, as this easie and suddaine reuinion of two people into one Common-wealth, seemed incredible to the whole VVorld.

The reuolue of the *Mantineins*.

A For as soone as *Arate* was entred, he forbad his men to touch their good: Calling the Burgeses afterwards together, wishing them not to care, and that they should inioy their goods, and be assisted to liue in peace, as long as they were vnder the *Acheins* Common weale. The *Mantineins* who seemed to be without hope, were wonderfully reioyced at the words of *Arate*: VVherefore they presently changed their opinion, receiuing those into their Houses, to whom formerly they had beene deadly enemies, with whom they did communicate their Goods and VVealth: Finally, they omitted nothing of that which seemed necessary for the setting of a firme friendshippe; and in

The courteous vltige of *Arate* to the *Mantineins*.

B truth it was not without cause. I doe not know if euer any fell into the hands of more gracious enemies, or being false into so great inconueniences, haue relieued and raised themselves with so little losse: the which proceeded from the humanity of *Arate* and the *Acheins*. Afterwards seeing a farre off the seditions which were renewed amongst them, and the practise of the *Etolians* and *Lacedemonians*, they send an Embassie to the *Acheins*, to deliuer their Towne into their protection and to receiue a Garrison. VVho presently leuied three hundred men, and sent them to *Mantineia*, these three hundred men of the *Acheins* nation, leauing their Countrey and all their estates, they remained at *Mantineia* to prelerue their liberty. They had moreover two hundred C Souldiers that were strangers.

Soone after there grew a sedition among the *Mantineins*, wherefore they called the *Lacedemonians*, deliuering them the Towne; and to the end their wickednesse might be full and compleat, they murdered all the *Acheins*; a crime which was most execrable. For seeing they would leaue the party and friendship of the *Acheins*, they should at the least haue sent backe the Garrison safe into their Countrey. It is a Custome which enemies obserue daily by a Common Law. But to the end they might with more ease shewe their affection to *Cleomenes* and the *Lacedemonians*, there proceeded to this great cruelty and basenesse, who in breaking the Law of Nations would not spare their Friends. Seeing then they haue practised such great cruelty towards those, who hauing lately taken their Towne, increased them like men without offence, and now defended and kept their Towne, of what paines shall wee iudge them worthy? VVhat punishment may wee ordaine for so foule an outrage? Shall they be sold with their wives and Children? But by the Law of Armes they may doe it to those, which haue not committed such crimes nor such cruelties. They were therefore wor-

The great villainy committed by the *Mantineins*.

thy of a greater punishment, and a more grievous example. Wherefore if they haue suffered no more but that which *Philarchus* mentioned, we must beleue that the *Grecians* were not moued to pity, but rather commended the iudgement of the *Acheins*; who had resolved that so great a cruelty (the like whereof had neuer beene spoken of) should be grievously punished.

The *Mantiniens* sold,

Seeing then the *Mantiniens* at that time had no other harme, but the losse of their goods, and were sold by their enemies, who will not hold this Historiographer to be a lyer, and moreover to haue Written incredible things: And to the end he might shew his ignorance, he hath not obserued that the *Acheins* at the same time did not the like vnto the *Tegates*, whom they tooke in battell: For if the cruelty of the *Acheins* had bene the cause thereof, there is no doubt but the *Tegates* had suffered in like manner. But seeing that this Rigour fell onely vpon the *Mantiniens*, it is apparent that the cause of their choller was diuers. Moreover, this same Historiographer tells vs, that *Aristomachus* the *Argine*, of a noble Family, and of an auncient Tyrannicall Race, was Tyrant of *Argos*, who being taken by *Antigonus* and the *Acheins*, and brought to *Cenchrea*, hee suffered the most vniust Death that euer man indured.

Aristomachus.

He makes him moreover (as it is his custome) to cast out lamentable cries, the night that he was strangled: And that the neighbours terrified partly with the cruelty, and partly desirous to know what it was, some of them wonderfully incensed ranne thither. He also sets downe other effeminate things, which we will leaue for the present, being content with that which we haue here related. For my part I conceiue that if *Aristomachus* had done no other thing against the *Acheins*, but to turne the Common-weale into ruine, and the liberty of the Country into Tyranny, that he hath worthily deserved very great punishment. Although that this gentle Historiographer desirous to attribute great glory vnto him, and to begge pity from the Auditors, by a commemoration of the paines which he indured, he doth not once say, that he was a Tyrant, but that hee was descended of a Tyrannicall Race. What could he say worse, or more pernicious? For the very name is the field where all cruelty is sowne, and which imbraceeth all the outrages and villanies of men. And admit that *Aristomachus* had indured great torments, as *Philarchus* sayth, yet he was not sufficiently punished for that which he committed in one day: for when as *Arate* entred into *Argos* with a Troupe of *Acheins*, without Discouery, labouring to restore the *Argines* to their liberty, hee was in the end forced to leaue the Towne, for that hee found not any man would take Armes, for the feare they had of this Tyrant.

The cruelty of *Aristomachus*.

Wherefore *Aristomachus* taking his occasion (for that they had consented to the coming of the *Acheins*) put to Death fourescore Citizens in the presence of his familiars. Beleue me it will bee tedious to relate the cruelty which he committed in his life time: He held it of his Predecessors by right of inheritance. And therefore wee must not thinke they haue done him wrong, if they haue made him serue for an example

example with torments: For it would haue beene much more vnworthy, that so wicked a man after the murder of so many, and after so many thefts and spoyles, should haue died vnpunished like an Innocent. Neither can they charge *Antigonus* nor *Arate* of cruelty, to haue put a Tyrant to death in Prison, whom they had taken in open Warre, and whom they might with reason and honour haue taken during a peace, and haue put him to a cruell death. But of what punishment will not you hold him worthy, who besides all these things brake his accord with the *Acheins*. A little before hee had relinquish't the tyranny, being destitute of all hope and succours after the death of *Demetrius*. At what time the *Acheins* did not onely saue him, but entertaine him so courteously and graciously, as they remitted all the wrongs which hee had done during his Reigne, and gaue him great advancements in their Common-wealth. Finally, they made him Chiefe of the *Acheins*. But this wicked man amongst all others, forgetting that great humanity and clemency, began presently to plot how hee might make a league with *Cleomenes*, retiring himselfe in that greatest neede soone after to the Enemy: whereby the *Acheins* were in great danger. Who some few dayes after was taken in Warre, was henot worthy to dye in the Night in the Prison at *Cenchrea*, as *Philarchus* saith, but hee should rather haue beene carried throughout all *Morea*, and after that hee had suffered infinite torments, to haue dyed cruelly. Yet hee was onely strangled in Prison, although hee had committed all sorts of Villany.

Aristomachus strangled.

Moreover, the same Historiographer holds a long discourse of the miseries of the *Mantiniens*, as if hee thought it were the duty of an Historiographer onely to relate cruell and vniust actions. In regard of the virtue and magnanimity of the *Megalopolitains*, which they shewed at that time, he makes no mention, as if the duty of an History were rather to remember the wickednesse and vices of men, than things well and commendably done: Whereas the Readers of Histories shall reape more profit by deeds which are worthy to bee imbraced and followed, than those which are vniust, and to bee auoided. Moreover hee pursues his Discourse, how that *Cleomenes* tooke the City, and that hee sent Letters to *Messena* to the *Megalopolitains*, aduising them to returne into their Countrey which was whole, and to be of his party: And how the *Megalopolitains* could not endure they should finish the reading of the Letters, and could hardly forbear from doing outrage to the messenger, with many other petty triuall things, to shew the magnificence and modesty of *Cleomenes* towards his Enemies. But hee forbears to tell that which followed, and which was very proper to the History, which is the praise and memory of things well done. But who hindred him? If we hold them honest men who in words and will maintaine a Warre for their Allies, and if wee doe not onely praise with admiration, but also giue thanks with Presents, to those that endure the spoile of their Countrey with fire and sieges, what commendations shall we giue then to the *Megalopolitains*? what affection shall wee beare vnto them? Shall it not be great and ample?

The great fidelity of the *Megalopolitains* First,

First, they left the Prouince to *Cleomenes*, and abandoned their owne Country, rather than to breake their Faith with the *Acheins*. Finally, although that contrary to hope, and the opinion of all the world, they might haue returned into their Country with safety, yet they desired rather to be banished, forsaking their houses, Sepulchers, Temples and goods, and finally, all their estates, than to be taxed to haue broken their Faith with their Allies. Was there euer any thing done that was more rare and excellent? Whereunto then should an Historiographer make his Auditours more attentue? With what examples could hee better exhort men to keepe their Faith, and to follow things well done. But *Philarchus* makes no mention hereof, and is in my opinion blind, when as braue exploits which are worthy of memory offer themselves.

The third part
of the booty is
dueto the Ge-
nerall.

Hee saith moreouer, that the *Lacedemonians* made a spoile within *Megalopolis* of three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof *Cleomenes* according to the custome had twelue hundred thousand. But who will not maruaile at the beastlinesse and ignorance of this man, touching the Riches and power of *Greece*: the which are things which an Historiographer ought to know. Truly, I dare boldly affirme, that they could not gather together this Summe in all *B* *Morea*, out of the money of all their mouables, excepting their persons: I meane not in the time when it was impouerished by the oppressions of the Kings of *Macedony*, and by the diuers Warres which they had amongst themselves, but at such time when as all the Townes were firmly vnited together, and when as Fortune seemed to smile on them. But to shew that what wee say, proceeds not from ouer-weening or want of reason, it appears thus. Who knowes not that when the *Acheins* ioyned to the *Thebeins*, made Warre against the *Lacedemonians*, and that they were to raise an Army of ten thousand men, and another at Sea of an hundred Triremes, and that they had calculated the charge, it not onely emptied their publicke Coffers, but also their houses and the whole Prouince: and that finally, they could hardly draw together three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof there wanted an hundred and fifty thousand.

You must not hold that strange which I now affirme of *Morea*. There is not any man that dare assure, that the spoile of *Megalopolis* at that time, did amount to aboute ninecore thousand Crownes: and that the people, as well Burgeses as Slaues retired to *Messina*. Whereof behold a great argument: For when the *Mantineans* were not lesse strong, nor of meaner estate than the *Arcadians*, as this Historiographer sayth, were enuiroined by a sieg, so as when they yielded, no man could steale away, nor carry away any thing: Yet the whole spoile, reckoning it at the vttermost, accompting the bodies, was esteemed but ninecore thousand Crownes. Moreouer, who will not wonder at that which hee saith afterwards, that an Embassie from *Ptolomy* came ten dayes before this battell, to let *Cleomenes* vnderstand that he was not resolued to contribute any longer to the charges of this Warre, and that hee aduised him to agree with *Antigonus*? The which *Cleome-*

nes

The pillage of
Mantineia came
to ninecore
thousand
Crownes.

nes hearing, he resolued to hazard the battell, before his Souldiers should heare the newes, lest they should mutine, when they should be out of hope of their pay. But if it were true, that he had lately gotten three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes in *Megalopolis*, what neede hath he of *Ptolomys* contribution, seeing that ninecore thousand Crownes were more then sufficient to defeat *Antigonus* forces? Is it not a great weakenesse in him to say, that *Cleomenes* did expect pay for his Souldiers from *Ptolomy*, and withall, that he had taken so great a booty of money in *Megalopolis*? My Discoutse *A* should be long if I should pursue the vices wherewith this good Historiographer doth generally abound: but this shall suffice for this present.

After the taking of *Megalopolis*, at such time as *Antigonus* wintered in the City of *Argos*, *Cleomenes* drew his Army together, as soone as the opportunity of the time would giue him leaue. And ha-
Antigonus leu-
ed by *Cleome-
nes*.
ning preached vnto his men, he entred into the Countrey of *Argos*. Many blamed him for this attempt, as being too bold and rash, in regard of the situation of the Countrey, which is difficult and strong by Nature. Others which were of a better Iudgement, *B* held it wisely done. For when as he saw that *Antigonus* had left the greatest part of his Army in the Countrey, and had with him but a small handfull of Mercenary Souldiers, he had a conceit, that hee might easily enter the Prouince without danger: And if he put all vnto fire and Sword, euen vnto the Walles of the City, the *Argines* through necessity would charge *Antigonus*, who thorough his basenesse must endure such outrages. Finally, if hee be forced to come to fight, moued with the cries of the people, who shall hinder him to haue the Victory, seeing he hath a greater Troupe of men? If he doth not abandon the City as it is fitting, hee can *C* carry backe his men without danger into his Countrey, after that he hath ouer-runne the Champion: Leauing a great amazement and terrour to his Enemies, and assuring the hearts of his owne Souldiers. The which succeeded according to his proiect. For when the people saw the whole Prouince thus spoyled, they began to blame *Antigonus*: who notwithstanding discharging the Duty of a wise and discreet Captaine, would not goe to field. *Cleomenes* in the meane time ouer-ran their whole Countrey without feare. By this meanes he returned safely into his Countrey, after that hee had at pleasure ruined the Prouince, and left a great amazement amongst the *Argines*, and made his owne men more hardy for the future VVarre.

But when the Spring came, the *Macedonians* and the *Acheins* returning from wintering, went to field: *Antigonus* marcht to *Laconice* with his Army, consisting of ten thousand *Macedonians*, three thousand Archers, three hundred Horse, a thousand Bowmen, and likewise as many of the *Ganles*: Moreouer, three thousand Foote which were Mercenaries, with three hundred Horse, and about a thousand *Megalopolitains* armed after the manner of the

The number
of Nations
which were in
Antigonus Ar-
my.

the *Macedonians*, whereof *Cerides* had the leading. As for the *Alies*, hee had two thousand Foote of *Baniere*, and two hundred Horfe: a thousand Foote of the *Epirotes*, and fifty Horfe: and as many of the *Acarnanians*: and besides all these, a thousand and sixe hundred *Sclanionians*, whereof *Demetrius* of *Phare* was Capitaine. Thus the whole Army consisted of twenty eight thousand Foote, and twelue hundred Horfe. *Cleomenes* being advertised by his Spies of the Enemies descent, hee placed forces vpon the passages, by the which they might enter into his Countrey, fortifying them with Trenches and Trees cut downe: And hee himselfe went with his Army to a passage which they call *Sellasia*, thinking as it happened, that the Enemy would take that way. His Army was about twenty thousand men. There were two Mountaines in this passage, whereof the one is called *Eua* by the people of the Countrey, and the other *Olympus*. There is a way betwixt both which runs along a River vnto *Sparta*. When as *Cleomenes* had lodged himselfe in these two Mountaines, and had carefully fortified them with Trenches and Pallisadoes, hee put the Souldiers which were drawne together with the Allies into *Eua*, whereof his Cozen *Euclide* had the Command, and stayed himselfe in that of *Olympus* with the *Lacedemonians* and Mercenaries. Moreover, hee placed his Horfe-men in the Plaine, with some of the Mercenaries, vpon the two Bankes of the River.

When as *Antigonus* was come into those places, and finding the situation of them, and the wonderfull industry of *Cleomenes* to dispose of his Army, hee was not resolu'd to fight at that time. And therefore hee camped neere vnto him, vpon the banke of the River of *Gorgile*: whereas staying some dayes, hee turned about the Countrey and the Enemies Campe and sought to draw them to battell by skirmishes. But when hee found nothing without defence, for that the Providence of *Cleomenes* had carefully rampired all places, hee gaue ouer his enterprize: But in the end they resolu'd by a common consent, to make an end of their Warre by a battell. Behold how Fortune had drawne together two great Captaines, equall in virtue, Counsell and Wisedome. Thus *Antigonus* opposed in Front to those which held the Mountaine of *Eua*, the *Macedonians* with their Targets, and the *Sclanionians*: and hee put the Leginaries in diuers bands to succour the one and the other: to whom hee gaue for Commander, *Alexander*, the Sonne of *Amata*, and *Demetrius* of *Phare*.

After these march the *Acarnanians* and they of *Candy*: Finally, he placed two thousand *Acheins* for a supply, to succour them at need. Then he set his Horfe-men neere vnto the River-side in Front of the Enemies Horfe, whereof *Alexander* had the charge with two thousand Foote-men. As for *Antigonus*, hee lodged neere vnto Mount *Olympus* with the bands of Adventurers, and the *Macedonians*: where hee resolu'd to fight with *Cleomenes*. VVhen hee had put the Mercenaries into battell, hee caused the Battalion of the

Macedonians

Macedonians to march. The place which was straight, would not suffer them to doe otherwise. They had given charge to the *Sclanionians* to begin the battell, as soone as they should see a white cloth, which should be aduanced neere vnto Mount *Olympus*, at the foote whereof they lodged at Night, vnder the River of *Gorgile*. The *Megalopolitains* also with the Horfe-men were to enter the combate, as soone as they should see a purple Robe, aduanced in the Aire from the Kings Quarter.

The hoore of the battell was now come, the *Sclanionians* had already discouered *Antigonus* signe. They encourage their Companions according to the opportunity of the time, making no doubt but they had the victory in their hands. Then they endeauoured with wonderfull resolution to gaine the Mountaine. But the Foote-men which were lightly armed, whom *Cleomenes* as wee haue sayd, left in the Plaine with the Horfe-men, seeing that the Bands of the *Acheins* had not the courage to second them, charg'd them vpon the Reare, so as they were in great danger: For on the right hand, and in Front *Euclide* had the better with his men: and the Mercenaries on the left hand, fighting obstinately, made a great spoile vpon the Reare. By this meanes they were suddainly enuioured with two Troopes of Enemies. When *Philopomene* the *Megalopolitain* saw this disorder, hee suddainly gaue good aduice to the Captaines. But for that hee was a young man, and had neuer had charge they gaue no care vnto him. Wherefore addressing himselfe to those of his Nation, Companions sayth hee, the Victory is ours: if you will follow mee. And in charging the Enemies Horfe, they assailed them with great courage. Wherefore the Adventurers strangers, who fought in the Reare of those which assail'd the Mountaine, hearing a great noise, and seeing the Combate of the Horfe-men, retired to aide and succour them, whereunto they had beene at the first ordained.

The order of the Enemies being by this meanes broken, the *Sclanionians* and *Macedonians* with others whom *Antigonus* had appointed, fell vpon them with great violence and fury. So as afterwards all the World was of opinion, that the industry and courage of *Philopomene* had defeated *Euclide* at that time. And therefore they say, that when as *Antigonus* demanded of *Alexander* why hee had sent the Horfe-men against the Enemy, before hee had seene the signe, and that hee had answered, it was not hee, but a young *Megalopolitain* which had done it without his priuity, hee then replied, that this young man had performed the duty of a good Captaine, and *Alexander* that of a young foole.

But they which kept the toppe of the Mountaine with *Euclide*, shewed their baseness, seeing the Enemies ascend: for they shoud not haue attended vntill they had gain'd the top with safety: But relying vpon the aduantage of the place, they should haue encountred them, and charged them from aboue: and if necessity had required, they might haue retired safely on the right hand, to charge the Enemy againe. In doing this they had easily broken, defeated

O 2

and

The courage of *Philopomene* is the cause of the Victory.

Sellasia.

Eua.
Olympus.

Euclide.

Antigonus
Campe seated
vpon the
Bankes of *Gorgile*.

The order of
Antigonus Battell.

and put the *Macedonians* to flight. But they did the contrary, as if they had the Victory certaine in their hands; for without moving from the place which the *Cleomenes* had appointed them, they staid expecting the enemy, with hope of a greater defeat: For that they should be repulsed and beaten from the highest place of the Mountaine. But they soone suffered the pinnance of their basenesse. For after that the *Macedonians* had recovered the Mountaine, without any resistance, and were come into the Plaine, they fell vpon their enemies, fighting hand to hand with so great fury, as they presently draue them backe into the hollow Caues and inaccessible places.

In the meane time the Combate was cruell among the Horse-men, where it was worth the fight, to behold with what heate, force, and courage the *Acheins* fought, considering they all fought for the liberty of the Countrey. But among all others they made great esteeme of *Philopomene*; for when his Horse was over-thrown with a *Pertuisane* he fainted not, fighting long on foote with great courage. Finally in the end hee died valliantly, being shot thorough the shinne-bones with an Arrow. On the other side the Kings had begunne the fight at Mount *Olympus* with the mercenaries and such as were lightly armed. They were about fise thousand men, who fought sometimes man to man, and sometimes they tried the Fortune of the whole Troupe. There the Victory was long in suspence; finally they parted equally from the battell.

But when as *Cleomees* was aduertised that *Emilide* had abandoned the Mountaine, and that the Allies had turned head, and that the Horse-men were in great despaire, and that all trembled for feare, hee resolved to goe out of his Fort, and to put his whole Army in Front vpon one side of the Campe; and therefore hee caused them to found a Retreat. By this meanes when those that were lightly armed were drawne together, the two Armies charged with their Pikes and lauelings. The Combate was cruell, and the charge performed with so great courage on either side, as the Victory was long doubtfull, and the iudgement difficult who deserued the greatest honour: For that sometimes the *Lacedemonians* retired, and againe they made the *Macedonians* giue backe.

Finally, when as the *Lacedemonians* were vanquished and put to flight, they were slaine heere and there like sheepe. *Cleomenes* saued himselfe in *Sparta* without any wound, being accompanied by some of the Horse-men. From thence hee retired the night following to *Sythia*, where he imbarqued in certaine shippes which lay long ready for the necessities of the Countrey, and sailed with his friends to *Alexandria*. When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Lacedemon* finding no resistance, hee intreated the *Lacedemonians* graciously and courteously in all things; but especially in suffering them to liue and gouerne their Common-weale after the Lawes of the Countrey. When he had staid certaine daies there, he returned into *Macedony* with his Army, hauing newes of the descent of the *Sclauonians*, and of the spoile they made. Behold how Fortune disposeth of great affaires as she pleaseth.

There

Philopomene.

The victory of
Antigonus against
Cleomenes.

Lacedemon taken by
Antigonus.

There is no doubt but if *Cleomenes* had deferred the battell a little, or staid in *Sparta* after his defeat, keeping them in hope, in the end he had prevailed in his affaires after the retreat of *Antigonus*. *Antigonus* came from thence to *Tegee*; to whom hee left their Common-weale intire. Three dayes after hee arrived at *Argos*, at such time as the people were gathered together to celebrate the *Nemean* games, who presently went soorth to meete him. All the City had their eyes fixt vpon him and beheld him, all the World commended him; all the assembly of *Greece*, and every City in particular did him Honour, not onely Humane but Diuine.

From thence he made hast to go into *Macedon*, where as he found the *Sclauonians* spoiling the Country; to whom hee gaue battell, and got the Victory after a long combate. But hee cried so much during the fight, as within few dayes after hee died of a fluxe of blood; so as the *Grecians* lost the great hope they had conceiued, nor so much for his skill in Warre, as for his vertue and royall perfections. He left the Realme of *Macedony* to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*. But if you demand of me why I haue helde so long a Discourse of this present Warre, you must know I haue done it of purpose. For as this time concures with that whereof wee meane to speake, I haue held it fit and necessary, to let the World vnderstand, according to my first resolution, what the estate of the *Macedonians* and *Grecians* were at that time. At that time *Ptolomy* died of sicknesse, to whom succeeded *Ptolomy Philopater*. The like did *Seleucus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, who was turnamed *Callinice*; and in like manner *Pogon*, to whom his brother *Antiochus* succeeded in the Realme of *Syria*.

The like in a manner hapned to those which helde the Kingdomes of *Alexander* after his death, as *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Eysimachus*; for those died in the hundredth foure and tweneth *Olympiade*, as wee haue formerly related; and these in the hundredth thirty nine. Seeing wee haue exposed the preparation of all our History, and sufficiently declared at what time and how, and for what causes the *Romanes* after the conquest of all *Italy* assailed forraigne Realmes, and what the estate then was of *Greece*, *Macedony*, and the *Carthaginians*. I haue thought it fit to make an end of this Booke, with a Commemoration of these actions, and this alteration of Kingdomes: Seeing that according to our intention we are come vnto the times when as the *Grecians* made the VVarre of the Allies, the *Romanes* against *Hannibal*; and to that when as the Kings of the lower *Asia*, fought for the Empire of *Syria*.

The end of the Second Booke of Polybius.

O 3

THE

Sparta or Lacedemon.

The Victory of
Antigonus against the
Sclauonians.

The Death of
many great
Princes.



THE THIRD BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



We have shewed sufficiently in the First Booke, how that wee haue taken for the beginning and foundation of the *Romanes* actions, the VVarre betwixt the Allies, that of *Hannibal*, and that of *Syria*: Wee haue in like manner set downe the causes, for the which wee haue bene forced (in reducing the beginnings farther off,) to write the History of the Second Booke. Now we will indeauour to make you vnderstand the Warres themselves, and the causes why they were vndertaken, and dispersed in so many places, hauing let you vnderstand, in as few words as possible we may, the attempts of the people of *Rome*. Seeing that which wee haue vndertaken to write is but a Worke, and as it were a spectacle; (that is to say,) how, when, and wherefore all the Countries of the VVorld haue bene reduced vnder the obedience of the *Romans*, B and that this hath a notorious beginning, a prefixed time, and the end certaine. VVee haue thought it good to deliuer summarily the accidents which hapned from the beginning vnto the end of these VVarres: Imagining that they which desire to see our Worke, will more easily come to the knowledge of the whole History. Beleeue me that our vnderstanding conceiues many things necessary for a particular History, by the knowledge of the generall; for the vnderstanding whereof, the experience of peticular actions is of no small importance; and if they be

be both ioyned together, so as it may bee but one description, they will be wonderfull profitable to the Reader. But as for the contents of our Worke, wee haue sufficiently spoken thereof in the two first Bookes. And as for the peticular actions which haue hapned, they haue taken their beginning in the Warres which we haue Related, and there end at the death of the Kings of *Macedon*. So as from the beginning vnto the end there were fifty yeares; during the which there were as great and admirable things performed, as euer were in so short a space.

To speake whereof, wee will beginne to write from the hundreth and fortieth *Olympiade*, and will obserue this order. First wee will shew the causes for the which this VVarre, which they call of *Hannibal*, beganne betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*: So as entring into *Italy*, they reduced the *Romans* to so great an extremitie, as they suddenly grew in hope to be Lords, not only of the rest of *Italy*, but also of the City of *Rome*. And afterwards we will continue our narration, vpon what occasion *Philip* King of *Macedon*, after that he had made VVarre with the *Etolians* and pacified *Greece*, entred into hope with the *Carthaginians*. And as for *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Philopater*, they in the end had Warre together for the lower *Syria*, after a long dissention. Moreouer the *Rhodiens* and *Prusiens* making VVarre agansth them of *Constantinople*, forced them to abandon *Pontus*. And there ending our Discourie, we will beginne to speake of the manner of liuing of the *Romans*, of their Lawes and of their Common-weales: By the which as proper to them, they haue attained vnto such great power, as they haue not only made subiect to their obedience, *Italy*, *Sycile*, and the *Gauls*, and likewise *Spaine* in a short time; but in the end they haue vndertaken the Empire of the whole World, after they had vanquished the *Carthaginians* by Armes. Then passing on we will shew, how the Kingdome of *Hieron* of *Saragossa* was defeated and ruined. The like we will do of diuers troubles which were in *Egypt*. C Moreouer how after the death of King *Ptolomy*, *Antiochus*, and *Philip*, being agreed touching the diuision of the Realme left vnto the Sonne, began the Warre. *Philip* agansth *Egypt* and *Samos*, and *Antiochus* agansth *Syria* and *Phenicea*.

The Countries
conquered by
the *Romans*.

Hieron.

The Warres
which *Antiochus*
and *Philip*
made.

And when as we haue summarily set downe the affaires of *Spaine*, *Lybia*, and *Sycile*, we will presently turne our Discourie to *Greece*, as the affaires shall change. For after that we haue related the VVars at Sea, which *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* made agansth *Philip*: and hauing set downe the *Romans* VVarre agansth him, how and by whom it had bene mannaged, and what successe it had, obseruing the order of things, we wilcome to the indignation of the *Etolians*, who proclaimed VVarre agansth the *Romans*, and drew *Antiochus* out of *Asia*. And when we haue deliuered the causes, and related *Antiochus* nauigation into *Europe*, we will first shew how he fled out of *Greece*; and being vanquished by Armes, how he abandoned vnto the *Romans*, all the Countries which lie on this side Mount *Taurus*. Thirdly, we will shew with what power the *Romans* conquered the Empire of *Asia*, after they

Mount *Taurus*

Emmewides.
Ariarate.
Morea.

The Conquest
of the Romanes
in 53. years

they had wholly defeated the *Gauls*, who wandred vp and downe, and how they freed the whole Countrey on this side Mount *Taurus*, from the feare of the *Barbarians*, and the insolency of the *Gauls*. And when we haue related the misfortune of the *Etolians* and *Cephalius* in their Warres, we will make mention of those of *Emmewides*, of *Prusia*, and of the *Gauls*, the like we will do of that of *Ariarate* against *Pharnace*. From thence dispatching the records of them of *Morea*, and the increase of the *Rhodian* Common-wealth, we will make an end of our worke, setting downe in the end the Voyages which *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes*, made into *Egypt*. And in like manner the Warres of *Persia* with the ruine of the Kingdome of the *Macedonians*. These are things whereby we may easily vnderstand how the *Romanes* in a short submitted the whole Earth vnder their obedience, assailing them in periculous. And if it were lawfull to discern vertue from vice, by the good or bad successe of affaires, or from the praise or dishonour of men, we must of necessity make an end here, and turne our Relation to things which in the beginning we propounded to set down, for this hath continued fifty three years: during the which the *Roman* Empire hath gotten so great an increase, as the whole World might well know, that they must do what their people commaunded. But for that such things, cannot be rightly iudged by the good Fortune of affaires, considering that many times those that seeme to be well done, are the cause of great inconueniencies, if they be not done in time: And contrary-wise they which are fallen into some disaster, many times turne their misfortunes to good, if they know how to haue patience. We haue thought it fitting to adde to that which we haue Written, what the nature of the Victors were, what means they held in the government of their Empire, and how the rest of the Townes, Regions, and Countries yielded willingly vnto them: And moreover what course of life, and what Lawes they held with all the World, as well in particular as generally with all their Common-wealths.

By this meanes they which liue at this day, shall plainly see, whither it be good to sit, or voluntarily to submit to the Empire of *Rome*, and they which shall come after may iudge whither the actions of the *Romanes* be commendable and worthy of memory, or altogether blameable. Behold, wherein the profit of our History will consist, as well for the present as the future time. They which mannage a Warre, and they which vnder take to iudge of it, do not propound the Victory for the last end, nor wholly so subiect him selfe. Beleeue me, a wise man doth not make Warre with his neighbours, to see the defeat and ruine: Neither doth any man faile in diuers Seas, onely to make Voyages; nor pursues many Sciences and Disciplines, in regard onely of them. Without doubt we pursue these things, for that which follows, seemes pleasant, profitable, or decent, and therefore wee may with reason say, that the end of our Worke hath bene to know the condition of all things, after the Conquest of the World made by the *Romanes*, vntill they fell againe into new combustions.

Of which troubles I haue resolved to write, making as it were, a new beginning:

beginning: For that there hath bene great and memorable things, hauing not onely bene present at the greatest part, but also a comfort and assistant.

This trouble grew, when as the *Romanes* made Warre against the *Celiberians*, and the *Carthaginians* against *Massinissa*, King of *Lybia*: and what time *Attalus* and *Prusias* were at Warre in *Asia*. And then *Ariarate* King of *Capadocia* expell'd his Realme by *Rosernus*, by the meanes of *Demetrius*, was soone after restored by him. But *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Seleucus*, lost his Realme and life by the conspiracy of other Kings, after hee had held *Syria* twelue yeeres. And then the *Romanes* restored the *Grecians* to their Citties, whom they had charged to bee the Authours of the *Persian* Warre, after they had accepted the excuse of their innocency: Soone after they made Warre against the *Carthaginians*, for the causes which wee will specifye, so as they resolved first to transport them, and afterwards wholly to ruine them.

And for that the *Macedonians* abandoned the part of the *Romanes*, and the *Lacedemonians* the Common weale of the *Acheins*, there followed the vtter ruine and destruction of all *Greece*. This shall serue for the Preamble of our Worke. I haue neede of the fauour of Fortune, to the end that by the meanes of life I may finish this my resolution, although I hold it for certaine, that if a long life should faile mee, yet there would bee alwayes some one found among so great a multitude of wise and learned men, that would finish our Woike, and endeavour to bring vnto perfection that, which suddaine Death might hinder and preuent in vs.

As wee haue related at large the deeds which seeme most memorable, desiring that our whole worke might bee knowne to the Reader, as well in generall as periculous, it is now time vnto the declaration of our designe. The greatest part of those which haue written the deeds of *Hannibal*, desiring to shew the cause of the Warre which kindled betwixt the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians*, say, that the siege of *Sagonte* was the first: and the second, that contrary to the accord made with the *Romanes*, they had past the River of *Ebro*.

For my part, I am of opinion that these were the beginnings, but not the causes, for there is a great difference betwixt the causes and beginning of things: vnlesse some will say, that the Voyage of *Alexander* the great into *Asia*, hath bene the cause of the Warre which he made against the *Persians*: Or that the descent which *Antiochus* made at *Demetriade*, hath bene the cause of that which was begun against the *Romanes*: the which is neither true nor likely.

But what man is so much blinded with ignorance, that will affirme and maintaine, that the preparations which were made partly by *Alexander*, and partly by *Phillip* in his life time, for the Warre of *Persia*: Or by the *Etolians*, to make Warre against the *Romanes*, before the coming of *Antiochus* hath bene the causes of the

Polybius hath bene present at a great part of the things which he hath written.

Demetrius lost his Realme and life by conspiracy.

The desire and affection of the Authours vpon the end of his Booke.

The beginning of a woe and the causes discrete.

As before mentioned.

Warre? These are the opinions of men, who doe not obserue how much the beginnings and the cause differ: and that the causes in all things are the first, and the beginning are the end of causes. I am of opinion that the beginnings are called the first workes of things which are resolved and concluded, and that the causes are those which precede the decree and resolution, and makes vs so to iudge: as are the thoughts, the aduices, the discourses of reason and such other things.

This will be apparent for that which follows: For it will be easie for any man to see for what cause the Warre of *Persia* was made, and whence the beginning came. The first was the returne of the *Grecians* with *Xenophon* into their Countrey, by infinite fierce and barbarous Nations: where not any one durst make head against him in so long a Voyage.

The second hath bene the Voyage of *Agesslaus* King of *Lacedaemonia* into *Asia* by Sea. Where hauing found nothing answerable to his forces, nor that presented it selfe, hee was forced to returne into *Greece*, for the troubles which were kindled there: as if he had triumphed ouer the *Barbarians*. For which causes *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, hauing experience of the basenesse and sloth of the *Persians* and relying vpon the readinesse of the *Macedonians* in matters of War: being likewise drawne with the hope of great gaine, he prepared Warre against them with all his forces, as soone as he found himselfe assured of the amity and friendship of the *Grecians*: taking his occasion, that the *Persians* had vsed great cruelty against them.

And therefore wee must say, that the causes of this Warre are those which wee haue first related, and the occasions are those whereof we now speake: and the beginning was *Alexanders* Voiage by Sea into *Asia*: And in that which was made against the *Romans* vnder the conduct of *Antiochus*, the wrath and indignation of the *Etruscians* was the cause. You must vnderstand that for the opinion which they had conceiued, that the *Romans* made no account of them as long as the Warre of *Phillip* continued, they not onely called *Antiochus* vnto their Succours, but also resolved to put all in hazard, so great their spleene and fury was for that which was past.

It is true, the liberty of *Greece* was the occasion, vnder hope whereof they laboured by all meanes to draw the neighbour Cities to their Enterprize: But the beginning of the Warre was the Voyage of *Antiochus* to *Demetriade*. Wee haue bene tedious in this Discourse, not to blame any one of the auncient Historiographers, but for the profit of those which haue a desire to learne. For as Physicians cannot cure their Patients, if they haue not knowledge of the causes of the Diseases wherewith they are troubled: So they which treat of Histories, are altogether vnprofitable, if the reason of the place, of the time, with the causes and occasions bee not knowne.

There

There is therefore nothing more necessary, nor more to be desired, than to know the causes of all things that happen: For opportunity doth many times rectifie great affaires, and it is easie to prevent their beginnings.

It is true that *Fabius* a Roman Historiographer saith; that the cruelty and inhumanity of *Hannibal* towards the *Saguntins*, and the ambition and insatiable desire of Rule in *Asdrubal*, haue bene the causes of the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Hannibal*, Generall of the *Carthaginians*. Then hee sayth that he had much augmented the *Carthaginians* Empire in *Spaine*, and that being returned to *Carthage*, hee sought to tirannize the Common-wealth, and to overthrow their Lawes. The which the chiefe men discouering, they opposed themselves against *Asdrubal*. Wherefore leauing *Affricke* in a rage, hee returned presently into *Spaine*, and afterwards managed the affaires according to his owne fancy, and without the authority of the Senate of *Carthage*. Moreouer, he saith, that *Hannibal* who from his youth had bene at the Warre vnder him, was of the same enterprize: and therefore after he was Lord of *Spaine*, hee followed the courtes of *Asdrubal*. So as this Warre which was made against the *Romans*, was begun by him in spite of the *Carthaginians*, and that there was not any man in *Carthage* which loued the Common-wealth, but did much blame the deeds of *Hannibal* against the *Saguntins*. Moreouer, hee sayth, that after the taking of *Sagunt*, there was an Embassie sent from *Rome* to *Carthage*, demanding *Hannibal* to bee punished for the breach of the accord, and if they would not yeeld vnto it, they should declare Warre against the *Carthaginians*.

But if a man should demand of *Fabius* what could succeed better, nor more reasonable, and expedient for the *Carthaginians*, than to deliuer vpon the *Romans* request the author of the offence, and him that had committed the fault, to punish him: Seeing that as hee sayth, they had disliked the actions of *Hannibal*: and by this meanes might reuenge by another the common Enemy of the Countrey, and maintaine the estate of their City in peace, chasing away the author of the warre, considering that this might bee well effected by a bare resolution? What can he answer? Nothing without doubt. Contrariwise they were so farre from doing it, as they maintained the Warre seuentene yeeres continuall against the *Romans*: Neither did they cease vntill destitute of all hope, they not onely hazarded their Countrey, but also their liues.

Finally, to what end doe wee vse this discourse of *Fabius* or of his writings? It is not to cry him downe: For his lying writings are apparent to those which reade them. It is onely to aduertise those which giue the credit, not so much to regard the title of the Authour, as the truth of things: For there are men which doe not beare so much respect to the writings, as to him that made them: and which thinke that for as much as *Fabius* liued in those times, and had bene of the Senate, that hee could not but speake truth. It is true, and I am of opinion, that we must giue beleefe and credit vnto him in

P a

many

The causes of
Alexanders
Warre in Per-
sia.

Agesslaus.

Phillip.

The cause of
the Etruscians
Warre against
the Romans.

A good com-
parison.

The Warre
of Hannibal
continued 17
yeeres.

many things, but yet wee may not beleuee all: for wee must consider things as they are, and how they agree.

Finally, to returne to our Discourse, we must not thinke that the first cause of the Warre, which the *Romans* had with the *Carthaginians*, was the indignation of *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, Father to *Hannibal*. And we must vnderstand that he was not vanquished by the *Romans*, during the Warre of *Sicily*; (for he preferred the Army which was about *Erix* with great Iudgement.) but when he saw the *Carthaginians* had lost the battell at Sea, hee thought good to yeeld vnto the time, and made a peace with the *Romans*, yet hee left not his indignation, A so as he expected continually an opportunity to be reuenged of them. And if the *Carthaginians* had not found themselves troubled with the mutiny of their Souldiers, hee would presently haue renewed the VVarre with all his power: and therefore being hindred by an intestine mischiefe, he deferred it to another time.

The *Romans* considering the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were by the mutiny of their Souldiers, threatened them with VVarre. To prevent the which, the *Carthaginians* made an accord as we haue specified in the former Booke, without which no man can vnderstand that which wee haue now sayd, nor that which followes. Finally, they B quit them *Sardinia*, as vnurnished both of counsell and aide: For that the *Romans* would not otherwise desist from their Enterprize, and they payed them beside the Summe already accorded, seven hundred thousand Crownes: which was the second and the greatest cause of the VVarre which afterwards began.

VVhen as all the people of *Carthage* were entred into the like indignation with *Hannibal*, and that *Amilcar* saw the mutiny of the Souldiers suppress, and the affaires of the Countrey pacified, he began to make VVarre in *Spain*, seeking to make vse of it, as a preparatiue to leade them against the *Romans*. Behold that which we must imagine C for the third cause, that is to say, the good fortune which the *Carthaginians* had: For that their hearts grew great, and therefore they vnderooke this VVarre more boldly. There is prooffe sufficient, that *Amilcar* was the principall cause of the second *Punique* VVarre, although he were dead ten yeeres before: but it shall suffice for the present to relate that which followeth: At what time that *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romans*, he retired to *Antiochus* leauing *Affricke*, the *Romans* aduertised of the *Etolians* attempt, sent an Embassier to *Antiochus* to know his will, and to discover by this meanes his preparation for Warre. D But hauing vnderstood that he held the party of the *Etolians*, and that he was resolu'd to make VVarre against the *Romans*, they frequented daily with *Hannibal*, seeking by their continuall familiarity, to draw him into suspicion and dislike; wherein they were not deceived: For *Antiochus* thinking he had bene gain'd by the *Romans*, suspected him long. But it happened on a time when as the King called him to his Councell, whereas he had goodliberty to speake. And then after many discourses, in the end as it were by indignation, hee began to vse these termes. VVhen as my Father

Amilcar

Amilcar was to passe into *Spain* with an Army I was about the Age of nine yeeres: and when as he sacrificed to *Iupiter*, I was nere vnto the Altars.

But when as the Sacrifices were ended, my father caused the rest to retire backe; and hauing called me alone, he demanded kindly of me, and as it were with imbracings, if I would go the Voyage. The which when I had not onely accepted, but moreover intreated him like a childe; then taking my right hand, and laying it vpon the Altar, hee would that touching the things sacrificed, I should sweare that presently A ly when I came to age, I should be an enemy to the *Romans*. And therefore Sir, as long as you shall be their enemy, you may relie confidently in me, and haue no suspicion of *Hannibal*: but when you shall be reconciled, or that you shall contract friendship with them, then expect no other accuser, and haue a care to keepe your selfe from me, as from an enemy to the people of *Rome*; for I shall be alwayes opposite vnto them with all my power.

Antiochus hearing this kind of Speech, and that *Hannibal* spake truly and with affection, in regard of his grieve, he presently abandoned all suspicion. Behold then a manifest testimony of the hatred and bad affection of *Amilcar* towards the *Romans*; for hee left *Asdrubal* his sonne in Law, and his sonne *Hannibal* for their enemies, such as there could be none greater. It is true, that Death tooke an order that *Asdrubal* could not shewe the hatred he bare them. But *Hannibal* had time at will, so as preuailing in his interprize, he hath sufficiently made knowne the hatred which he held from his Father. And therefore they which haue the Government of a Common-weale must carefully consider this, and ruminate in their vnderstanding to know the humours of those, with whom they make any accord or friendship; whither it be for the necessity of the time, or to giue ouer the Warres; to the ende C they may alwaies defend themselves from those which seeke an opportunity to do euill, and to make vse of those whom they know to bee their Subjects or true friends, when necessity shall require. These causes which we haue specified, are those of the second *Punique* Warre, and the beginning of that which we will now relate.

The *Carthaginians* hardly induring the losse of *Sycile*, which the *Romans* had taken from them. It is true that as we haue said, *Sardinia* which they had surprized by Treason during the mutiny of *Affricke*, and this summe of money which they had caused them to pay, did much increase their hatred. And therefore it was likely that as soone D as they should grow great in *Spain*, they would transport the VVarre into *Italy*. But after the death of *Asdrubal*, who after the death of *Amilcar* was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, they desired to know the will of the Souldiers, before they would place a new Commaunder. And when as the newes came from the Campe, that *Hannibal* had bin chosen Captaine by a generall consent, they presently assembled; and confirmed with one accord by the election of the men of VVar. *Hannibal* hauing receiued all power; and considering that to linger was of no worth, he marcht with his army to the skirts of the *Oleades* to ruine

The first cause of the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

The first fight of *Amilcar*, Father to *Hannibal*.

Sardinia abandoned by the *Carthaginians*.

The second Cause.

The third Cause.

Antiochus an Enemy to the *Romans*.

Hannibal his speech to *Antiochus*.

Hannibal swears that when he came to age, he would be an enemy to the *Romans*.

Asdrubal his sonne in Law to *Hannibal*.

A good consideration, and necessary for all Governours.

The causes of the *Carthaginians* hatred.

Newer Commaunders did any thing worthily which was not pleasing to the Souldiers.

Carteia taken
by assault.

them. And therefore he besieged *Carteia*, the chiefe Towne of that Country, and tooke it by assault after some dayes resistance. So as the other Townes being terrified yielded of themselves to the *Carthaginians*.

Countries con-
quered by Han-
nibal.

After this Victory the Army retired to winter at *Carthage* with great booty: whereas *Hannibal* vnto great bounty, deuied it amongst the Souldiers: So as hee gained their hearts wonderfully, leauing them in great hope for the future. In the Spring hee led his Army against the *Vacceens*, and presently conquered *Ermandique*: Afterwards hee tooke *Arbacle* by force, not without great danger, hauing held it long besieged: For that it had bene well defended by the greatnesse of the City, and the multitude and courage of the Inhabitants.

The *Toletains*.

After this, hee suddainly felt by chance into a maruellous danger, by a charge which the *Toletains* haue him, at his returne from the *Vacceens* with a great booty: For it is a people which exceeds all the rest of this Province in courage and multitudes of men, with the which also there ioyned the Fugitiues of *Ermandique*. Whereunto the banished men of the *Olcades* had perswaded them. Without doubt the *Carthaginians* had bene vanquished and defeated, if they had offered Battell; but *Hannibal* gaue order to the contrary, and striking Saile to enemy, he planted himselfe vpon the Banke of the River of *Tagus*: giuing charge vnto his Horse men, that when they should see the Enemies enter into the Water, they should charge the Battalion of foote. He lodge'd forty Elephants along the Bankes.

The River of
Tagus.

By this means all things succeeded happily, for that he had the Riuer and the Elephants as it were, for Combattants: For the *Barbarians* thinking that the *Carthaginians* were retired for feare, they cast themselves confusedly into the Riuer with great cries. Wherefore a great number of them were defeated vpon the Bankes of the Riuer by the Elephants which stood there, and slew them at their landing. Some were also slaine in the Riuer by the Horse men, for that the Horsemen being at ease and without Armour, could better helpe themselves, and annoy the enemies, who durst not relye vpon the Ford. They which were in the Reare, and might easily recover the Banke, retired, vntill in the end the *Carthaginians* cast themselves into the riuer with all their bands and companies, and put them to flight. The *Toletains* army, with the *Olcades* and *Vacceens*, consisted of a hundred thousand men. After which defeat, there were not any found beyond the riuer of *Ebro*, that durst resist the *Carthaginians*, except the *Sagontins*. It is true that *Hannibal* would not fall vpon them, least hee should offer an occasion of Warre to the *Romanes*, before hee had seized vpon that which his Father *Amilcar* had aduised him to do.

Hannibal victo-
ry vpon the
Barbarians.

An Army of a
hundred thou-
sand men.

An Embasie
from the Ro-
manes to Han-
nibal.

In the meane time the *Sagontins* sent often to *Rome*, aswell for the care of their owne priuate affaires, as also fore-seeing future things, and likewise to aduertise them of the good Fortune of the *Carthaginians* in *Spainne*. Finally the *Romanes* hauing thereupon many and diuers aduertisements, they sent an Embasie into *Spainne*, to discouer the course of *Hannibal*'s actions: But he was retired to Winter at *Carthage*, hauing

hauing managed his affaires to his owne liking. Being suddainly arriued there, he calls them and giues them audience, and power to deliuer their charge. The Embassadors at the first signifies vnto him, that he should demand nothing from the *Sagontins*, being allied vnto the *Romanes*: And moreover that he should not passe the riuer of *Ebro*, for that it had bene so concluded by the Treaty made with *Asdruball*. The which being heard by *Hannibal*, like a young man and greedy of War, and who easily did what he would with the Senate of *Carthage*, by the means of the heads of his faction, together with the hatred he bare against the *Romanes*, he answered the Embassadors as a friend to the *Sagontins*, blaming the people of *Rome*, who when they had lately receiued Letters from the *Sagontins*, for a muriny which was growne amongst them; to the end they might send some Embasie to pacifie it, they had wickedly put to death some of the principall of the City: Whereof he threatens them to take reuenge, saying that the *Carthaginians* had a Custome not to disdaine outrages: On the other side, he sent vnto *Carthage*, to aduertise them of that which they were to do, considering that the *Sagontins* relying vpon the Alliance with the *Romanes*, had done great outrages to many Townes subiect to the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal an-
swer to the Ro-
man Embasie-
dours.

Finally as one full of inconstancy and rage, and inflamed with a desire to make Warre, he propounded no other valuable reason, pursuing only certaine friuolous and impertinent causes. The which is incident to those, who transported by their passion forget their duty: But had it not bene much better to say thus: That the *Carthaginians* do rightfully demand of the *Romanes*, that they restore vnto them *Sardinia*, and the siluer, which for so many yeares they had vnjustly drawne from them, during their great affaires, and if they did it not, they will proclaime Warre against them. Where as contrariwise it seemes now, in leauing the true cause, and supposing a false one of the *Sagontins*, they would make it not only without occasion, but also with great outrage. And although the Embassadors vnderstood well, that vpon necessity they must enter into Warre; yet they went vnto *Carthage*, where they vsed the like speech.

It is true the *Romanes* meant to Transport it into *Spainne* and not into *Italy*, and to haue *Sagone* for a Fort. Wherefore in the interim, they laboured first to pacifie the Wars of *Sclauonia*, as if they intended to make a Warre that was long and tedious and farre from *Italy*. It happened at that time, that when as *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauonians* fought the many fauours which the *Romanes* had done him, for that hee saw them prest on the one side with the feare of the *Gauls*, and on the other by the *Carthaginians*, and that all his hope was in the King of *Macedon*: for that hee had bin a peraker of that Warre, which *Antigonius* made against *Cleomenes*, ruining the Townes of the *Sclauonians* which were subiect to the *Romanes*, forcing the City, and exceeding the bounds limited in the Treaty. The like hee did to most parts of the Island of *Cyclades*: So as he ruined all like a Tempest, being accompanied with fifty strong Vessels. Whereof the *Romanes* being

Demetrius King
of *Sclauonia*.

being advertised, seeing at that time the Principallity of *Carthago* to Triumph, they laboured with all their present meanes to pacifie the affaires of *Sclauonia*, hoping it would proue easie: And that soone after, they should punish the basenesse of the *Sclauonians*, and the ingratitude of *Demetrius*. But matters past otherwise then they expected. For whilst they employ their time therein, *Hannibal* takes *Sagont* much sooner then they conceived: So as the Warre grew hot, not in *Spain*, but against the City of *Rome*; and thoroughout all *Italy*. Yet the *Romans* pursuing their enterprize, sent *Lutius* *Emilius* into *Sclauonia* the first yeare of the hundred and fifteth *Olympiade*, with a very great Army to keep that Province in peace, and from future danger.

The situation of *Sagont*.

Hannibal parting from *Carthago* with his whole Army, goes to *Sagont*, a Towne situated beyond the River of *Ebro*, at the foote of the Mountaine, which deuides *Spain* from the *Celtiberians*, about a mile distant from the Sea. The people of this Countrey exceede all the rest of *Spain* in abundance of fruites, and in multitudes of men, and they are the most Warlike. *Hannibal* entering into these limits with his Army, and hauing ruined all the Countrey, he besieged it with all manner of Engines, conceiuing that the taking thereof would proue wonderfull commodious for his present Affaires. First he considered that he should deprive the *Romans* of all hope to make Warre in *Spain*; and that moreover he should strike a great terror into the rest; and that by this meanes the Townes of *Spain* reduced already vnder his obedience, would keepe their faith the better. Besides it was likely, that they which desired to liue still in their liberty, would soone yeild: And that thirdly he imagined, that he might then confidently pursue the Remainder, leauing no enemy behind him.

The discretion of the head of an enterprize.

He hoped moreouer, to gather much Treasure for the intertainment of his War; and that he should gaine the hearts of the Souldiers for the booty that every one should get at the sacke of the Towne; and that finally he should purchase the loue of the Citizens remainyng in *Carthago*, with presents that he will send them of the spoiles. Being moued with these reasons, he wholly attends the siege of this Towne, and inflames the hearts of the Souldiers, spurring them on sometimes with rage against the Enemy; sometimes with hope of Recompence; and sometimes he serues them for an example, as well in making the Engines, and approaching them to the Walls, as in going sometimes to those places which were most dangerous. Finally, he performed all things so extraordinary well, as if hee had beene but a simple Souldier.

Sagont forced by *Hannibal*.

And when he had toyld his Body and minde herein for the space of eight moneths, in the end he forced *Sagont*. Whereas after he had made a great booty of gold and siluer, and taken many men, he kept the money for the charges of the War, as he had formerly resolved, deuiding the Prisoners among the Souldiers, according vnto their severall dignities; and set the rest of the spoile vnto *Carthago*.

After

After these things, hee was not deceived in his hope, so as things succeeded according to his desire: for his Souldiers were much more ready to vndergoe all dangers: and the *Carthaginians* much more ready to please him. Moreover, this booty of money was a great meanes for the enterprize he had in hand.

During these actions, *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauonians*, discouraging the enterprize and preparation of the *Romans*, hee presently caused the Towne of *Dimale* to bee carefully furnished with men and victuals: and as for the other Townes of *Sclauonia*, hee chased away those that were of a contrary faction, suffering none but such as held his party. Then hee made choice of fixe thousand old Souldiers out of his Army, and put himselfe into *Phare*. In the meane time the Consull *Emilius* arrives safely in *Sclauonia* with his Army: where being advertised that the Enemies were confident and resolute, for that they were in hope, that the descent of the *Romans* should not preuaile against them, relying much in the situation and munition of *Dimale*, hee thought good before all things, to doe his vttermost endeavour to take it: thinking (as it afterwards happened) that this being taken, all the rest amazed with feare, would easily yeeld vnto the *Romans*. And after that hee had made some speeches vnto the Souldiers, hee planted his Engines of Battery against the Towne, and besieged it: which being forced on the seauenth day, did so much amaze the Enemies, as presently Embassies came from all the rest of *Sclauonia*, yeelding vnto the *Romans*.

Demetrius fortified *Dimale*.

The arrival of *Emilius* into *Sclauonia*.

The which being receiued into Friendship, and hauing treated with every one according to their condition, hee causeth his Army to march directly to *Phare*, whereas the King of the *Sclauonians* made his abode. But for that hee found this Towne strong by situation, and mann'd with the choise of the Army, and moreover, well furnished with Victuals, and all kinds of munition, hee feared the siege would bee long and difficult. Finally, being long in supence, he takes this counsell. Hee vseth all diligence and labour to gaine the Island in the Night, and dorth lodge a great part of his Army in the thickest of the Forrest: as for himselfe, at the breake of day, hee gaines the nearest Port vnto the Towne with twenty shippes. The *Sclauonians* seeing the Enemies shippes, and making no account of their number, they goe forth with a great Fleece to hinder the landing of the *Romans*, where they charg'd them, and for a time the Combate was very furious, there comming still Succours vnto them from the Towne by files, so as in the end all the City was drawne thither.

The Townes of *Sclauonia* reduced to the *Romane* obedience.

The warlike policy of *Emilius*.

Then the *Romans* who had layne all night in Ambush in the Forrest, hearing the noise, ranne with all speed by couered places, and gaining a little Hill which was strong by nature, within the Towne and Port, they tooke from their Enemies all meanes of returne. The which the *Sclauonians* well perceiuing, they leaue their first enterprize to repulse the Enemy, and drawing together in one troupe, they

they encourage one another, as men resolved to go and fight against those which held the Hill. On the other side the *Romans* seeing the *Sclauonians* approach, put themselves in battell, and charg'd them, fighting with great resolution and courage: The other part of the Army at Sea landed, march't, and prest the enemy in the Reare. Wherefore for as much as the *Romans* charg'd them on all sides, and that the *Sclauonians* were prest before and behind, the Combate was long and cruell. Finally, the *Romans* had the Victory. The greatest part of the *Sclauonians* were most miserably slaine, some saved themselves within the Towne, and the rest fled into the Desarts A

The victory of the *Romans* upon the *Sclauonians*.

Demetrius the Night following saved himselfe contrary to the opinion of all the World, by meanes of certaine Vessels which hee had appointed in three places for his safety, the case so happening: and retired to *Philipp* King of *Macedon*, with whom hee spent the Remainder of his dayes. Hee was a man of great courage and overweening, but of little iudgement in Martiall affaires. And therefore hee ended according to the life which hee had formerly led: For when as at *Philipp* d. fire hee had begonne to besiege the Towne of the *Messeniens*, hee was most shamefully slaine by the Enemy, B for his great and overweening boldnesse. But wee will speake of these things more particularly, when wee shall come vnto that time. When as *Emilius* had so suddainly gotten *Phare*, hee razed the Towne to the ground. And hauing within few dayes reduced the rest of the Townes of *Sclauonia* to the *Romane* obedience, and decided all the affaires of the Prouince as hee had resolved, hee returned to *Rome* in the beginning of Autumne: where hee was receiued with wonderfull great glory, triumph, and good esteeme of all men, to haue done not onely like a wife and discrete man, but like a resolute.

Demetrius a man of great courage and little iudgement.

The Towne of *Phare* razed.

But when in the meane time newes came to *Rome* of the razing of *Sagont*, some haue written, that the Lords of the *Romane* Councell were not of opinion to make Warre, and they alledge causes and reasons which held them in suspence. But what can bee spoken more vnreasonably? How is it likely, that they which the yeere before had signified Warre vnto the *Carthaginians*, if they entered the *Sagontins* Countrey, should now growe doubtfull, whether after the taking of *Sagont*, they should make Warre, or not? But is there any thing lesse worthy of credit, to say, that the Senate on the one side was wonderfully heauy and afflicted, as if all had beene utterly lost: On the other side that the Fathers brought all their Children to the Senate, so as they were about twelue yeeres of age, and that being partakers of the Councell, they neuer reuealed, or made knowne the secrets to any? Without doubt these things are neither true nor likely, vnlesse the *Romans* haue that gift of nature, to bee wise from their Cradles.

We haue discoursed sufficiently of these writings which are of *Cheræa* and *Soliman*: neither haue they so much shew of a History, as of old wittes

Tales:

Tales: and are like vnto those which they vsually tell in Barbers shops. The *Romans* then after the newes of the raking of *Sagont*, and the murder of their Allies, sent presently an Embassie to *Carthage*, to let them vnderstand two things, whereof the one seemed to bee of consequence, for ignomy and losse of the *Carthaginians*, and the other had a shew to draw their Empire in hazard. For they demanded, that they should either deliuer *Hannibal* to bee punished for the breach of the publique Faith, or else they should hold themselves assured of Warre. When as the Embassadours were come to

A *Carthage*, and that the Senate had giuen them audience, they deliuered their Commission: which was not without the indignation of the *Carthaginians*: who made choice of *Hanno* to debate their Right, who at the first made no accompt of *Asdrubals* treatie, as hauing neuer beene made with the *Romans*: and if it were so, the *Carthaginians* were not bound vnto it, for that *Asdrubal* had exceeded his Commission, and had done it without the authority of the Senate or people of *Carthage*. Whereunto hee alledged in the like case, that the *Romans* had beene of opinion, that the accord made in *Sicily* by the Consull *Lutatius* should bee broken, for B that it had beene made without the authority of the people of *Rome*.

Roman Embassadours sent to *Carthage*.

Hanno's answer to the *Romane* Embassadours.

Finally, hee insisted still vpon this accord whilest his Speech continued, and read it often, saying, that there was no mention made of *Ebro*, and that the Allies of the one and of the other were onely referred: and that moreover, it did nothing concerne the *Sagontins*, for that at the time of the accord they were not allied vnto the *Romans*. The Embassadours repuls'd with great words this contention concerning the right of the accorde, as a thing which concerns the honour of the people of *Rome*: saying that the quarrels might C bee decided, if the *Sagontins* were in there entire. Burnow that *Sagont* is razed, and that the faith and accords are wickedly broken, they should either deliuer the Authour of the Crime to the *Romans*, to the end that all the World might know, that *Sagont* hath not beene ouerthrowne and ruined with the consent of the *Carthaginians*: Or if they will not, but confesse that the Towne hath beene destroyed with their consent, that they should prepare to Warre. Thus ended their discourse, which they held more amply and in general.

I haue held it most necessary not to passe ouer this particular insinuation, to the end the truth may not bee hidden to those which deale in publique affaires, or which haue cause to consider exactly of these things: Or else haue a desire to know whether they erre, being deceived by the ignorance and foolishnesse of Historiographers, for want of knowledge of the treaties which from the first Punique Warre, vnto our times haue beene made betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*. The first then was made betwixt these two Nations immediately after that the name of King was chased out of *Rome*, *Lucius*, *Iunius*, *Brutus*, and *Marcus*

Q2

Valerius

the Treaty of Peace was concluded betwixt the two Nations, having the Stone in his hands, vied these Words. I pray vnto the gods that all things may come successfully vnto me, if this Accord and Oath which I take, be done iustly and without fraud. But if I do or thinke otherwise that I may die alone, as this Stone shall fall out of my hand, all the rest being found and safe in their owne Country, their Lawes, Houses, Temples, and Sepulchers, and without speaking any Word more, he let the Stone fall out of his hand.

As these things are true, and are at this day to be seene, grauen in Tables of Brasse, in the Temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, where they are carefully kept by the *Ediles*. Who will not wonder at the Historiographer *Philinus*, nor for that he knew it not (for without doubt many auncient *Romanes* and *Carthaginians*, I say of our time, and which haue bene very curious of such things, do not know it:) But for that he hath dared to write things quite contrary, saying that in these Accords was contained that the *Romanes* should quit all *Sycily*, and the *Carthaginians* all *Italy*? Wherefore the *Romanes* had broken their faith and promise, at their first Voiage into *Sycily*. And yet this is not found Written.

Philinus hath written this Discourse in the second of his Books, the which relating lightly in the first Booke, we haue referred to this place, to the end we may debate it in pericular: holding it necessary, least some one might stray from the Truth, following the error of *Philinus*. It will not be happily without reason, if some one will hold the Voyage of the *Romanes* into *Sycily* worthy of blame, for that they had receiued the *Amalerins* into friendship, and presently sent forces after in their extreame necessity, considering that a little before they had spoiled *Messina* and *Regium* with great cruelty, beeing two of the richest Townes in *Sycily*. But this were to iudge like an ignorant man, that in passing into *Sycily* they had broken their faith and promise. After that the Warre of *Sycily* was ended, there was another Accord made, whereof this is the Tendor. That the *Carthaginians* should not onely voide out of *Sycily*, but out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and *Italy*. And the Allies of the one and the other should haue no Rule in neither of their Countries, nor should make any Forts, nor draw forth any Souldiers, nor make Alliance with either of their Allies; and that the *Carthaginians* should pay thirteene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within ten yeares. Whereof fiftie hundred thousand should be presently paid, and that moreover they should deliuer all the *Romanes* Prisoners without ransome.

Besides all this the *Romanes* declaring Warre vnto them, when they were much troubled and assisted in *Affricke*, they forced them to make a new Treaty: Where it was sayd, that the *Carthaginians* should leaue *Sardinia*; and pay (besides the summe agreed vpon,) fcauen hundred thousand Crownes. After all these Treaties, the last was made in *Spaine* with *Asdrubal*, where the *Carthaginians* were forbidden to passe the River of *Ebro* or *Iberus* in *Armes*: Behold all the Treaties which the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* made, from the first Punique Warre

vnto

vnto the second, which the *Carthaginians* managed vnder the Conduct of *Hannibal*. But it is doublelesse; that as we haue shewed that the *Romanes* did not breake their faith when they past into *Sycily*, as doth plainly appeare: So afterwards they declared Warre against the *Carthaginians* without reason: when as they made the Treaty for *Sardinia*: for truly there can be no reason found therein. Contrariwise we see plainly that besides all the agreements, the *Carthaginians* left *Sardinia*, and payed a greater summe of money, being forced by the malice of the time. And as for that, wherewith the *Romanes* shelter themselves, that they were forced therunto, for that they had outraged their Merchants at Sea: This had bene formerly decided, when as the *Carthaginians* deliuered the Prisoners without Ransome. These are things whereof we haue spoken, when in the precedent Booke we haue related that which was to be said in pericular: Let vs now come to the causes of the second Punique War, and let vs see which of the two Nations is to be blamed.

The *Carthaginians* objected those causes which we haue related. In regard of the *Romanes* they brought none for the present, for the indignation they had for the razing of *Sagunt*. Yet behold those which they and others do usually object. First there is no comparison betwixt the Treaty which *Asdrubal* made and that of *Lutatius*, although the *Carthaginians* will haue it so. For it was sayd in that of *Lutatius*, that it should hold good if the people of *Rome* consent vnto it. And as for that of *Asdrubal*, there was no such condition: Where it was expressly sayd, that the *Carthaginians* should not passe beyond *Ebro*. And it was sayd in the other, that the Allies of either part should liue in peace: Vnder which termes were not only comprehended those which then were not Allied: For it would haue bene Articulated; that the one nor the other should make any new Alliance; or that they which should newly enter, should not be comprehended, whereof there is nothing Written. For with that whereof formerly they had given order that none of those which should enter newly into Alliance, should be wronged: Who will beleue that cyther of these powerful Nations would restraîne himselfe from receiuing those he should think good into Alliance, or to defend those that were receiued? In truth I conceiue that in making their Treaty, their chiefe intent was, that their Allies should liue in safety, and that it should not be lawfull for them, to receiue the Allies of the one and the other into alliance: and it was provided that the new alliances might not draw Souldiers out of the others Provinces, nor beare any rule there; and that they should all liue in peace.

Matters standing in these termes, it is manifest that the *Saguntins* were assid vnto the *Romanes* long before *Hannibal*: The which is so probable as the *Carthaginians* cannot deny it: For the *Saguntins* for a mutiny which grew in their Towne, sent not vnto the *Carthaginians*, although they were their Neighbours, and held the greatest part of *Spaine*, but retired to the *Romanes*, by whose meanes the sedition was pacified and suppress. If they say that the razing of *Sagunt* hath bene

The causes propounded by the *Romanes* for the Warre.

The *Saguntins* Allied a long time with the *Romanes*.

Philinus a Historiographer.

Another account made betwixt the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians*.

Another account.

Another account made with *Asdrubal*.

the cause of this Warre, they must likewise confesse that the *Carthaginians* had no reason to make Warre against the *Romans*, aswell by the Treaty made with *Lutatius*, wherein it was contained that they should do no outrage vnto the Allies, asby that which was made by *Asdrubal*, by the which the *Carthaginians* were restrained from passing the River of *Ebro* in Armes. Likewise if they will say, that the *Carthaginians* had taken this Warre to heart, for *Sardinia* which had bene taken from them, and for the summe of money which they had payed: I make no doubt that they were not to bee blamed, if attending the opportunity, of the time they fought to reuenge: Yet I conceiue there wilbe some, who not duly considering hereof, will imagine it idle and to no purpose, that I examine these reasons so diligently.

For my part I am of opinion, that if a man be so well furnished with all things necessary, as hee needs not any assistance, yet the knowledge of things past wilbe pleasing vnto him, and it may be necessary. If likewise any one dare not relie vpon this, aswell in private affaires as publicke, considering he is a man: and that he knowes well that this present felicity may be lost, considering that the Fortune of men is fraile and without continuance: Then I say that the knowledge of things past is not onely pleasant but necessary. But how may a man finde aide and succours to defend himselfe, being wronged in his owne Countrey? Or draw all the World vnto his owne opinion, making a new enterprize? Or assure the hearts of his men when Fortune fauours him, if hee haue not a true particular knowledge of the deedes of his Ancestors? Beleeue me by this meanes he shalbe ready and instructed in present affaires to be able to say, and doe things, whereby all enterprizes shalbe discovered, and the Truth vnderstood. For things that are done and past, are good instructions for those that shall succeed and come after, shewing vs the meanes, aduise, and policies, whereby wee may purchase grace, helpe, and comfort: Or contrariwise, procure hatred, malice, or indignation, and so mooue to Iustice and reason. All which are of great Consequence vnto a man, aswell for his private affaires, as for the publicke.

And therefore I am of aduice, that Historiographers and they which giue themselves to read Histories, should not so much respect the Actions, as their Consequence and that which goes before. For if you take from a History which mentions but the deeds, how, nor wherefore it hapned, and what the end was, that which shall remaine will haue no instructions, and will be but a kinde of Contention: Although happily it may seeme at the first sight something pleasant, but for the future they shall reape no profite. It is true, some will say that it is no easie thing to recouer such a History, and that they cannot well finde it for the greatnesse and number of Bookes. Beleeue me, they doe not vnderstand how much more easie it is to haue, and to read forty Bookes made with good order, whereas the deedes and actions of *Italy*, *Sycily*, and *Affricke*, from the voiage

The opinion of
polybius in the
diligence of a
History.

polybius hath
made forty
Bookes.

of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, vnto the taking of *Carthage* are comprized: And as for those of the other parts of the World, from the flight of *Cleomenes* vnto the Warre which the *Romans* had against the *Achians*, geue vnto the *Hellenes*: Then to make prouision; or to reade so many Bookes of so many particular Histories: For as they exceede both in greatnesse and number, so it is a difficult thing to comprehend any thing certaine. First, that all write not of the same things, and omit those which haue bene done at the same time: the which if they were conser'd together, would the better discover the truth.

Finally, they cannot attaine to that which is necessary to the History, which are the things which prebode the actions, and concerne the causes. For our part, wee will consider the Warre of *Antiochus*, as hauing taken its occasion from that of *Philip*, and that of *Philip* from the *Punique* Warre, and the *Punique* from that of *Sicily*: Whereas all the accidents which haue happened in the meane time, and may bee referred to one beginning, are diligently obserued: All which things may be easily vnderstood by him that hath written a general History: the which is impossible by them which speake of particular Warres, as of the *Perseus* or *Philippique*: vnlesse perchance some one holds opinion to be able to vnderstand a whole Warre by the knowledge of one Battell: which is impossible. And therefore our History ought to be more esteemed, than that of particular Warres, for that it is more excellent to haue learned some thing perfectly, than to haue onely heard of it.

But to returne from whence wee strayed, when the *Roman* Embassadors saw that the *Carthaginians* disguised matters, they spake no more. But the most ancient among them taking vp the skirt of his Roabe, and shewing it to the Senate, behold faith hee, wherein I bring you Warre or Peace: take which you please. Whereunto the Chief of the *Carthaginians* answered, deliuer which you will. And when he had spoken, he deliuered them. Warre, many of the Senate cryed out, that they accepted it. Vpon this discourse the Embassadors and Senate retired. *Hannibal* wintering at *Carthage*, had giuen leaue to his Souldiers to returne into their Countrey, if happily there were any that desired to see their Kinsfolkes and Friends: To the end that hauing endured so much toile, they might fortifie their bodies and mindes, to endure new labour. Moreouer, he instructs his brother *Asdrubal* by what meanes (if hee were forced to part out of the Prouince) he should defend and gouerne *Spaine* against all the attempts of the *Romans*. Then hee sends a great Garrison into *Affricke* of men which he drew out of *Spaine*: for hee had caused Souldiers to come out of *Affricke* into *Spaine*, making cunningly this diuision of his men: to the end that the *Africans* being there, and the *Spaniards* in *Affricke*; they should grow better by mutuall obligations.

They which past into *Affricke*, were *Iberites*, *Masilians*, *Orites*, *Spaniards* and *Olcades*: hauing appointed the number of them to be twelue hundred Horse, and thirtene thousand eight hundred & fifty Foot: and

The Roman
Embassadors
signifie Warre
vnto the *Carthaginians*.

The order
which *Hannibal*
gave for
the defence of
Spaine.

besides these eight hundred and fifty Slingers, of *Maiorque* and *Mi-nerque*, called *Ballears*, with their Land, by reason of the vic of the Sling. He commands they should lodge the greatest part in *Affricke*, and that the rest should remaine at *Carthage* for its strength. He doth also leaue foure thousand Foote, the choice of the youth within the heart of *Spaine*: the which hee causeth to march to *Carthage*, not so much to fortifie it, as to serue for Hostages. Hee also left in *Spaine* to his Brother *Adrubal* fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, five Triremes, and among the Quinqueremes thirty two armed and furnished with the five Triremes. Hee also left him about foure hundred and fifty *Libyphenices*, which is a mixt Nation of *Phenicians* and *Affricans*: and three hundred *Ilergans*: Eightene hundred *Numidians* and *Moores*, bordering vpon the great Sea: Eleaen thousand eight hundred: and fifty Foote, *Affricans*: Three hundred *Gerenois*: Five hundred men of *Maiorque* and *Mi-nerque*: and one and twenty Elephants. No man ought to wonder at our diligence in this description; If I so obserue it in the affaires of *Hannibal* in *Spaine*, that euen they which practised it, could hardly obserue: Nor blame vs for that after the manner of Iyars, we relate I know not what petty triuiall things, the more easily to giue credit vnto our writing. For when I had seene at *Lanyinium* a Table of Copper, which *Hannibal* had left there, when as he ouer ran *Italy*, wherein this number was contained, I thought fit to giue credit vnto it; and therefore wee haue followed it heere.

When as *Hannibal* had prouided for *Affricke* and *Spaine*, hee respected the returne of such as hee had sent to moue the *Gauls*, by whose Country he was to passe his Army. You must vnderstand that he had sent men to winne them by Presents, and to view the passages of the Mountaine, for that he was aduertised that this Region was very fertile, and very well peopled with resolute men, and good Souldiers, and mortall Enemies to the *Romans*, for the Warre which they made against the *Gauls*, expecting that his Warre should be onely in *Italy*, if hee might passe his Army safely by the streights of the *Alpes* with their helpe. After the returne of his men, and that he was aduertised of the expectation and desire of the *Gauls*, and that the passages of the Hills were rough and painfull, not altogether inaccessible, he drew his Army together in the Spring. It is true, that the newes which at the same time hee receiued, of that which happened at *Carthage*, inflamed his choller the more against the *Romans*, hauing thereby a confident hope of the fidelity and affection of his Nation. When as all the Army was drawne together, *Hannibal* made an Oration, not to any one part, but publickly to all the Souldiers, by diuers meanes perswading them to imbrace the Warre against the *Romans*: and how that hee and the other Captaines of *Carthage* had bene demanded of them for to be put to death, for the taking of *Sagone*. Hee acquaints them likewise of the fertility of the Prouince which they made their voyage, making great esteeme and respect of the Friendshipp and alliance of the *Gauls*. After which speech, seeing them

The equipage of Warre as well for Seas as Land, left in *Spaine* by *Hannibal*, to afford what his Brother.

The number of *Hannibals* Army in a Table of Copper seene by *Polybius*.

The Oration which *Hannibal* made to his Souldiers.

them all resolute, and that they demanded nothing but to parte, he commended their good will and prowesse. And after he had told them this, when they should trust vpon their baggage, hee dismissed them. In the meane time, when he had made all necessary preparations for his Voyage, hee dislodged suddenly, when the day of parting was come, with foure score and ten thousand Foote, and twelve thousand Horse, and past the River of *Ebro*. Within few dayes, hee brought vnder his obedience the *Ilerges*, the *Burgunsis*, the *Erimsis*, and *Andolsiensis*: the like they did to all other Townes vnto the *Pyrenes* Mountaines, razing some, and as hee performed this sooner than any man could conceiue, so hee did it without many cruell battels, and great losse of men. Hee sent *Hanno* Governour of this Countrey, and made him likewise Lord of the *Burgunsis*, for that hee did not greatly trust those people, for the Alliance they had with the *Romans*: and hee gaue him ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse for the guard of their Countrey, leauing with him all their baggage which marcht with him. Hee sent backe the like number of *Spaniards* to their houses, partly for that hee vnderstood they were grieved with the length of the Iourney, and the difficult passages of the Mountaines: and partly to giue hope vnto others, to returne sometimes into their Countrey: and that they which he left in their houses, should march more willingly into *Italy*, if he needed succours. He marcht then with the rest of his Army, which amounted vnto the number of fifty thousand Foote, and nine thousand Horse.

And passing the *Pyrenes* Mountaines, he drew neere vnto the mouth of the River of *Rhone*, not so well accompanied with great numbers as good men, who had bene alwayes victorious. But to the end this may not seeme too obscure by the ignorance of places, wee haue thought it fit to shew in few words, from whence *Hannibal* parted, and what great Countreies hee past, and into what parts of *Italy* hee entred. It is true, wee haue not set downe the names of the places, as many Historiographers doe, thinking that all will the better bee vnderstood, if they haue the knowledge thereof: For my part, I am of opinion, that the relation of the names of places, wherof we haue knowledge, are of great profit, for the more easie vnderstanding, and more certaine memory of things. But where the places are vnkowne, their names are like vnto that manner of voice, which besides the hearing, signifies nothing. By this meanes it happens, that seeing our vnderstanding doth not comprehend any thing by the name, and the which knowne, cannot breed any great profit, that the relation is altogether fruitlesse. And therefore wee must finde meanes, by the which speaking of places that are vnkowne, we may make the truth to be vnderstood by the Readers with all our power.

The first and principall knowledge, common to all men, is the Division of this World wherein wee are contained, by the which wee know (euen Ideots) the East, West, South and North. The second is by the which attributing to euery one of these parts the parties of the

The number of Horse and Foot which were in *Hannibals* Army at his parting from *Spaine*.

The number of men which *Hannibal* left to *Hanno* to be the guard of *Spaine*.

Hannibals Army of 50, thousand Foote and nine thousand Horse.

The division of
the World in
these parts.

World, wee come in some sort to the knowledge of places which we haue neuer seene. But as the round Circle of the Earth consists of many parts, whereof some are inhabitable, and others in situation opposite to ours, inhabited by the *Animales*. Wee must for the present speake onely of the situation of the Countrey which we inhabit. And for that it is diuided into three parts, and hath three names, whereof they call the one *Asia*, the other *Affricke*, and the third *Europe*. It is a diuision which the Rivers of *Tanais* and *Nile* make, toying to the streights of *Hercules* Pillars. *Asia* is seated betwixt *Nile* and *Tanais*, taking its extent towards the East and South. In regard of *Affricke*, it is seated betwixt the *Nile* and the Pillars of *Hercules*, taking its extent vnder the South, and towards the *Himernall* west vnto the Equinoctiall; and to the streights of *Gibellar*. Finally, these two parts seeme to hold more the Countrey vnder the South, from the East following our Sea then towards the West.

And as for *Europe*, it is limited drawing towards the North, and continuing from the East vnto the West: whose greatest extent lies towards the North, betwixt the River of *Tanais* and *Narbonna*, which is not farre from the Countrey of *Marcelles* towards the West, and the mouthes of the River of *Rhone*, which lose themselves in the *Sardinian* Sea. The *Gauls* hold all that Countrey, from *Narbonna* vnto the *Perinnee* Mountaines, the which extend themselves from our Sea vnto the Ocean, and as for the rest of *Europe* from the *Perinnee* Mountaines vnto the West, I meane vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is enuironed on the one side by our Sea, and on the other by the maine Ocean. The Countrey about which our Sea doth flowe, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, is called *Spain*. And as for that which hath its aspect to the Ocean, it hath not yet any knowne name that hath come to our knowledge: although it bee fully inhabited by Barbarous people, of whom we will speake particularly when we come to their Rank. For as the Region which is neere vnto *Ethiopia*, whereas *Asia* and *Affricke* loynes, is at this day vnkowne, whether it be firme land continued towards the South, or inclosed by the Sea: So likewise the Countrey is at this day vnkowne, which betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbonna* drawes towards the North: so as they dreame which speake or write any thing.

It was necessary to make this digression, to the end that the deeds which we are to relate, might not be altogether obscure to those which know not the places, and that they might come the knowledge of the truth as much as is possible, by the Regions of Heaven and Earth. For we haue bene alwaies accustomed to turne our face continually to that which they teach vs by reason and example: The vnderstanding must alwayes haue regard to those Countreies which are interposed in the relation. Leaving then our discourse, let vs returne to the continuance of our speech. The *Carthaginians* at that time held all the *Affricaine* shore, whereas our Sea flowes, from the *Philianen* Akars, neere vnto the Bankes of *Barbary*, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules* (this contains about sixteene thousand Furlongs) and in passing that little Sea which is

What the *Carthaginians*
held in *Affricke*.

betwixt *Affricke* and *Europe* they had Conquered all *Spain*, vnto the *Perinnee* mountaines, which diuide that Province from *Gaul*. From the which vnto streights of *Gibellar*, where stand the Pillars of *Hercules*, there is about eight thousand Furlongs: And from the streights vnto the new Towne, which some call *Carthage*, from whence *Hannibal* parted to go into *Italy*, threethousand furlongs: And from *Carthage* to *Ebro*, two thousand six hundred furlongs: From thence to the *Empories*, sixteene hundred: And from thence to the mouth of the River of *Rhone* sixteene hundred furlongs. Behold the measure of those places which the *Romans* haue made with great diligence: From the passage of the *Rhone*, following the Bankes towards the Springs, vnto the passage of the *Alpes* into *Italy*, thirteene hundred furlongs; and the passage of the Mountayne is held to be twelue hundred. After which they come into the Champion Countrey which is about *Poe*. And therefore *Hannibal* was to march nine thousand furlongs, from *Carthage* vnto the entry of *Italy*. And if we will obserue the way, he had already past the one halfe: But if we will consider the difficulty of the Countrey, he had the most trouble some taske to performe. *Hannibal* endeaoured by all meanes to passe the *Perinnee* Mountaines, not without some feare of the *Gauls*: least knowing the passages, they should interrupt his voyage into *Italy*.

In the meane time newes came to *Rome* of that which had bene spoken and done at *Carthage*, by the Embassadors, and that *Hannibal* had past the River of *Ebro* with his Army, much sooner then they expected, making hast to go into *Italy*; for the which the great men of *Rome* were not a little amazed: Conceiuing that hee would moue the Nation of the *Gauls* against them, being alwayes desirous of Warre. Wherefore after the Election of the Consuls, the diuided the Provinces: Whereof *Spain* was for *Publius Cornelius*, and *Affricke* with *Sycily* for *Tytus Sempronius*: To whom they appointed sixe Legions for that yeare, and as many Allies as they should thinke good; and as great an Army at Sea as they could make.

Whilest they Leued men at *Rome*; and that the Army at Sea and Munitions were preparing, and all the necessary Equipage for the Sea, they laboured to people their Gallies, which they had lately in *Gaul* neere vnto the *Poe*. There were Citties newly built, and Cittizens enioyned to be there within thirty dayes, to either City fixe thousand men: whereof the one which was on this side the *Poe*, was called *Plaisance*, and the other on the further side *Cranona*. The *Bolaniens* discontented herewith, and remembering the ancient quarrels, abandoned the *Roman* party, being aduertised of the Descent of the *Carthaginians*, leauing the Hostages which they had giuen in the former Warre, whereof we haue made mention in the last Booke. And taking Armes suddenly, they solicited the *Atacani* to do the like, making a tumultuous burly-burly in the Countrey assigned to the *Colles*, so as all the people terrified fled to *Modena*, with the three Deputies which were come to diuide the Land: Whom the *Bolaniens* pursued, and besieged the Towne. The siege continuing some time,

A diuision of
the Provinces
to the Consuls.

The building
of *Plaisance*
and *Cranona*.

The renewal
of the
Bolaniens.

Modena besieged
by the *Gauls*.

they made a show to parley of Peace. And when the Princes of the Gauls had called some Ambassadors to come vnto them, they staid them contrary to the Law of Nations, refusing to lend them battle. If their Hostages were not delivered, and Lictors to be sent to them.

When the newes of this accident was come vnto them, *Lutius* *Maximus* the Pretor, who was then present with an Army, inflamed with Rage, makes hast to succour the distressed, whereof the *Romans* being informed, they layd an Ambush in the Forest neere the way, and surprizing their enemies at their coming, they slew a great number of the *Romans*. The rest with great difficulty recovering the fields, saved themselves: Where although the Souldiers assured themselves for a time, yet finding that the *Romans* pursued them in the Reare, they fled to recover the Towne of *Cannae*. When the newes came vnto *Rome*, the *Romans* fearing that their Army would be endangered by a long siege, they appointed *Scipio* the Pretor to succour the Besieged with the Troupes prepared for the new Levy of the Consull, enioyning him moreover to make a Levy of others: Behold the estate where in the affaires of the *Gauls* flood vnto the coming of *Hannibal*. In the meane time the Consulls having made ready all their necessary Equipage, parted from *Rome*: whereof *Publius Cornellius* bent his course to *Spain*, with threecore vessels of warre, and *Scipio* into *Affricke* with a hundred and thre score *Quinquagones*, taking the Warre so to heart, as he made so great a preparation at *Lylibris*, that it seemed he should presently besiege *Carthage*.

As for *Cornelius*, he tooke his way by the Country of *Tuscan* and the *Genoensis*, and arrived on the fifth day at *Murcellis*, and entered with his Army at the first mouth of *Rhone*, for it passeth into the Sea by many mouthes. And although he were advertised that *Hannibal* past the *Pyrene* mountaines, yet he made his accompt that hee had a long way to go, as well for the difficulty of the Country, as for the multitude of the *Gauls*, those parts being very well peopled. But *Hannibal* made hast daily to passe the *Rhone* with his Army, accre vnto the shore of the *Sardinian* Sea, with incredible diligence, after that he had pacified the *Gauls* partly with gifts, and partly by feare. The which the Consull hearing, and believing but in part this suddaine arrivall, desiring likewise to know the truth, he Lands, to refresh his Men wearied with a torment at Sea. Then he acquaints the Tribunes with the places, by the which they must goe to encounter the Enemy, and sends three hundred choise Horse before, vnder the Conduct of *Proquencius*, and some incoores of the *Gauls*, to discover the Enemies enterprize.

Hannibal being now neere the *Rhone* with his Army, and within four daies journey of the Sea, makes hast to passe it with all possible speed. And therefore he calls all the inhabitants therabouts, and wins them by Presents, from whom he buies Skifs and small Boates which they ordinarily vse, and whereof there were at that time a great number, by reason of the Faues for the Trade of the Sea: And he causeth others to be made in making hollow the bodies of Trees.

The

A surprise made by the *Romans* upon the *Romans*.

The parting of the *Romans* Armies.

The which the Souldiers likewise did, being moued with the abundance of stoffe and the facility of the Worke. So as in lesse then two daies, there were so many Boates and Skifs, as they were sufficient to passe. Every man striving not to be at the mercy of his Companion or Comrade, but to passe himselfe and his baggage into his owne Skiffe or Boate.

In the meane time there were an infinite number of men drawne together vpon the further Banke of the *Rhone*, to hinder the *Carthaginians* passage. The which *Hannibal* perceiving, and knowing well that he could not passe the River by force, for that the Enemy held the other Banke, nor stay there long, but he should be inuironed by the people of the Country, at the setting of the third Watch of the night he sends *Hanno* sonne to King *Bomilcar* with a part of his Army, to whom he gave some guides of the Country, who mounted vpon the River two hundred furlongs, staying about an Island, about the which the *Rhone* did runne: Where by reason of the Ford it seemed good, for that the River diuided it selfe in two. They suddainly cut downe wood, and made floates sufficient to passe the men, and other things necessary. By this meanes they past the *Rhone* without danger or impeachment. Afterwards they recovered a place strong by nature, where they refreshed themselves a day, for the toile which they had taken, atwell for their march by night, as for the paines they had indured, being all attentive to affect their enterprize in time.

Hannibal likewise made hast to do the like, with the rest of the Army. But he was troubled to passe the Elephants, being thirty scaven in number. The night following, they which had past the *Rhone*, marching along the River side, at the breake of day approached neere vnto the *Barbarians*, who as we haue sayd were there assembled. *Hannibal* on the other side, having his men ready, commaunds them all to be resolute to passe, and that they should put the Horse men prepared for the Combat in Boates, to the end that being past they might serue if necessary required: And that the most active and nimblest foot men should enter into the Skifs. And to the end they might passe with more ease and safety, and might the better breake the vehemency of the Waues, he placed Boates about the River to breake the Violent and swift course. He also caused three or foure Horses to be tyed to the Poop to swim it ouer, and there were two men set of either side of the Poop. By this meanes the greatest part of the Horses had bin past in the first Voyage.

The which the *Barbarians* seeing, they came out of their Fort, and ranne vnto the shore in a great throng and without order, as if they should easily defeat the Enemies. But after that *Hannibal* had stayd a little, and seeing his men approach by the smoake that they cast, according to his appointment, he gaue a signe to his whole Army to passe, the which the *Carthaginians* seeing, they laboured with all their power to passe the River with great cries, and to breake the Violence of the streame, so as every one laboured to passe first. When as the *Carthaginians* held the two Bankes, and past the river with great noise,

The *Gauls* endeavour to stop *Hannibal* passage over the *Rhone*.

Hannibal causeth his Army to passe the *Rhone*.

the *Gauls* endeavouring with great fury to resist them, crying, and singing after their manner. The Charge was terrible for the time; and the Combat horrible to see. All the *Gauls* were run downe vnto the Riuer, and had left their Tents. *Hanno* arrives presently with his Troupe, whereof one part falls vpon their Campe; and the other Charges them in the reare. The *Gauls* being amazed at this suddaine accident, recover a part of their Campe, to keepe it from the Enemies; the others were no lesse attentive in the Combate. When *Hannibal* saw his enterprize succeed so happily; he encourageth his Souldiers, putting them in minde of their auncient prowesse, and perswading them to repulse the Enemies couragiously. Whereupon they fall vpon them with great fury. Finally, the *Gauls* retired into their Villages with a shamefull flight, for that they had begun the battell without order, and had bin terrified by the surprize which *Hanno* made with his Legion.

When as *Hannibal* had at one instant, vanquished the Riuer and his Enemies, he causeth the rest of his Army to passe at leasure. And being all past in a short time, he planted his Campe without feare of the *Gauls*, and spent the night in peace vpon the Riuer side. Three dayes after he was aduertised of the entry of the *Roman* Consull, with his Army at Sea into the mouthes of *Rhone*. Wherefore he sent five hundred *Numidians*, to discover the Enemies, to view their numbers, and to learne what they resolved. In the meane time he giues order vnto the maisters of the Elephants to be careful to passe the *Rhone*. And hauing drawne his men together, he causeth the Kings to be called, who were come vnto him from *Gauls* which lyes beyond the *poe*. Who speaking vnto the whole Campe by an Interpreter, aduised them to passe the Mountaines, promising that both themselves, and the rest of the inhabitants of *Gauls* should giue them both aide and assistance: That the waies were safe, and well furnished with all things necessary: And that moreover the mountaines were not very difficult to passe, and they should finde the places where they were to goe, abounding in all things. Besides, they should finde such Allies, whose Courage in times past was not a little feared by the *Romans*. After these or the like words, the Kings presently retired.

Then *Hannibal* entering into the Assembly, he shewes them first their Actions past, wherein following his Councell and opinion, they had bin alwaies Victorious: And that Fortune had neuer bin auerse vnto them. Moreover he intreats them to be of good courage, being assured that they had ended the greatest of their Labours, hauing past so dangerous a Riuer, considering the good affection of their Allies, who were ready and prepared. Finally, that they should lay the burthen of affaires vpon him, shewing only their Obedience, where it should be needfull, with a remembrance of his Vertue and Prowesse, which he had performed with so great resolution. His speech being ended, seeing the ioyfull Countenance of his men, carrying the shew of resolution, he commended them all. Then hauing made his prayers

vnto

Hanno charged
both the GaulsHannibal's Victory
to your the
Gauls.Remonstrances
of the Gaulish
Kings vnto the
Carthaginian
Campe.Hannibal's speech
vnto his Souldiers.

vnto the gods according to their manner, he retired, and sent them away to feed, giuing them charge to be ready to part the next day.

The Company was scarce dismissed when as the *Numidians*, who as wee haue sayd, had bene sent to discover, returned, defeated and broken by the Enemy: for as they encountered neere vnto their Campe, the *Roman* Caualtery, whom *Scipio* had sent for the same cause, they charged one another with such fury, as there were slaine seauen score Horse as well *Romans* as *Gauls*, and about two hundred *Numidians*. The *Romans* pursuing the *Carthaginians* vnto their Campe, where hauing diligently obserued all, they returned to the Consull, and reported certaine newes of the Enemy, and of the Combat they had with the *Numidians*. Which things being heard, *Publius Cornelius* seeing that his stay there, would bee of no great moment, imbarques his Baggage; and parting with all his Troupes along the Bankes of *Rhone*, and makes haste as if hee would giue battell to the Enemy.

Three dayes after that *Hannibal* had made his Oration to the Souldiers, at the breake of day hee sets all his Horsemen vpon the Seashore, as it were for a guard: and causeth the Foote-men to march a slow pace, being parted from their Campe: vsing the greatest diligence he could possible to passe the Elephants: For the effecting whereof hee tooke this aduice. Hee made prouision of many floats, and tied two together from the Land vnto the Riuer, being fifty foote broad: to the which they added two others on the side of the Bankes: The which they tied fast vnto Trees which were vpon the Bankes, to the end they might swimme safely: their length being of two hundred foote.

Finally, they tied vnto these last two other long floats gently, to the end they might bee easily vntied: to the which were fastned certaine Cords, wherewith they might drawe the Boats to the other Banke, after they should bee vntied from the other floats. Finally, they couered them all with Earth, to the end that the Elephants might march vpon them without feare as vpon the Land. This Equipage being prepared, they brought the Elephants, who had bene accustomed to obey the *Indians* in all places, but vpon the water, by the means of two Females which march before vpon the floats as vpon the firme land, which after they had past vnto the last, which presently were vntied, and were drawne by the Boats without any feare whilst they were all together: But when as the last float was separated from the rest, and that they saw themselves carried vpon the water, they made some shew of affrightment, for the feare which they had of all parts, for that the last fled from the water: yet this feare made them quiet, for that they saw nothing but water about them. When the first were past, they went to fetch the rest, and past them. Some of them tormenting themselves with feare, fell into the Riuer, and were retired safe, although their Masters were slaine: For in marching slowly, and finding alwaies footing, they recovered the other side of the Banke: for that their waight kept them firme, and by reason

A defeat of
the Numidians
by the Roman
Caualtery.The means to
passe the Ele-
phants.The feare of
the Elephants
vpon the Rhone.

son of their greatnesse they had their Tronks always about the River, wherewith they might catch the water if they had drunke any; and to recover their breath.

The Elephants being passy *Hannibal* marcheth with them, and all his Cavalry along the *Rhone* towards the firme land, drawing all his provisions in the meane time from the Sea. The *Rhone* comes from three heads of Fountaines above the Sea of *Venice*, taking their course towards the West, and bending at the foot of the Mountaine something towards the North. Then it enters into the Lake of *Geneva*, where it is not so violent: and passing through the midst of *A* it, it tends to the Hyernall West, dividing the *Gauls* in some sort: and then taking its course towards the South, it enters into the *Sardinian* Sea. The *Valesien* *Gauls* inhabit that part which tends towards the North: and on the South side is enuironed with the Mountaines which bend towards the North. And as for the Plaines which are about *Poe*, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, the *Alpes* separate them from the *Rhone*, which beginning at *Marfeilles*, extend vnto the Gulf of *Venice*. The which *Hannibal* then past about that Countrey which lies neere vnto the *Rhone*, and came into *Italy*.

Some Historiographers seeking in this passage to terrifie the iudgement of Readers, doe not obserue that they fall into two strange errors, contrary to the reason of the History: For they are forced to write lies, and actions quite contrary: shewing *Hannibal* (whom they will haue inimitable, as well for his knowledge in Marriall affaires, as for his great courage) to be wholly void of sense and reason. And in the end when they cannot free themselves from their lies, they haue recourse vnto the gods, for their History made at pleasure. For in making the passage of the *Alpes* so great and difficult, so as not onely the Horse-men, Baggage, nor Elephants could not passe, neither yet the Foot-men lightly armed, and that moreover, there is so great a Defart, that if God, or some Angell had not guided the Army, without doubt it had perished in the Caves and hollow places: they fall directly into two errors. First, where should you finde a Commander more senselesse then *Hannibal*, who hauing the charge of so many troups, and of so great an Army, wherein consisted all his hope to preuaile in his enterprize, knew neither the passages, nor the places, as they say, nor which way hee should passe, nor against whom? For their meaning is, that with so great a hope, and with such a triumphant Army, he should doe that which others after many Combats doe not attempt, but through extreame despaire. But what can be spoken more vnreasonable? And whereas they say the places are desart and rough, they shew themselves apparent liars. They doe not say how the *Gauls* inhabiting the banks of *Rhone*, before that time haue past into *Italy*, nor once nor twice: Nor how in times past, they haue past the Mountaines with a great Army against the *Romans*, to succour and helpe the *Cisalpin* *Gauls*: nor how that those Mountaines are very well peopled: But as men ignorant hereof, they say, that

The Spring of the Rivers of *Rhone*.

Hannibal past the *Alpes* along the *Rhone*.

Polybius his remonstrance against Historiographers.

The *Gauls* inhabiting along the *Rhone* haue often past into *Italy*.

that I know not what God appeared to *Hannibal*, and shewed him the way. By this meanes they seeme rather *Tragedians* than *Historiographers*. For euen as they which write *Tragedies*, doe many time their Playes with the gods, or some other inuention, for that they haue taken a false and strange beginning: Euen to these kinde of *Historiographers* are in the like paine: For that taking false beginnings, they are forced to fly to some gods, or Heroes.

But how can it bee that from a false beginning the end should bee true? Without doubt *Hannibal* hath not carried himselfe as they imagine, but contrariwise like a wife and politique Captaine, for hee duly considered the fertility of the Countrey whither hee went, and the hatred of the Inhabitants against the *Romans*: And he had to passe the Mountaines (which is a hard and difficult thing) the people of the Countrey for his guides, whom he had already wonne against the *Romans*. This we haue learned from those which were at that time employed in affaires, and wee our selues haue bene purposely to see the *Alpes*, and therefore we haue written it the more boldly.

Hannibal conducted by guides at the passage of the Mountaines.

Polybius visited the *Alpes*.

Three dayes after the *Romans* departed from the Bankes of *Rhone*, *B* *Publius Scipio* the *Roman* Consull being come to the Enemies Campe with a resolution to fight, hee stood for a time amazed, seeing the place void: For he made his accompt that the Enemy should neuer take that Countrey to passe into *Italy*, as well for the difficulty of the way, as for the multitude of *Barbarians* which held it. But after he had well waighed the great courage of the *Carthaginians*, he presently recouers his ship, and draws his Army together: Then he sends his Brother into *Spain* with part of his men, to the end it should not be vnfurnished of Forces, and himselfe takes his course towards *Italy*, to encounter *Hannibal* at the descent of the Mountaines with more ease and safety. Four dayes after *Hannibal* arrived at *Lisle*, a rich and fertile Countrey: The which was so called, for that the Rivers of *Saone* and *Rhone* falling from the Mountaines, embracing a little quantity of Land, runne together and make an Island like in figure and forme to another that is in *Egypt*, called *Delta*. It is true, that that in *Egypt* hath on the one side the Sea, with the which two Rivers ioyne: But this hath rough and stony Mountaines, which in a manner are inaccessible. Where *Hannibal* being arrived, hee found two Brothers in quarrell for the Kingdome, and their Armies fighting one another. But being called by the eldest, and intreated to restore him to his Fathers inheritance, he obeyed him, thinking it would assill him much in his Enterprize. And when hee had chased away the younger, and put him in possession of his Realme, hee had not onely store of victuals, and abundance of all things for a recompence: But moreover they were furnished with all sorts of Armes and other furniture, whereof the roughnesse of the cold Mountaines forced him to make provision. His Army, and himselfe were likewise conducted safely by the King and his forces, through the *Sandy* and Country vnto the Mountaines, which was a great benefit to him.

Lisle made by the Rivers of *Saone* and *Rhone*.

Delta an Island in *Egypt*.

King of *Carthage* and his forces.

When he in ten daies after his departure from the Rhone, had marcht labour an hundred miles, he began to ascnd the Mountaines, where he was in great danger. It is true, that whilest the *Carthaginians* past the Plaine, the Lords of *Sauoy* suffered them to goe on quietly, partly fearing their Horse-men, and partly the *Gauls* forces, which did accompany them.

But when as they were retired to their houses, and that the *Carthaginians* began to ascend the rough and steepe Mountaines: then they drew together in great multitudes, and seiz'd vpon the passages, by the which *Hannibal* must of necessity goe. And if they had layed scattering ambushes in the Valleys, and had charg'd them suddainly, without doubt they had made a great slaughter of the *Carthaginians*. But being discouered by *Hannibal*, they did not so much annoy the Enemy as themselves: For when he found that they held all the passages, he causeth his Army to stay, and lodging among the Rocks and hollow places, he sent some of the *Gauls* that were with him, to visite the places, and to discouer the Enemies intention and preparations. Being aduersified by them, that the Enemy stayd there onely in the day, and that by night euery man retired to his house, to a Towne which was nere by, he void this inuention. At the breake of day hee B recouers the Hills with his whole Army, as if he had an intent to force through the Enemy. But when he was nere vnto them, he seized his Campe, and fortified himselfe.

And when hee found the Villains of the Mountaines had retired themselves from their Hills, he makes many fires in his Campe, leaving the greatest part of his Army there, and steals through the streights with the best and ablest men of his Army, staying vpon those Hills which the Enemy formerly held. This done when the Villaines of the Mountaines saw it at the breake of day, they made a stand for a time: But finding that the baggage and the multitude of Horse-men disordered the Army in the streights: thinking likewise that the least amazement were sufficient to defeat them, they charge them in diuers places by the inaccessible Rocks. Then the *Carthaginians* were not so much annoyed by the Enemy, as by the difficulty of the place: for that the Horses and baggage made a great spoile of men and goods: For as the streights were of either side steepe and like a Gulfe, many Horses fell with their burthens a wonderfull height. The Horses being strucke or hurt, were wonderfully troubled, the way being narrow, falling partly for feare, and partly for the grieue of their hurts. The which *Hannibal* seeing, and that there was no hope in fight, after the D losse of his baggage, he defends with great fury from the place where he had remained all night. And although he gaue a great defeat to the Enemy, yet he slew many of his owne: For the motion increasing on either side, many fell.

Finally, after that the *Sauoyards* had bene slaine, some in fighting, and some in the soute: *Hannibal* past the rest of his Horse and baggage with great paine and trouble. And hauing drawne together the rest of his Army, hee marcht to the City from whence the *Sauoyards* had

The *Sauoyards* hinder *Hannibal* and his Army.

Hannibal's policy.

They of the Mountaines charge the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal's victory against the *Sauoyards*.

fallied, the which he tooke without resistance, finding no man in it. It was a great reliefe vnto him for all things necessary, not onely for the present but for the future: for he carried away a great number of Horses and Prisoners; and victualled his Army for three daies with Corne and Cattell: Amazing the other Inhabitants of the mountaines, who durst not make the like attempt: Which was a thing more to be esteemed.

He staid there one day, and parting with his Army, he marcht but little the two daies following, and on the fourth he was againe in a great danger. He was come vnto a place among the Mountaines very well peopled with Inhabitants, who altogether had conspired to deceive the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore they go to meet *Hannibal*, carrying Garlands of Flowers: which is a signe of friendship and peace among the *Barbarians*, like vnto the *Caducti* among the *Grecians*. *Hannibal* did not thinke it fit to giue credit easily vnto them, and inquires what their will and intent was: Who answered, that they did like well of the taking of the Towne and the defeat of the *Gauls*, who were Enemies vnto them: And as for themselves they would obey his will, and would not do, nor suffer any outrage; promising to giue him Hostages for the assurance of their promises. And although that *Hannibal* was long in suspence what to do, yet he considered that he might happily pacifie the *Barbarians*, if he accepted these Conditions, and if he refused them, they would declare themselves his Enemies. Wherefore in giuing them a gracious answer, he makes shew to receive their Alliance.

And when they had not only giuen him Hostages, but furnished him with abundance of Victuals, and put themselves into his hands: *Hannibal* had so great Confidence in them, as he made no doubt but to make vse of them for Guides in difficult places. When they had marcht two daies, and were come vnto a streight Valley, hauing the Mountaine on one side, the *Carthaginians* were in danger to be wholly defeated: For that the *Barbarians* fallied from all sides out of their Ambushes. If *Hannibal* who had not yet so great confidence in the *Gauls*, and who sawe (as future things) had not put the Elephants and Horse-men in the forward, and had followed in the Reare with the force of his foot-men, hauing an Eleouer all. By this supply the losse prou'd the lesse, yet it was great both of Men, Horses, and Baggage: for the danger was so great, as *Hannibal* was inforced to continue a whole night there with halfe his Army, without his Cavalry or Baggage. For that the Enemy held the top of the Mountaine, which was very nere vnto them, casting downe pieces of the Rocks vnto the Army, and sometimes casting stones.

The day following, when the *Gauls* began to grow cold, he recouered the Mountaine, ioyning with his Horse and Baggage. Then the *Gauls* presented themselves no more to Battell, charging like Thieves, sometimes in the forward, sometimes in the Reare, as time and place gaue them opportunity. The Elephants were rest of full to the *Carthaginians*, for wherefoeuer they marcht, the place was

Conspiracy of them of the Mountaines, vnder colour of friendship.

The Treason of the *Barbarians* against *Hannibal*.

assured from Enemies, for that they durst not approach neere them, hauing not bin accustomed vnto them. On the ninth day they came vnto the top of the *Alpes*, and there they planted their Campe two daies, partly to refresh the Souldiers which were weary with toile, and partly to retire those that were draied. During which time, many Horses freed from their burthens, and following the Rout of the Army recovered the Campe. Those places were then full of Snow, for it was in *November*: Whereby the Souldiers grew in a manner into despaire, being tired and vext with so many Crossees. The which *Hannibal* perceiving, he draws them together, resolving to make a Speech vnto them.

Hannibal makes a Speech vnto his souldiers.

For the effecting whereof he had but one occasion, which was to shew them *Italy* so neere, and the fertility thereof. In truth it is so neere the foot of the Mountaines, as if it be well obserued, the Hills seeme to serue as Rampiers to *Italy*. And therefore he shewed it them from a high Hill, from whence they might see the whole Extent. The like he did of the plaines about *Rome*, lying at the foot of the Mountaines, relating vnto them the friendship of the *Gauls* inhabiting those Countries, and the Territory of *Rome*: wherewith he reuiued their spirits. Three dayes after he began to dislodge, the Enemy making no attempt against them, but after a Theeuing manner: Yet he had no lesse losse at the descent of the Mountaines by reason of the bad Country, and the coldnesse of the Snow, then he had at the ascent by the attempt of his Enemies; For they which did stumble in any sort, fell presently into a Gulfe, considering that the place was narrow and rough by nature: And all the Country newly couered with Snow, so as there was no shew of any path, neither could they hold their footing. It is true the men accustomed vnto so many miseries, did easily indure this Trouble.

In the meane time they came to another Rocke, where as neither the Elephants nor Horse could passe: for a late fall of the ground, had streightned the Way two hundred paces, which had formerly bin as large. Here againe the Army began to be troubled and tormented. *Hannibal* in the beginning laboured to lead his Army by vncough and vnknowne places, whereas neuer foule had bin: But for that the Snow hindered them that they could not passe, he desisted from his Enterprize. There had Snow fallen newly this yeare vpon the old, which was yet whole and entire: vpon the which they had firme footing, for that which was newly fallen was soft and not very thicke. But after that it had bin trodden and beaten by so many men and horses, no man could keep his footing: As it happens to those which go vpon places which are slippery with dust, where their footing failes them: For that they marche vpon the Ice, and vpon the Snow that was moulen.

Moreover the men (which was more miserable) falling back-wards (for that they could not keep their footing in those slippery places) tumbled downe into the Caues and hollow places, where they laboured to lie vpon their Hands and Knees. The Horses of burthen fell sometimes,

times, brake the Ice, and could not sturue: for that they were laden and could not retire their feet out of the Ice. Then *Hannibal* frustrate of his former hopes, for that the men and Horses laboured in vaine, placed the Campe vpon the top of the Mountaine, hauing cleared the place of great difficulty. Then he Commanded them all to coule the way vnto the Rocke where they were to passe. The which was done with much toile. When as the way was made by the way of the Horses and Sumpters, he caused them presently to passe, leaving his Campe in those places that were without Snow, and there to feed.

A In the meane time he gives charge to the *Nomidian* to make a way for the Elephants. The which was ended with great difficulty, they being in a manner dead for hunger: for the tops of the Mountaines are without Grasse or Trees, for that they are continually covered with Snow. It is true, that the Vallies of either side of the Mountaines, hauing goodly Pastures and Trees, and places which are very well inhabited.

When as *Hannibal* had drawne all his Troopes together, he began to pursue his course: and hauing past the Rocke aboue mentioned, in three daies, he came vnto the Plaine. B Having lost the greatest part of his Army, as well by the Enemy and Riues in his way, as by the roughnesse of the Mountaine in passing them, and not only men, but also Horses and Carriages: Finally, hauing recovered *Italy* in this manner, five moneths after his departure from *Carthage*, and past the mountaines in fifteene daies, he enters boldly into the Countries about *Rome* and *Milane*, hauing yet remaining about ten thousand, two hundred foot *Africans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and fixe thousand Horses at the most. This he testifies in a pillar where the whole number of his Army is set downe at *Lauynum*. At the same time *Publius Cornelius Scipio* the Confull, hauing sent his brother into *Spain* to make head against *Asdrubal*, he sail'd to *Pyse* with few men, taking his way through *Tuscany* where he receiued the Army of the *Pretors Marcius* and *Asinius*, which they had against the *Bullones*, and marcht directly to the Riuer of *Po*, to fight with the Enemy before he had refresh'd himselfe.

Hannibal goes on his course.

The number of men which *Hannibal* had remaining after he had past the *Alpes*.

Seeing we haue turn'd our Discourse to the Warre of *Italy*, and to the Commanders of these two people, we haue thought it good to deliuer in few words some things which are not wanting for a Historiographer, before we come to those which haue bin acted in that Princiuit. It may be some one will demand of me how it happens, that being we haue handled the Affaires of *Libya* and *Asie*, at which yet we haue not spoken of *Hiberales* Pillars, nor of that Arme of the Sea which diuides *Africke* from *Europe*, nor in like manner of the great Sea or Ocean, nor of those things which depend thereon, nor of the Islands of *England* & *Scotland*, nor likewise of the abundance of Time, Gold, and Silver wherewith *Spain* abounds. It is strange, that the ancient Historiographers haue spoken many things and diuers, being of contrary opinions: It is true we haue not omitted them, thinking that they were not fitting for a History, but we haue done it

polybius his Excuse.

to the end that our Relation might not be diuided, nor diuert the Readers from the order of the History: Being of opinion that these things should be delivered with all possible truth, in time and place, and not out of season. And therefore no man ought to marvell, if in the following Bookes we passe on, when we shall come to these passages, for we do it of purpose and for the reasons aboue mentioned. If there be any one that desires to heare them at euery passage, he may well be compared to a Glutton, that is ioynted to a Feast: for as tasting of all the meates, as soone as he is set at the Table, he shall receiue little pleasure or profit for the future, considering that he hath no perfect taste, and that all being put together into the Stomacke, it hinders digestion. They in like manner which do the like in reading of Histories, haue not pleasure for the present, nor profit for the future. It is apparent, that a History among other things hath need to be corrected in this, as well for other reasons, as for that the ancient Historiographers, who haue laboured to describe Countries, and the Nature of Regions to the remotest parts of the World, haue in many places strayed from the truth.

Finally, we must speake against them, not by hazard and rashly, but with reason, nor reprehend their ignorance, but rather to commend them and correct them: Who no doubt would haue repaired their errors, if they had liued in these times. For there are few men found among the *Greeks*, which in former times could haue gone to search out the extremities of the World, for the danger and tediousness of the way: For that there are many, and in a manner innumerable dangers at Sea; and if any through necessity, or of his owne free will, had gone to the extremities of the World, he could not easily haue found out the situation of places, nor those things which are worthy to be sought after: For that the greatest part was inhabited by Barbarous nations, and some Desert and inhabitable: Besides that, for the diuersity of Tongues, the enterprize was much more difficult; for there was no means to inquire, nor to learne, for want of vnderstanding one another. It was no lesse difficult to relate truly those things which they had seene, for that euery man was giuen to augment, and to make things seeme more admi-
A

table. Seeing then it was not only difficult, but in a manner impossible, to haue a true History of these things before this time, we must not blame the ancient Historiographers, if they haue forgotten or committed some Errors; but rather we ought to wonder and commend them that they haue bin able to make any search. It will be therefore necessary to make a true and diligent search of those things, which our Predecessors knew not: for that in our times all the passages are open, as well by Sea as Land, by the means of *Alexander of Macedon* his Forces into *Asia*, and of the *Roman* Empire ouer the rest of the World: And likewise when as people were no more troubled with Warre, nor with any desire or ambition of publicke Affaires: So as they had great opportunity to search out the truth of these things. For the effecting whereof we will strue by all means, as soone as we shall find an opportunity.
B

unity. There is nothing that was more pleasing vnto me, then to know that they which desire to vnderstand these things, come vnto the truth by our means; and that we haue not taken so much paines, nor vndergone so great dangers, to visite *Affricke*, *Spain* and the *Gauls*, by the meanes of the Ocean, but in repairing the errors of the ancient Historiographers, & make those Countries knowne to our men. Let vs now returne to our Discourse of the Warres which are in *Italy*, betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.
Polybius hath visited Affricke, Spain and the Gauls.

A Wee haue formerly related the number of men which *Hannibal* had remaining after hee had past into *Italy*, who planted his Campe at the foote of the Mountaines to refresh his Army: for it was toiled and wearied, not onely with the passage of the Mountaines which was very difficult, but also for want of victuals: Besides, it was continually afflicted with diseases, misery and poverty. The greatest part were dead of famine, and their insupportable toile: for it was impossible to carry things necessary for so great an Army, in a Countrey that was rough and difficult: And if they carried any thing, the greatest part was lost with the Horses.

B By this meanes it fell out, that although a little before hee had parted from the Riuer of *Rhone* with thirty eight thousand Foote, and eight thousand Horse, hee had scarce then halfe his Army entire: and yet by the reason of their continuall labour and toile, they were in a manner become wilde. The which *Hannibal* perceiving, hee not onely laboured to cheere vp the bodies and hearts of the Souldiers, but likewise to refresh their Horses. After which hee marched with his Army, and laboured by all means to procure the Friendship of the *Turinians*, which was the neere-
A decrease of Hannibals Army.

C Next Nation, and were at that time in Warre with the *Millanians*, and seemed to haue no great trust and confidence in the *Carthaginians*. Who seeming not much to regard him, hee assaults one of their strongest Townes, the which hee takes vpon the third day: where putting all vnto the Sword that would not follow his party, hee so terrified and amazed the *Barbarians* which inhabited thereabouts, as presently they yielded themselves into the hands of the *Carthaginians*.
D

It is true that the other *Gauls* inhabiting along the Riuer of *Poe*, would willingly haue ioynd to *Hannibal* as they had resolved, if attending an opportunitie to doe it, the suddaine coming of the Consul had not preuented them. So as they stirred not, and some of them ioynd to the *Roman* Army. The which *Hannibal* perceiving, he resolved to make no longer stay, and that he must attempt some good enterprize, to make the rest more bold to follow his partie. Being careful hereof, he had newes that *Publius Scipio* had past the *Poe*, and that he was not farre off: the which at the first he seemed not to regard, as a thing not likely: For he remembered that hee had lately left him at the mouth of *Rhone*, and vnderstood that the passage from *Marsilles* vnto *Tuscany* was long and inaccessible, and the way from the *Tuscan* Sea which leads to the *Alpes* through *Italy*, was rough.
T where

where an Army could not passe. But vpon diuers aduertisements of the certaine newes hee was amazed, wondering much at the Constable industry and diligence. The Constable in like manner wondered at this. For where as he thought that Hannibal would neuer presume to passe the Mountaines with an Army consisting of strange Nations: And that if hee attempted it, hee would dye by the way, hee wondered much at his great courage and boldnesse, when as hee found that hee had not onely past safely, but had also forced some Townes of Italy.

At the same time the Romans were full of affaires. It is true, that the last newes they had receiued, was of the taking of Sagone: wherefore they called an assembly, and made choice of two Consuls, whereof the one was sent into Affricke to make Warre against Carthage, and the other into Spaine against Hannibal. But when they had such daie newes of the coming of Hannibals Army, and that he held some Townes of Italy besieged: they were so amazed, as they presently countermaunded Sempronius from Lybia, and directing him of the descent of the Enemy into Italy, and that leauing the affaires of the Province, he should make hast to succour his Country. After which newes, Sempronius presently sends backe the Army by Sea, giving them charge to saile directly to Italy, and he gaue the conduct of the Army by Land to the Tribunes, appointing them a day when they should come to Rimini. It is a Towne seated vpon the Adriatique shore, at the end of the Plaines which are about Pad towards the South. By this meane matters being alured, and that all seemed to fall out contrary to the hope and opinion of the World, every man vsed diligence to provide for the future. The two Armies were now opposite one to another, whereof the Commanders for the time they had, laboured to giue courage vnto their men.

But Hannibal striving to encourage them vsed this meane, putting into the middelt of the Army assembled together the Prisoners of the Mountaines, who were in Chaynes: The which by their continual toile, and partly by his commaundment were growne leane and feeble: for (the better to attaine vnto his intention) hee had caused them to haue great fetters, and had in a manner starued them, and finally had commaunded that they should bee cruelly beaten naked.

Having drawne them into the middt of his Army, he caused armes to be laid before them after the manner of the Gaules, and such as Captaines vse to arme themselves with when they fight single Combats: he also gaue them Horses, and Cassocks made with great Art. Then he demanded of the Prisoners, which of them would fight man to man, propounding to the Victor the afore said gifts, and to the vanquished that by death he should be freed from his present miseries. And as they all cried out that they were ready to fight, Hannibal caused Lots to be cast, and makes two men to enter the list arm'd, vpon whom the Lot had fallen. The which the prisoners hearing, they lifted vp

their hands to Heauen, praying vnto the gods, that they would bee pleased to choose them for the Combate. As soone as the Lot was cast, they vpon whom it fell, were wonderfully ioyfull, and the rest remained sad and peniue. But when as the Combate was ended, the other Prisoners did no lesse commend the fortune of him that was defeated, then of the Conqueror: Conceiuing that hee was freed from the great and many miseries, wherewith they were tormented liuing. The like thought the Carthaginians: for in making comparison of the misery of the suruiours, and of those who fighting died valiantly, they found the fortune of these men good, and that of the others moued them to pittie.

When as Hannibal saw his Army moued to pittie at this spectacle, he presently came into the middt of the assembly, saying, that hee presented it vnto them, to the end they should make vse of the example of anothers mans fortune, to consider of their owne: for that they were to vndergoe the same Combate, and that Fortune propounded vnto them the like time, and the like rewards: for they must of necessity liue or dye, or fall into their Enemies hands alius. If they vanquished, their spoile should bee more then a Horse or a Cassocke, being the happiest men in the World, after they had conquered the good fortune of the Romans. And if in fighting they died like braue men, they should end their liues with good hope, free from all miseries and calamities: But withall they must expect all miseries and poeuertry, if being vanquished, they should flie, with a desire of a longer life, or with a resolution to seeke some other meane to liue: and that there is no man so voide of sence, which thinks (if hee flies) that his safe returne into his Country is possible, if hee will remember the length of the way, with the multitude of Combats which must bee maintained during the Voyage: If hee likewise considers the narrow streights, and so many troublesome Riues which were to passe.

Wherefore it was needfull for them, that in laying aside all hope of flight, they should vse the like pittie to themselves in their affaires, as they haue shewed lately in the example of other mens fortunes: For as in the others they commended the fortune of the Victor and the vanquished, and held those which remained miserable: so they must iudge the like of themselves. And therefore they must goe resolutely to the Combate, to get an vspeakable Victory, or else to dye like braue men in battell, if auerfe fortune deny it them: and that they must not expect that being vanquished, they should finde any meane of safety.

Finally, if they march to the field with this resolution, there is no doubt but the Victory and their safety is in their owne hands: for there was neuer any man that haue fought with this intention, or with a resolute courage, or forced by necessity, but hee hath preuailed over his Enemies. And that this is very easie to doe, when as all these things concur together contrary vnto the Enemy, as it happens this Day vnto the Romans: For as their flight hath a manifest and an apparent safety in their houses which were nere them,

The Romans
aduerst of
Hannibal de-
scend into Italy
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The policy of
Hannibal for
an example to
his Souldiers.

Hannibal
speech to his
Souldiers:

so the courage of desperate men will be found insupportable. And when as after this Oration (together with the example) the Souldiers hearts were much inflamed to Warre, and that their Generals comparison was pleasing vnto them, *Hannibal* commending them, sent them away, and commaunded them to bee ready at the breake of day.

But after that the Consull *Publius Scipio* having past the *Poe*, had caused his Army to march to the River of *Tesin*, he commaunded a Bridge to be made by such as were skillfull, and made a Speech vnto the assembly according to the opportunity of the time. In the beginning he spake many things concerning the Maiesty of the people of *Rome*, and the prowess of their Ancestors: But concerning the present affaires, this was the substance. They must of necessity (sayd he) hold the victory certaine, although they had not yet tried their valour with the Enemy: But onely for that they were to fight with the *Carthaginians*. Neither must they expect that they would dare to come to Battell against the *Romans*, having in the last Warres so often beate them both by Sea and Land, to whom they had also so long payed tribute: and whose power they had so often tried. And to the end I forbeare to speake of the times past, why should men of judgement doubt of the future, seeing we haue some experience, that they dare not looke vs in the face?

It is certaine that when lately the *Roman* Horse-men encountered the *Carthaginians* in *Gauls*, on this side the River of *Rhone*; they not onely returned safe, but they beate them backe into their Campe: and that presently, when as *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Army found the *Romans* to be so neere, they steale away in manner of a flight, and passe the Mountaines otherwise then they had resolved, in feare and amazement. Now behold *Hannibal*, who in passing the *Alpes*, hath lost two parts of his Forces. And the rest is so tired and broken with toile, hunger, cold, and pouerty, as they can hardly support themselves: and the remainder of his Horses (if any be escaped) are so worne with labour, and the tedious wayes, as they could not make vse of them. Finally, it sufficed the *Romans* onely to present themselves, and that moreover, his presence should with reason make them more resolute, seeing that he had not left the Army at Sea, nor the affaires of *Spain*, nor had not transported himselfe thither with such speed, going so great a circuit both by Sea and Land, if he had not knowne it necessary for the Countrey, and the victory to be certaine. The Army being inflamed with this Speech, and making shew of a resolution to fight, *Scipio* commending their good will, sent them away, and gaue them charge to feed, and to be ready, and in Armes at the found of the Trumpet and Drumme.

Three daies after, the two Commanders march with their Army along the River, on the side of the Mountaines. The *Romans* had the left hand, and the *Carthaginians* the right. And when as the day following they were aduertised by their Spies of their approach one vnto another, they layed. The third day after, the two Commanders

fronted

Scipio his
speech to his
men.

fronted one another with all their Horse, *Scipio* being moreover accompanied with men that cast Darts, chosen out of the bands of foot-men: The which they did to discouer the number of the men, and what they were.

But when they came to affront one another, and the dust beginning to rise by reason of the Horses, they presently prepared themselves to Battell: *Scipio* puts in Front the Gaulish horse-men, with those that cast Darts, and appointed the rest to second them marching a slow pace. In regard of *Hannibal*, he makes his point of the strongest of his horse-men, and presents it to the Enemy, casting the *Numidians* vpon the Wings. But when the two Armies began to enter the Combat furiously, they had scarce begun the Crie but the Darters fled, without any fight, and passing through their supplies, they recovered the Battell. They were in truth amazed at the violent charge, fearing to be ouerthrowne by the encounter of the Horse-men. In the meantime the Combat was great betwixt the Horse-men; for both the one and the other fought with great courage; which made the Battell to continue long in suspense. There was fighting both on horse-backe and on foot, for that many had left their horses in the Battell. And when as the *Numidians* in turning about, had fallen vpon the reare of the Darters, who in the beginning had fled from the fury of the Horse-men, they were inuironed by them, and defeated in great Troupes. They also which fought with the *Carthaginian* Horse-men, after they had received great losse of their men, and slaine many of their Enemies, in the end they gaue backe, for that the *Numidians* charged in the reare. Some were disperfed here and there: others retired to the Campe in a throng, sauing the Consull (who was wounded) in the midst of the Troupe, from thence *Scipio* Commaunded his men to follow him without noise, and marcheth with his Army to the Bridge which he had made vpon the *Poe*, there to passe without tumult or danger; but when he saw the fields about the *Poe* so great and spacious, and that the *Carthaginians* were stronger in horses, and being moreover troubled with the Wound which he had received, he held it the safest course to passe his Army before the Enemy should pursue him.

Hannibal made his account that the *Romans* would fight sometime with their foot-men; but when he was aduertised of their flight, and that abandoning their Fort they had past the *Poe*, by a Bridge which they had made, he pursues them with speed. The end of the Bridge was already broken and the guard was yet remaining of the which he presently tooke about fixe hundred. *Hannibal* aduertised that the rest of the Army was not farre off, hee returnes to his Fort, seeking carefully for a place fit to make a Bridge: The which two daies after he found with great difficulty, and then effected it, ioyning many floats together. Afterwards he gaue the Charge to *Asdrubal*, to passe the Army, whilst that he busied himselfe to heare the Embassie of the *Gauls*, which were come vnto him from diuers neighbour Countreies: For as soone as it was bruted that the *Romans* had bin defeated by the *Carthaginians*, all the neighbour *Gauls* made hast to ioine with *Han-*

A Combat of
the Horse be-
twixt *Hannibal*
and *Scipio*.

The retreat of
Scipio.

nibal, as they had formerly resolved, and to give him succours, and to go to the Warre. After he had given them a good reception, he past his Army beyond the *Poe*, and takes his way along the River, hoping more easily to ouer-take the Enemy. When as *Scipio* had led his Army to *Plaisence*, (which was a *Roman* Collony) he had a care to cure those that were Wounded, and thinke of a place whither he might lead his Army.

The third day after that *Hannibal* had past the *Poe*, he puts his men in order before *Plaisence* in view of the Enemies, and presented them Battell. And when as no man offered himselfe, he Camp'd having found a convenient place within fixe miles of them. The *Gauls* who had come to succour *Scipio*, seeing better hopes with the *Carthaginians*, resolved among themselves to abandon the *Romans*. And when at mid-night they found all men asleep, they being in Armes in their Tents, they part, and kill'd most of the *Romans* they met in their way, cutting off some of their heads. Finally they retired to the *Carthaginians*, to the number of two thousand foot, and two hundred Horse. Being graciously receiued, and inflamed with hope of good, *Hannibal* sends them home to their Houses; to the end they might make those things knowne, and induce their Country to seke the Alliance of the *Carthaginians*. He saw plainly, that of necessity they would leaue the *Roman* party, considering the foule crime which their men had committed. Moreover there was an Embassie come from the *Boloni*, delivering vnto *Hannibal* the Triumviry who (as we haue formerly said) had bin sent by the *Romans* to diuide the Lands being taken by Treason.

Hannibal commending their good affection, makes an Alliance with them, and restores vnto them the Triumviry, to serue them as a meanes to retire their Hostages, as they had formerly resolved. *Scipio* being troubled, not so much for the Treason of the *Gauls*, and the slaughter of his men, but for that he fore-saw that all the *Gauls* Country (which had bin a long time Enemy vnto the *Romans*) would revolt, which made him study how to give order in time for his Affaires. Wherefore the night following about the breake of day, he dislodg'd without noise, and seated his Campe neere vnto the River of *Trebia*, on the highest Hills of the Country, relying vpon the situation of the place, and the multitude of their Allies inhabiting thereabouts. *Hannibal* being aduertised of his Enemies flight, he causeth the *Numidians* to march first, and then all the Caualery, and soone after he follows with the rest of his Army.

The *Numidians* turning to the Campe abandoned by their Enemies, they set it on fire, to the great benefit of the *Romans*: For if they had not staid in the Campe, they might haue pursued them in the Reare, and haue made a great slaughter of the *Roman* Army. But whilst they loose time in burning the lodging, the greatest part of the Army past the River in safety: Some of the Reare-ward were surprized by the *Carthaginians*, who were either slaine or taken Prisoners. In the meane time *Scipio* made choise of the Hills, which were neere vnto the River,

The treason of the *Gauls* against the *Romans*.

An Embassie from the *Boloni* to *Hannibal*.

The River of *Trebia*.

River, for that they seemed fit to make a Fort. The which being inuironed with a Ditch and a Pallisado, hee attended in this distresse the returne of his Companion *Tyberius* from *Sycilly* with an Army: causing his Wounds to be carefully looked vnto, to the end that their affaires being in so great danger, he might be a partaker. *Hannibal* seated his Campe, within five miles of the Enemies Fort, whom the *Gauls* did furnish abundantly, not only with Visuales, but with all other things necessary, and were very ready to vndergoe any danger with the *Carthaginians*.

The newes came to *Rome* of the defeate of their men. And although they would neuer haue thought it, yet the *Romans* made no shew to be amazed therewith, disguising the defeate of their Horse-men to haue hapned, not so much by the Prowesse of the *Carthaginians*, as by the ouer-weening of the Commander, and the Treason of the *Gauls*, who had yeilded themselves to *Hannibal*. Finally, they were in good hope of their Warre, seeing that the Bands of foot-men were yet entire. Wherefore *Sempronius* being returned, and passing by *Rome*, they all perswaded him publickly to give Battell to the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* at his coming vnto *Rimini*, receiues all the Troupes which were come from *Sycilly*, according to his commandment. From thence marching to *Trebia*, he ioynes with his Companion, where he refresheth his Army, toild with the tediousnesse of the way, hauing marcht forty daies together coming from *Lylibeum* to *Rimini*. He also vsed diligence to provide all sorts of munition. Moreover he consulted with *Scipio*, inquiring of the actions past, and conferring of the future.

At the same time *Hannibal* tooke the Towne of *Clasidium* by Treason, corrupting *Brengus* the Captaine of the Garrison, where as the *Romans* had lodged a great quantity of Corne, whereof he made vse in his necessity, and sent away the Souldiers in safety; to the end that by the fame of his Clemency, others might yeild more easily vnto the *Carthaginians*. He extended his bounty also vnto him that betraide it. And being aduertised that the *Gauls* inhabiting that little Country which lies betwixt *Trebia* and the *Poe*, and had made an Alliance with him, had sought the friendship of the *Romans* by Embassie: To the end that during the trouble of these two powerfull Nations, they might haue the grace of an vncertaine fauour: He sends (being moued with rage and despight) two thousand foote, and about a thousand *Numidian* Horses, with some *Gauls* intermixt, to spoile the Country. The which hauing performed and taken a great Booty, the Inhabitants sent presently an Embassie to the Consull to require succours. *Sempronius* presently imbracing this occasion to give battell, which hee had long desired, sends a great part of his Caualery, with a thousand foote with Darts, beyond the River of *Trebia*, who charging the *Gauls*, and surprizing them in disorder, for that they were in contention touching the diuision of the Booty, they put them into a great confusion, and forced them to retire, killing and chasing them into their Fort: Whereby the sally of the Troupe which guarded the Campe, the

Clasidium taken by *Hannibal*.

The *Gauls* Repulse,

the *Gauls* refusing Courage, they were forced to turne head, and to recover their Campe. The which *Sempronius* perceiuing, he sent a supply of all his Horse with the Darters, and forced the *Gauls* to retire into their Fort. But for that *Hannibal* was not then ready to giue battell, he was not of aduice to vndertake it without great consideration, nor to hazard all vpon all occasions. And therefore like a well aduised Captaine, he caused a Retreat to be sounded, and retires his men into the Fort.

And when as the *Romans* had skirmished with their enemies in vaine, they returned to their Campe, hauing lost few of their men, and made a great slaughter of the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* growne ioyfull and proud of this good Fortune, had a will to giue Battell onely for the desire of glory, whilst that his Companion was weake and infirme. And therefore he discouers himselfe to *Scipio*, to whom the time did not seeme conuenient to do it, but rather to deferre the Battell, to the end that the *Roman* Souldiers being yet fresh and Greene, might gaine experience, and that in Temporizing, the *Gauls* as people light and without faith, might abandon the *Carthaginians*, and that finally he might be present, for that his Wound at that time made him vnprofitable. Although that *Sempronius* knew well that *Scipio* spake the truth, yet moued with ambition, either that *Scipio* should not be present, or that the Warre should not be prolonged untill the coming of the other Consuls, for that the time of the election was come, he resolved to giue Battell alone.

Hannibal being of the like opinion with *Scipio*, was carefull how to finde an occasion to fight, whilst the *Gauls* faith was firme, and the Enemies Souldiers of little experience, and *Scipio* vnprofitable to vndergoe the danger: But especially he feared to loose time: For seeing he led an Army in a strange Country, and had a great enterprize in hand, there was no other meanes of safety, then to keepe his Allies. Wherefore seeing the desire of *Sempronius*, he prepared himselfe willingly to Battell.

There was betwixt the two Armies a plaine Champaigne, but very conuenient to lay an Ambush, hauing a deepe Riuer, with high Bankes, and Thickets and Bushes round about it: Which *Hannibal* hauing viewed, he resolved to lay an Ambush. It is true, that the *Romans* fled the Forrests, by reason of the Ambushes which the *Gauls* often layd for them, trusting onely in a Champaigne Country: Being ignorant that a plaine is more fitting then a Forrest, for the couering of an Ambush: For they may see the Enemy come farre off, and haue sometimes fit meanes and opportunity to couer themselves, so as when they finde a Riuer with low Bankes, the Reedes, Flagges of the Marishes, Bushes, and such like things doe couer the foote, and many times the Horse-men, if they bend downe their Helmes which are apparent. *Hannibal* after he had acquainted his Brother *Mago*, with his resolution to giue battell, and being both of this aduice, he caused him to be called whilst the Souldiers sup'd: His brother *Mago* was a young man, of a braue Spirit and Resolute, and had bin alwaies bred

A plaine is sometimes the occasion of an Ambush.

Mago Brother to *Hannibal*.

A

B

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vp

vp in the Warre. To whom he gaue a thousand Horse, and as many Foote chosen out of the whole Army, whom he called vnto his Tent after supper, and made a speech vnto them according to the opportunity of the time, declaring vnto them what he had resolved. Moreover, he giues every one of them charge, to choose out of all the Troupes nine others like themselves, and that they should repaire to a certaine place in the Campe. These presently obeyed the commandment of their Generall. Thus *Mago* accompanied with a thousand Horse, and as many Foote, and with a guide, came to the place of his Ambush, being well instructed by *Hannibal* what hee was to doe.

An Ambush laid by *Hannibal* for the *Romans*.

At the breake of day *Hannibal* calls the *Numidian* Horse-men able to beare labour: to whom when he had made a speech, and promised great rewards, if they carried themselves like braue men, hee discouers his Enterprize. Hee giues them charge to passe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and to runne vnto the Gates of the Enemies Campe, and to draw them forth to fight with their Darts, desiring much to surprize them in disorder, and to fight with them before they had taken any repast, the which he did much esteeme. He also giues charge to all the other Capitaines appointed for the Combate, to feed their men and their horses, and commands them to be ready armed, attending the sound of the Trumpet. But when as *Sempronius* saw the Enemy approach, he first sent out all his Horse-men, and after them fixe thousand Darters: Finally, he drawes all his Troupes to field, as if hee meant that day to make an end of the Warre: and who (for the good fortune which two daies before hee had in fight, together with the great number of his men) was in hope to get the Victory. It was by chance in Winter, and did snow that day with a vehement cold. Moreover, the Souldiers were come forth in confusion with the Horses, and had no great heat, neither had they fed. And therefore although in the beginning they were ready and resolute, yet being entered into the Riuer, they came forth wet vnto the brest: for that the snow which had fallen in the night, had made the Riuer swell, so as they began to be so afflicted with cold and hunger, that as the day came on, they were scarce able to hold their Armes. In the meane time the *Carthaginians* oyl'd and warm'd themselves at fires neere vnto their Tents, hauing their Horses ready after they had fed well.

When as *Hannibal* (who had an eye euery where) saw that the Enemies had past the Riuer, he sets before the Ensignes the slingers of *Maïorque* and *Minorque*, and those that were lightly armed, to the number of eight thousand men, and puts the rest of his Army in Battalion. When he had marcht about a Mile, he sets vpon the wings twenty thousand Foote, *Spaniards*, *Africans*, and *Gauls*: the like he did of his Horse-men, who with the Allies that the neighbour Townes of *Gauls* had sent him, were ten thousand men. After them on either side were placed the Elephants. Then *Sempronius* caused a retreat to be sounded, to call backe the Horse-men, left pursuing the *Numidians* inconsiderately, they might be suddenly inclosed by them, for their

Hannibal puts his men in Battail.

V

custome

The manner of
the Numidians
fighting.

Sempronius puts
his men in bat-
tall.

custom is so sit here and there at the first charge, and to stay suddenly when they thinke good, recharging the Enemy with incredible courage and resolution. Then hee ordered his Foote men after the manner of the *Romans*. Among the which there were about fixteene thousand *Romans*, and about twenty thousand *Latins* their Allies: for when they were to undergoe any great Warre, and that the two Consuls were ioyned together, the perfect number of their Army was of so many thousands. Then hee placed three thousand Horse-men vpon the wings. When he had thus disposed of his men, he marcht in battaille a slow pace, scarce moving.

The two Armies being neere one vnto the other, those that were lightly armed began the fight, wherewith the *Romans* were suddenly oppressd. All things fore-told good vnto the *Carthaginians*: for the bodies of the *Roman* Foote were growne feeble with hunger and wearinesse, and numm'd with cold: Being moreover slaine by the multitude of Darts which the *Numidians* cast. For their parts they had abandoned their Darts, as vnprofitable by reason of the continuall humidity: The Horse-men suffred the like with the whole Army. Contrariwise the *Carthaginians* being in their force, in good order and fresh, were diligent and ready at need. Wherefore when as they had made way for their forlorne hope to retire, and that the Armies had charged one another: the *Carthaginian* Horse-men fell vpon the Enemies wings, and quite defeated them. It is true, the *Romans* were weak in their numbers of Horse: and the Souldiers were tired with labour and hunger.

A defeat of
the Roman
Horse-men.

After the rout of the Horse-men, the Foote resisted more with the equality of courage then of force: But the *Numidians* besides the Ambush which the Army had past without discovering them, shewing themselves vpon the Reare, put them in a great amazement, yet the Battallions stood firme for a time, although they were inuolued with so many miseries. But in the end when as the two wings were prest, beating the Elephanes in front, and that those which were lightly armed, had compassed them in, they fled directly to the neere River. This done, when as the *Romans* which fought in the battell, saw their supplies broken, they were partly canoured by them of the Ambush, and partly defeated and slaine: Others past through the Battalion of the *Gauls*, where were many *Affricans*, making a great slaughter of the Enemies. But when as they could neither succour their men, nor get to their Fort, as well for the multitude of the Enemies Horse, as for the swelling of the River and the raine, they recovered *Plaisance*, to the number of ten thousand men: the rest for the most part were slaine along the River by the Elephanes and Horse-men. Some few Foote and Horse flying dispersed ower the Fields, drew to *Plaisance*, following the route of the Army. The *Carthaginians* hauing pursued them to the River of *Trebia*, returned to the Campe, for that they could not proceed any farther by reason of the raine: being very ioyfull of the victory, whereas the losse of *Spaniards* and *Affricans* was small, and that of the *Gauls* great. But they were so tormented with raine & cold that all the

The Victory of
Hannibal against the
Romans.

the Elephanes except one, and the greatest part of the carriage-horses, with many men and horses died.

After this action *Sempronius* desirous to couer and conceale so great a losse, sent men to *Rome*, to let them vnderstand that the violence of the raine had deprived them of an absolute Victory: the which the *Romans* did easily beleeue. But when as within few dayes after, they had newes that the *Carthaginians* held their Army in strength, and that all the *Gauls* held for them, abandoning their party, and withall that their Army kept the Towne, for that it was not well assured within its Fort, and that they drew victuals from the Sea by the Riuer of *Poe*, they grew into so great a feare and amazement, as they thought *Hannibal* would come a Conquerour to *Rome*. Wherefore they leui'd a new Army, and sent supplies into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, fortifying *Tarentum* and the other Townes in *Italy*. They likewise prepared an Army at Sea of fifty Quinquereemes: Finally, they were wholly attentive to Warre.

The *Romans*
feare for the
losse of the
battell.

A new Army
leui'd by the
Romans both
by Sea and
Land.

At that time *Cneus Serrullus*, and *Caius Flaminius* were chosen Consuls, and a new leui'd of men was made, and succours required from the Allies. One of them led his Troupes to *Rimini*, and the other into *Tuscany*. They had resolued to lead their Armies into *Gaul*. They had besides sent to *Hieron* to demand succours, who sent them five hundred *Candidi*, and a thousand men which beare Targets. Without doubt the *Romans* at that time drew all the Forces they could possible against *Hannibal*: for the feare was not onely generall, but every mans in particular.

During these accidents in *Italy*, *Cneus Cornelius Scipio* (who as we haue formerly said, had bene left by his Brother in *Gaul* with an Army at Sea) parting from the mouth of *Rhone*, arriued at *Empories*. And beginning there, hee made all the *Maritime* Country vnto *Ebro* subiect to the *Romans*, renewing the ancient leagues with some, and making new with others. When hee had pacified the Sea-coasts, and had left Garrisons where needed required, he led his Army vp into the firme land. Hee had now drawne together some Companies of succours from the allied Townes. By this meanes he takes some Townes, some by Composition, others by force.

The which *Hanno* perceiving (whom *Hannibal* had left for the defence of *Spain*) herefolued to encounter the Enemies, and planted himselfe right against them, neere vnto a Towne which the people of the Country call *Cisse*.

Scipio in like manner did not hold it fit to deferre the Battell. And therefore after hee had gotten the Victory, and taken the Enemies Fort, hee recovered great store of Treasure: For all they which went to the Warres of *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, had left all their wealth with these men, left the Baggage should bee tedious and troublesome vnto them. Afterwards *Scipio* made a league with all the Inhabitants which were within the River of *Ebro*, and made them Allies and Friends. There were two Commanders taken aliue, whereof the one was *Hanno*, who had the leading of the

Hanno.

King Andubal
taken.

A defeat of
some Romans
by Andubal.

Carthaginians, and the other *Andubal*, King of a Region which lies in the heart of *Spain*, who had alwayes held the party of the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal* hearing the newes, passeth *Ebro*, marching with his Army against the *Romans*: who vpon the way had newes that the Souldiers and Sea-men wandred the fields vp and downe, being confident and carelesse with the ioy of their Victory. Wherefore hee marches thither speedily with eight thousand foote, and a thousand Horse, where killing a great part, he forced the Riuer of *Ebro*. And when hee had put Garrisons in necessary places, hee A went to winter at *Carthage*. *Cneus Scipio* aduertised hercof, drawes his men suddainly together, and goes vnto his Sea-army, punishing such as had beene the cause of the defeat, after the manner of the *Romans*. When hee had drawne his Army both by Sea and Land together, he went to winter at *Taracona*, where he diuided the spoile, so as hee purchased the loue of them all, making them more resolute for the future Warre. Behold the estate of the affaires of *Spain*.

In the beginning of the Spring *Flaminius* marching thorough *Tuscany*, came to *Arezzo*. As for *Servilius*, hee attended (after hee B had brought his Army to *Rimini*) when the Enemy would dislodge. And whilst that *Hannibal* spent the Winter in *Gaul*, hee kept the *Romans* that were Prisoners straightly fester'd, and poorly fed, in treating the Allies courteously from the beginning, and afterwards causing them to assemble, he made many remonstrances vnto them, telling them that he was not come to make Warre against them, but to fight with the *Romans* for their liberty: and therefore if they were wife, they should imbrace the alliance and friendship of the *Carthaginians*: and that he was there to set the people of *Italy* at liberty, and to restore those whom the *Romans* had outrageously chased from their houses, their Townes, and Countries. When hee had vsed these, or the like speeches, hee sent them all away without ransom, desiring by this means to winne the hearts of all the people of *Italy*, and to make them abandon the *Romans* party, and to encourage those whom they had deprived of their Townes and Country. It is true, that whilst hee wiptred, he was many times in dangers by the *Gauls*, the which hee prevented by an *African* trick, for that the *Gauls* discovered it as lightly vnto him, as they had giuen their consent: so as hee caused periwigges of diuers ages to be made with great art, the which he vsed, changing his apparell often: so as he was not onely vnknowne to them, which had neuer scene him, but also to his familiars. By this means hee was in safety, they not knowing whom to assaile for *Hannibal*. Moreover, when as the *Gauls* were discontented, that their Country was made the seat of the Warre, making a shew to be desirous to fight, to the end it might be transported to some other part, *Hannibal* resolved to goe the sooner to field, and to lead his Army to the Warre which he desired.

Hannibal
speech to the
Prisoners that
were allied to
the *Romans*.

Hannibal's poli-
cy to keepe
himselfe from
killing by trea-
son.

The

The Spring time approached, when calling vnto him those which knew the wayes, he inquired of the passages, which went into the Enemies Country. And being aduertised that all the wayes were long and knowne to the enemy, they discovered vnto him one that was shorter, but troublesome, which would leade him through the Marshes of *Tuscany*, whereby he might passe his Army, vnknowne vnto the enemy: But when the newes came into the Campe of their Voyage by Marshes, the apprehension discouraged them, fearing the Quagmires and Pooles. Yet he tooke this way with his whole Army, A causing the *Spaniards* and *Africans* to march before, with the ablest of his men and their Baggage, to the end that if they were forced to plant a Campe, they should not want things necessary. It is true, that before, he had not resolved to carry any Baggage, for that hee knew well that the *Carthaginians* should not want any thing if they were vanquished; and if they won the Country they should not likewise want. Next he causeth the *Gauls* to march, and in the Reare the horse men, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Mago*, to the end that by their helpe, the *Gauls* by their basenesse should not turne head, being discontented with the toile. The *Spaniards* and *Africans* marching B through the Marshes, came vnto the end without any great toile, as inured to paines, and accustomed to such miseries. Contrariwise the *Gauls* went with great difficulty, as men amazed, falling into the Quagmires of the Moares, and carrying this misery with griefe and discontent, like men vnaccustomed to such calamities, the Horsemen kept them from returning.

Finally the whole Army was in great trouble and paine, and they languished the more, for that they had watch'd foure daies and three nights, going through the Waters. But amongst all the rest the *Gauls* were most tormented. Most part of their carriage Horses falling into the Mire, dyed, seruizing the tyred Souldiers, to rest themselues vpon and the baggage, lying downe vpon them in the Water, so as they C took their necessary rest some part of the night. Many Horses also lost their hooves, by their continuall going in the mire. *Hannibal* could hardly escape the moares, but that he was carried vpon an Elephant which was onely remaining: Who by a great paine in his eyes, which had hapned by the bad condition of the Ayre, in the end hee lost an eye, for that he had neither time nor place to prevent it.

The Way and
Order which
Hannibal held
to passe into
Italy.

Hannibal los-
eth an Eye.

After that he had past the Moares contrary to the opinion of all the World, and was aduertised by his Spies, that *Flaminius* was about the D Walls of *Arezzo*, he planted himselfe neere vnto the Marshes, partly to refresh his army being tyred with so great toyle, and likewise to learne the Resolution and forces of the Enemy, with the situation of the Country and Wayes. But being aduertised that among the Regions of *Italy*, that was very fertile, and that the Champaigne betwixt *Arezzo* and *Fesula* was very rich in Corn, and all other things necessary, and that moreover the Consull was a proud man, affecting the applause of the people, but without experience of Warre, and relying much vpon Fortune, he thought it fit, that in leaving the enemy on the

the left hand, he should draw towards *Fesula*, to spoyle the Country of *Tuscan*: being conceited that the Consull, for the naturall desire he had to purchase the fauor the people, would neuer suffer the Country to bee spoild: Nor attend his Companion, as desiring him not in things well done: But contrariwise would follow him wherefoeuer he went without feare, hauing a desire to fight. By this meanes he foresawe good opportunities to giue Battaille, making therein a wife and politique discourse of future things. Beleeue mee he is deceived, that thinks any duty greater in a Capitaine, then to discover the opinion and Nature of the enemy. For as you must obserue in a Combate betwixt man and man the place where you meane to strike, and consider diligently where he lies open and discovered: So in a great Warre, you must seeke the Enemy, not so much to vnderstand where the parts of the body are naked, but by what meanes you may discover the Nature and proceedings of the Generall.

There are many which not onely forget the publicke Affaires by a dullnesse and negligence, but also many times those which concerne their priuate Liues. Others subiect to Wine, cannot rest vntill they be drunke, and some giuen too much to women, not only ruine Townes and Common-weales, but also their Liues with infamy. Moreouer, Cowardize and feare in priuate men is full of Reproach and disgrace, but in a Commander, it is sometimes the cause of great losse. Overweening rashnesse, Choller, and vaine bragging is preiudiciall, and profitable to the Enemy. Beleeue me, such kind of men, doe easily fall into the Snares and Ambushes of their Enemies. And therefore if any one hauing discovered the Vices of the Enemy, findes some occasion whereby he may circumvent the Generall, he may easily preuaile over the rest: For as an Enemy doth easily boord a Shippe when it is without a Governour: So it any one during the Warre, defeates a Commander by his Iudgement and good aduice, hee will soone be master of the rest of the Army.

As *Hannibal* had made this Discourse of the *Roman* Consull, so he was not deceived in his opinion; for parting with all speede thorough the *Fesulans* Countrey, leauing the Enemy behind, he began to put all *Tuscan* to fire and Sword. The Consull inflamed herewith, thinking that the Enemy made no account of him, holding it a great dishonour to suffer the Goods of their Allies to bee thus spoild and carried away before his face, could not take any rest. And therefore although that many aduised him not to pursue *Hannibal*, nor to fight with him, but to keepe his Horse and foote entire, vntill the coming of his D Companion, to the end that both Armies being ioyned, they might mannage the Warre by a common Councell, hee wou'd not doe any thing, giuing them no other answer, but that they should consider what the people of *Rome* would say, seeing the Enemy Camp'd in the midst of *Italy*, and march directly to *Rome* without resistance, they sleeping in *Tuscan* at his backe. Hauing vsed this Speech, he began to pursue the Enemy, after that he had suddainly drawne his Troupes together, without consideration either of time or places, desiring onely

The duty of a
good Capitaine,

The Country
Spoild by
Hannibal,

to fight, as if the Victory had beene certaine. He had put his whole Army in hope of winning the Battaille, so as there were more which charged themselves with chaines and fetters, and such like things, then with armes to fight.

Hannibal marching directly to *Rome*, spoild all the Champaigne Country, which lies betwixt the Towne of *Cortone*, and the Lake of *Peronze*, vsing all manner of cruelty to draw the enemy to fight. But when he had newes of *Flaminius* pursuite with his Army, seeing the place conuenient to lay his Ambushes, hee began to prepare himselfe for a battaille. There was a large plaine enuironed round about with high Mountaines ioyned together: hauing within it a lesser Hill, which was painfull and difficult, and behind lies the Lake of *Peronze*, betwixt the which and the Mountaines, there is a narrow passage, whereby they enter into the plaine.

Hannibal gaine these first Hills, planting his Campe there, and lodgeth with the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, laying behind the Mountaines, the Souldiers of Maiorque and Minorque, with others that were lightly armed. He doth also place in the streight, the Horse-men with the *Gauls*, to the end that as soone as the *Romans* should be entred, they should be wholly inuironed by the Lake and Mountaines, opposing the Horse-men in Front. And hauing thus disposed of his men in the night, he went to take his rest. *Flaminius* pursuing his enemy with great heate, came vnto the Lake before the Sun setting, and the next day early began to lead his Army through the streight. The day was thicke and misty, by reason of a Fogge which came from the Lake, and the Neighbour mountaines. When as *Hannibal* saw the greatest part of the Army entred into the Plaine, and that the fore-most approached neere vnto him, hee then gaue his men a signe of battaille. Which done, they fall vpon them that were neerest. The *Romans*

An Ambush
layd by *Hannibal*,

The *Romans*
Surprized and
Defeated.

The Battaille of
peronze.

were amazed at this suddaine surprize, for that the mist hindred their sight, and with all the Enemies charg'd them on all sides at one instant, so as they could not put themselves into battaille, nor make vse of their Armes, nor scarce know what had beene done, being assailed by some in front, by others in the Reare, and likewise vpon the Flankes. So as many holding on their way, they were slaine like sheepe, for that they could not succour one another, and they were sooner defeated, then they could consider what they had to doe. *Flaminius* himselfe, when there was no more hope, was enuironed and slaine by certayne *Gauls*. There were slaine in this battaille fiftene thousand men, who for the most part stood firme vnto the end, after the manner of the *Romans*, neuer abandoning their ranks: The others inclosed betwixt the Mountaines and the Lakes by reason of the narrow passages, and out of hope, were slaine basely or rather miserably: For being forced in the Lake, some were drowned struing to swimme in their Armes: Others going into the Water as farre as they could possibly, continued for a time in that estate. Finally, when the enemies horse were entred, they were slaine without pitty: Although that lifting vp their hands, they humbly begged to haue their Liues saued, or taking Courage

Flaminius slayn
in the battaille,

kild

kild one another. There were about fixe thousand of the foreward, which forcing through the enemies, escaped this passage: Although it were in their power to inclose them, and to succour their friends, yet not knowing what was done behind them, they march on still, doubting to make some encounter, before they had gotten the top of the Mountaines. And hauing made a stand vpon a little Hill, and seeing (the Mist being past) the great slaughter of their Souldiers, they hastily got vnto a neere Burrough; like men which had no more hope of safety, for that they saw the enemy to hold the whole Country. The battaile being won, *Hannibal* Commands *Maherbal* to pursue them, A who parting with the *Spaniards* and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, besieged the Burrough. The *Romans* being brought to extremity, in the end left their Armes; and after they had concluded to haue their Liues saued, they yeilded to this *African*. Behold how that famous battaile past, which was giuen betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* neere vnto the Lake of *Perouze*.

After this *Hannibal* calls for those which *Maherbal* had taken, and for all the rest being about fiftene thousand, telling them at the first that *Maherbal* had no power to contract with them for their liues without his consent: And after he had vsed proud speeches vnto the *Romans*, B he distributed them among the Souldiers to be carefully kept in chaines, sending away the Allies without Ransome: Telling them that hee was not come into *Gaul* to make Warre against the *Latin* Nation, but with the *Romans* for their Liberty. Afterwards he sent them home to their Lodgings, and Commandes to bury the bodies of those which were of most note, being about thirty: For hee lost of all his Army onely fiftene hundred men, whereof the greatest part were *Gauls*. Hee then held a Councell with his Brother and other friends concerning their affaires, who were growne so glorious for this Victory, as they held nothing impossible.

The Newes of this great Defeate was now come to *Rome*, and the C Senators could not long conceale it from the Common people, not dissemble the greameffe thereof: So as assembling the Court, they were forced to relate it vnto them in particular. As soone as the Prætor (being set in his Chaire) began to say, we haue lost a great battaile; the amazement and trouble grew so great, as they which were at the battaile and there present, report that the terrour was greater then in *Rome*, then it had beene in the fight. And it is likely; for it is not possible that they which for a long time had not felt any great disaster, neyther in Word, nor Deede, should patiently indure to great a losse. Yet the Senate made a good shewe, as it was fitting, aduising what was to be done, and what Commanders they should choosẽ, and with what Troupes they should resist the *Carthaginians*.

Whilst these things past in *Tuscany*, the Consull *Seruilus* aduertised that *Hannibal* was past, hee resolved to ioyne with his companions Army. But for that it was a difficult thing, to passe so great a number of men together, he sent *Caius Centronius* Proprætor before with foure thousand Horse, to the end that if any occasion were offered, they should

Sixethousand
Romans taken
in a Burrough
by composition

The greatest
amazement
which was at
Rome for the
battaile lost,

should doe that which his Companion should command him. *Hannibal* hauing gotten this Victory, and aduertised by his Spies of the coming of the Enemy, hee sends *Maherbal* to meete them, with the best of his Foote, and part of his Horse-men, who being met, they defeated the greatest part at the first charge: the rest retiring to the first Hill, within three daies after they were taken aliue. When as the newes of this defeate came to *Rome*, three daies after the other, wherewith their hearts were much afflicted, then not onely the people, but also the Senators were in so great distresse and misery, as all the City was in teares. Wherefore leauing the Annall Magistrates, they had recourse to the election of a Dictator; for that the condition of the time, and the affaires then required a Commander, which should haue soueraigne power: And although that *Hannibal* were very glorious for the good successe and fortune of his affaires, yet hee did not hold it fit to goe vnto *Rome*. Wherefore putting the Prouince to fire and sword, and passing by the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, and the Marquisat of *Ancona*, hee came within ten dayes to the Region which is neere vnto *Adriatique* Sea, so rich and abundant in all wealth, as the Army was not able to carry B it away.

Finally, hee made a great slaughter of men in his journey: for hee caused a Proclamation to bee made in his Campe, that they should kill all those that they found carrying Armes, as they had commonly done in Townes that were taken by assault. Hee carried so great a hatred to the *Romans*, as there was no cruelty that hee omitted. And after they had found a fit and conuenient place along the Coast of the *Adriatique* Sea, abounding with all sorts of commodities, hee laboured by all meanes to refresh his men and horses: for both the one and the other were fallen into diseases and the Scurvy, which they had endured as well by the extreame cold in the Winter which they had endured in *Gaul*, being alwaies in field, as by the continuall toile which they had lately suffered in passing the Marshes, and the continuall sweat and filth, by reason of their harnesse.

In the meane time hee inuies the *Africans*, to carry Armes after the manner of the *Romans*; whereof hee had gotten abundance, considering the great spoiles of the Enemies. Moreover, hee sent newes to *Carthage* of his Victories by Sea. This was the first time that hee approacht neare the Sea, since his first coming into *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* being ioyfull at this newes, were wholly attentue vnto the affaires of *Italy* and *Spain*. The *Romans* made choice of *Quintus Fabius* for their Dictator, a man of so great virtue and prudence, that for his proweesse hee purchased and obtained the name of *Maximus*, the which his family retaines vnto this day. The Dictator differs from the Consull in this, that the Consull hath but twelue Axes before him, and the Dictator hath foure and twenty. Moreover, the Consull must referre many things to the aduice of the Senate: but this other hath a soueraigne and free power, vnder whom all other Magistrates cease, except the Tribunes. But this shall

A defeate of
the Roman
Horse-men by
Maherbal.

A Dictator
created,

Hannibal runs
along the
Coast of the
Adriatique Sea.

The cruelty of
Hannibal.

Quintus Fabius
chosen dicta-
tor.

The difference
betwixt a
Dictator and
a Consull.

Marcus Minucius
Chief Constable.

shall be for a larger discourse. Moreover, they gave unto the Dictator, *Marcus Minucius* for a Constable, or master of the Horse, which is a Magistrate subiect to the Dictator, and supplies his place, when as the necessity of affaires forceth him to be absent.

Many Coun-
tries ruined by
Hannibal.

In the meane time *Hannibal*, marching along the Coast of the *Adriatique* Sea, by small iourneys, fed his Army in a rich and fertile Prouince, causing the Horse-fleet to be washt with old Wine, whereof there was great abundance, the better to cure them of their Scabs. Hee also caused the Souldiers which had beene wounded, to be carefully looked vnto, and fortified the rest for future affaires. Having past the Countries of *Prentian* and *Adrian*, hee ruined the Countrey of the *Marnecius* and *Franquenille*: Moreover, he bent his course towards *Lappigia*, divided into three, whereof some are called *Daniliens*, and the others *Messapiens*. Hee first ouer-runes *Danilia* beginning by *Lucania*, a Collony of the *Romans*, thundring ouer all the Countrey. Then setting his Campe at *Isonium*, he falls vpon the *Asians*, and vicerly ruins all *Danilia* without any resistance.

Hannibal pre-
sents Battaille
to *Fabius*.

The constancy
of *Fabius*.

At the same time *Quintus Fabius* hauing taken his charge of Dictator, and performed the accustomed Sacrifices, parts from *Rome* with the Master of the Horse, and foure Legions leuied in haste: And within few daies came to *Appulia*, whereas receiuing the Army from the Consull *Cneus Seruilius*, being come from *Riment*, he sent him to *Rome* with some troups, giuing him charge to raise an Army at Sea at *Hestia*, and to defend the Coasts of *Italy*, if the *Carthaginians* should attempt any thing by Sea. Finally, he marches with all his troups, and plants himselfe in front of the Enemy, neare vnto *Aguas*, and within fixe miles of them. *Hannibal* aduertised of the coming of *Fabius*, and meaning to amaze them suddainly, drawes his Army to Field, and presents it in Battaille before the *Romans* Fort: But when he had stayed some time, hee retired to his Campe, seeing that no man came forth to fight. You must vnderstand that *Fabius* had resolved from the beginning not to hazard any thing, nor to fight, thinking it would be very beneficiall to the *Romans*, if he might defend their Townes from the Enemy. Hee was constant in his opinion, so as at the end hee purchased the reputation of a slacke man, and Coward, as if hee fled from danger onely for feare.

But soone after hee forced the World to confesse, that they could not make choice of a Capitaine, that was more constant, nor wiser to mannage the Warre, the which appeared soone after in their affaires. Beleeue mee, this wise Dictator vnderstood well what great difference there was betwixt the *Carthaginians* Army, and that of the *Romans*: Considering that the others had from their Youth frequented the Warre, hauing a Commander which was bred with them in the Campe, in the raine and winde, and who from his very Cradle had learn'd the trade: hauing gotten so many famous victories both in *Spain* and *Italy*, against the *Romans*, and all their

their Allies: and who moreover, distrustful in all things, put their onely hope of safety in the Victory: the which would proue contrary to the *Romans*. Wherefore he was not resolved to fight, fearing the *Numidians*, for that hee was too weak in Horse: so as retiring for his advantage with good consideration, he stayed, and led away his Army. The advantages which the *Romans* had, were abundance of munition and victuals, and a great Army. And therefore hee led it alwaies by the hilly Countreies, following the Enemy neare, yet giuing him no meanes to fight, being alwaies well victualed, and neuer suffering the Souldiers to goe forth, but kept them alwaies close together. By this meanes his men were alwaies in safety, and beate the Enemy, if at any time they went from the Army for pillage, so as many times there were some taken, and others slaine. This hee did to the end that by little and little hee might weaken their forces, and encourage the Souldiers by these petty Victories, being amazed with their former losses, not to distrust their Forces, or Fortune. Moreover, they could not perswade him to come to a Battaille. But *Marcus Minucius*, discontent with his temporizing, blamed him of cowardise and feare. Hee was a proud and rash man, who found nothing more tedious and troublesome then to be absent from a Battaille.

The *Carthaginians* after they had ruined the former Countreies, and had past the *Appenine* Hills, they goe to *Samnium*, which is a very fertile Countrey of *Italy*, and which for a long time had not felt any Warre: There they found so great abundance of all things, as they could not consume the Bootie, neither in vsing it moderately nor wastfully. From thence they spoiled *Beneuent*, a Collony of the *Romans*: They tooke the Towne of *Telese*, which had strong walles, was well victualed, and furnished with all things necessary, the *Romans* followed the Enemies still within a daies iourney or two. When *Hannibal* saw that *Fabius* fled from all occasions of fighting, and yet did not abandon the field, but followed him still by the hilly Countrey, hee resolved to goe speedily into the Countreies of *Capua* and *Falerua*, thinking that of necessity one of the two would happen: either that the *Romans* would come to a Battaille, or that the World would soone see that the *Carthaginians* camp't, and that the *Romans* kept themselves within their Forts. By this meanes he did hope that the Townes of the Prouince being terrified, they would yeld vnto the *Carthaginians*: For vnto that day not any one had fallen vnto them, although the *Romans* had lost two great Battailles, and there were many to whom their perswasions were very vnplesing. Whereby wee may see of what authoritie and power the maiesty of the *Roman* Common-wealth was with their Succours and Allies.

Certainly *Hannibals* conceit was not idle: for the *Capuan* is an excellent Countrey, for abundance of wealth, fertility of land, and the beauty and pleasure of the place. First, it is seated along the Sea: whither infinite number of people come from all parts of the World

The Carthagi-
nians spoile the
Countrey.

The descrip-
tion of the Coun-
try of *Capua*
and its situation.

to Italy. Moreover, the noblest Townes of Italy are situated there: for upon the Borders of the Sea, stand the *Swissers*, the *Camans*, the *Pezolins*, the *Neapolitans*, and at the end the *Macedonians*.

And towards the North upon the same land, are the *Calliens* and *Taurins*: towards the East and South are the *Danians* and *Noians*: and in the mid'd of the Region *Capua* stands, the richest of them all, whose Lands are famous amongst the fabulous Poets, which they call *Phlegreus*: and it is likely that the gods have spoken principally of them, by reason of their wonderfull beauty and excellency. Moreover, this situation is strong by nature, and in a manner impregnable. For on the one side they are inclosed by the Sea, and on the other they are wholly enuironed with Mountaines. There are onely three entries which are narrow and painefull: the one is at *Sammium*, the second at *Eriban*, and the third among the *Arpines*. The *Carthaginians* made a shew to goe into these Countries, as into a Theater, to amaze them all: and thereby to flye from the Enemy, and then to campe alone.

Wherefore *Hannibal* moued with these reasons, leades his Army by *Sammium* to the streights of Mount *Eriban*, and plants his Campe neere vnto the River of *Panour*, which diuides the said Champaigne from *Rome*. Then the most pleasant Countrey of Italy was overrunne, and the Villages put to fire and sword. And although that these things were very troublefome to *Fabius*, yet he continued constant in his resolution. But *Marcus Minucius*, and all the Tribunes of the Horse, were of opinion not to temporize any longer, but to fall vpon the *Carthaginians* with all their strength and forces, not suffering the spoile of so goodly a Countrey in the view of the *Roman* Army. *Fabius* dislodging more suddainly then he had bene accustomed, seemed to make haste to preferue the Countrey of *Capua* from spoile: But when hee came to *Falerua*, hee did but shew his Army vpon the Mountaines, lest the Allies should thinke he held not a Campe. Yet he would neuer drawe downe into the field, fearing to fight with the *Carthaginians*, as well for the reasons which wee haue formerly mentioned, as for that he was the weaker in Caualtery.

When as *Hannibal* had often attempted in vaine, to drawe the Enemy to fight, in the end he studied of a place to winter in, hauing ruined all parts of the Countrey, and taken a wonderfull spoile: hauing no intent to lose his Pillage, but to transport it to some place where he might passe the Winter: to the end his Army might not want anything, as well for the present as the future. *Fabius* knowing well that the returne of his Enemy would be by the same streight by the which he had entred, hee imagined that this passage would be beneficiall to the *Romans*: and placeth about foure thousand men within these streights, intreating them to carry themselves like braue and valiant men, when occasion should require, making vie of the aduantage of the place. For his part, hee recovered the next Mountaine with the rest of the Army, looking earnestly about

The River of
Panour.

The means
which Fabius
held to stop
Hannibals pas-
sage.

about him what was to be done, and from whence and by whom the Enemy should be Charged, holding himselfe assured to defeat their whole Army, or at the least to make them abandon the Boory which they carried. But *Hannibal* saw that *Fabius* fought with his owne weapons: and hauing duly considered thereon, he disappointed his enterprize with an excellent stratagem, causing many Faggots of dry stickes to be drawne together, and bound to the hornes of Oxen, and Bugles, whereof he had to the number of two thousand; and gaue charge to *Asdrubal*, that in setting fire to the stickes at a certaine houre he should chase the Troupe to the next Mountaine, which was betwixt the Camp and the streight they were to passe, and that as soone as they should see a signe which he would giue, they should force the Oxen against the Mountaine, vntill they had gotten the top. When as all things were ready, he makes them to feed and to take some rest: About mid-night hee causeth them to march which had the charge to tie the Torch to the hornes of the Oxen. This being suddainly done by reason of the multitude of assistants, he giues order to kindle them all, and to chase them to the top of the Mountaine. Finally, hee giues charge to them that were lightly Armed, to follow them to a certaine place, commanding them that as soone as the Troupe should begin to runne furiously through the Mountaines, they should recover the places of aduantage, whereby they might succour his men in passing, and annoy the enemy if they encountered any. In the meane time hee dislodgeth with his Army, and marcheth directly to the streights, ording in Front the Souldiers that were best armed, and after them the Horse-men, then the Baggage, and in the Reare the *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*.

Hannibals policy
against Fabius.

The *Romans* which had been appointed to guard these passages, thinking that *Hannibal* came where they saw the fire on the toppes of the Mountaines, abandoned their places, retiring to the highest Hills. And when at the first they encountered some of these Oxen separated from the rest, they made a stand, seeing their heads on a flaming fire, wondering as at a miracle. But when the Souldiers were discovered, they entertained one another with casting of Darts. And when in the end the Oxen came on, they all made a stand on the top of the mountaines, expecting day with great desire to be more certainly informed of the businesse. *Fabius* aduertised of this noise, conceiuing it was some Ambush, and flying the battaile as they resolu'd, kept his men within the Fort. In the meane time *Hannibal* (to whom matters succeeded according to his desire) past his Army by the mountaine, and carried away all his Spoiles without any obstacle. Then seeing at the breake of day the *Romans* in front against his men, and to bee stronger in number and in their kind of Armes, he sent them a band of *Spaniards* to second them: Who after they had slain about a thousand at the first Charge, they brought their men safe backe vnto the Campe. *Hannibal* being freed by this policy from the streights of *Falerua*, from thenceforth he was more carefull to choose a safe place to Campe in, seeking where he might Winter, greatly terrifying the Townes and people of Italy.

The codde
which Hannibal
tooke in passing
the streight
kept by the Ro-
mans.

During these actions, Minus taxed the Dictator of Cowardize, for that he had suffered the enemy to escape so easily, being inclosed within the streights; but hee continued still constant in his opinion. Some few daies after he was called backe to Rome for the Sacrifices, and left the Government of the Army and all other affaires to the Constable, giving him charge that he should not study so much to offend the Enemy, as to defend his owne men. But Minutius (whom the Dictator aduiled in vaine) had no other care but to fight.

Asdrubal departing from Carthage to go into Spaine.

During these actions in Italy, Asdrubal hauing repaired thirty good ships; which he had receiued from his brother Hannibal, adding thereto ten others, parts from Carthage in the beginning of Summer, and giues the charge to Imilcon, who ran along the Coasts, and Asdrubal led the Army by Land neere the shore, hoping to meete at one instant at the mouth of the Riuer of Ebro, with the Army by Sea. Cneus Scipio aduertised that Asdrubal was gone to field, hee was first of the same opinion, but afterwards he resolved to fight rather by Sea then Land, by reason of the bruit of their new succours, and preparation for war. Wherefore after hee had prepared an Army at Sea of fife and thirty Vessels, he made choise of the ablest men of his whole Army, and most aduise to fight at Sea. The which being imbarqued, he set saile to encounter the enemy: and three dayes after hee had sail'd from Taracoma, to places neere vnto Ebro, hee comes vnto a Haven ten miles distant from the Enemy. From thence hee sends two Vessels of Marceilles being very swift to discover. This was a people which had a great League with the Romans, and had held their party, during the time of the second Punique Warre. But as soone as these Scouts had made Relation, that the enemies Army at Sea was in the mouth of the Riuer of Ebro, he weighs Anchor and sayles towards them, being desirous to surprize them vnprovided.

The Romans Army at Sea.

Asdrubal had bene aduertised of the comming of the Roman army, by a signe which was giuen him from a Beacon or watch-Tower; and therefore after he had ordred his Army by Land along the shore, and caused his Rowers to imbarque; hee puts all into armes. When the Romans not onely approacht, but also put their shippes in battaile, they gaue warning to fight. The Carthaginians assaying them resolutely; had for a time some shew of Victory. But afterwards Fortune began to turne, for they which were vpon the shore, gaue not so much courage to their men to fight, as hope of safety for those that would flye. And therefore the Carthaginians got to Land, after that two of their ships had bin taken and foure sunke. But when as the Romans pursued them with all their forces, the Carthaginians fled to shore, abandoning their ships, and retired to their Army which was there in Battaille. Finally hauing followed them with great speede, they towed away with Ropes all the Vessels which floated: And after they had vanquished their Enemies they parted ioyfully as being masters of the Sea: and of the forty shippes they tooke fife and twenty. Being therefore proud of this Victory, they were afterwards more carefull of the affaires of Spaine.

The Romans Victory at Sea, against the Carthaginians.

The

The Carthaginians aduertised of this misfortune, sent three-score and ten Vessels, Rigg'd sooner then they could imagine, vnderstanding well of what consequence it was to be masters of the Sea. Who sail'd first to Sardinia, and afterwards to Pisa in Italy, to the end they might ioyne with Hannibal if it were possible. But when as the Romans were aduertised of the comming of the Carthaginian Army, they so terrified them with sixe score Quinqueremes which they sent, as they presently returned to Sardinia, and from thence to Carthage. Cneus Servilius Commander of the Army at Sea, had them long in chase; but when as he heard there was no hope to ouer-take them, he came vnto Lylibeum with his Fleete. From thence soone after he sailes vnto the Iland of Cercinates, where taking siluer of the Inhabitants not to ruine the Country, he turnes backe, and takes the Iland of Cossyren in passing: Where after he had put a Garrison into the Towne, he returned to Lylibeum, where lodging his Vessels in the Port, within few dayes after he went to the Army at Land.

An Army at Sea prepared suddenly by the Carthaginians.

The Romans great Army at Sea.

In the meane time the Senate hauing newes of Cneus Scipio his Victory at Sea in the mouth of Ebro, they not only held it fit, but also necessary to pursue the War in Spaine, and to annoy the Carthaginians with all their power both by Sea and Land. And therefore they presently prepared twenty shippes of War, and sent them to Publius Scipio in Spaine, continuing his authority after his Consulship was ended, to the end that being ioyned with his brother Cneus Scipio, all the affaires might be managed by their common Councell. For the thing which the Romans feared most, was, that the Carthaginians preuailing in Spaine, would be masters of the Sea: So as afterwards they might Saile into Italy, and furnish and supply Hannibal easily with men and Treasure.

Supplies sent from Rome into Spaine.

Publius Scipio going into Spaine, ioyned with his brother; after which the War gouerned by their common Councell. Wherefore presently they past the Riuer of Ebro, the which before they neuer durst attempt. Then Fortune began to smile on the Romans. And after they had made subiect those which dwelt in the passage of Ebro, finding no resistance, they came to Sagons: Where being within fife miles of Cape Decrux, they camped in a place safe from the Enemy, and convenient to draw Victuals from the Sea. Soone after that their Army at Sea arriued, whereas this accident happed. You must vnderstand that Hannibal at his going into Italy, had taken the Children of the noblest Families in Spaine, and had left them in guard at Sagons: For that the place was strong, and they which kept it, confident to the Carthaginians. There was at time within the Towne a certaine Spaniard, whom they called Acedux of a noble house, and as honest a man as any other Spaniard, and among the rest very loyall to the Carthaginians: Acedux or Abilux. But at that time after the manner of most of the Barbarians, hee changed his faith together with his Fortune. This Spaniard seeing the Romans to prosper in Spaine, had a desire to deliuer the Hostages, hauing a conceite that it would be a great meanes to purchase their fauour. When he had well considered of all the meanes to bring his enterprize

to

Bostar Chief
of the *Carthagi-
nians*.

to an end, he goes to *Bostar* Chiefe of the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal* had sent him into *Spaine*, to keepe the *Romans* from passing the River. The which not daring to attempt, hefeated his Campe beyond *Sagont* vpon the Bankes of the River. He was a mild man, and (contrary to the nature of the *Affricans*) not very politicke: He drawes him a part, as a man which held his faith assured to the *Carthaginians*, and lets him vnderstand the estate of the affaires. The *Carthaginians* sayd he, haue held vnder their obedience vnto this day, the people of *Spaine* by cruelty, for that the *Romans* were a far off: But now the Enemies Campe hath passed *Ebro*, so as euery man hath thereby occasion of a new enterprize. And therefore it is necessary to bind those by benefits and fauours, whom they could not retaine by feare: Moreouer, that the *Romans* were nere vnto *Sagont* in Armes, and furnished with Armies both by Sea and Land, so as the Towne was in danger: For this cause he was of opinion that hee should send backe all the Hostages to their Townes: The which if hee did, hee should first of all frustrate the *Romans* of their hope, for that they did chiefly besedge *Sagont* to haue them: And that moreouer, he should purchase the loue and fauour of the *Spaniards* to the *Carthaginians*.

He likewise thought that it would be for the safety of the Hostages, and that if hee would giue him the charge to carry them backe, hee would do him no small seruice to winne their loues, and that he should not only bind their hearts by the sending backe of the Children vnto their Parents, but he should let before their eyes, how much the kindnesse and Clemency of the *Carthaginians* was to be esteemed. Moreouer he propounded vnto him the expectation hee should haue of their gifts and presents, to whom he had sent the Children, and that there was not any man would forget so great a benefite.

After he had held this kind of Speech and others to the same end, he returned to *Sagont*, as soone as he had perswaded *Bostar* to that which he desired, appointing a day when hee should ioyne with those which should carry backe the Hostages. The night following he goes to the Enemies watch, and hauing spoken to some *Spanish* Souldiers of the Allies, they lead him vnto the Capitaines: Where hauing vsed much speech, what profit it would be for the affaires of *Spaine*, if the Hostages fell into their hands, in the end hee promisseth to deliuer them. The *Romans* giuing a willing care vnto him, weighing the greatnes of the action, take his faith, & promise him theirs with great rewards. And after they had aduised of the place and day, when they should attend to receiue the Hostages, he returns. Afterwards he takes with him such as seemed fit for this businesse, and goes to *Bostar*: Where receiuing the Hostages, he goes out of *Sagont* as it were to sic the enemies Watch: But hauing past their Campe a little, hee leads them all into an Ambush which they had prepared, as not knowing any thing. The *Romans* gaue great rewards to *Acidux*, and made vse of him to carry backe the Hostages to their Townes, as he had resolved with *Bostar*, sending men with him to make them fauourable. *Acidux* went with them, and by this perswasions caused many to enter into League with the

Acidux con-
spires with the
Romans.

the *Romans*, by the meanes of these hostages: laying before their eyes their mildnesse and great courage, and detesting the ielousities and cruelty of the *Carthaginians*, propounding himselfe for an example: *Bostar* after the losse of the hostages by the aduice of a Childe repented too late. And then the season of the yeare forced both Armies to goe and winter, after that fortune had fauoured the *Romans* in this enterprize of the hostages. Behold the present estate of the affaires of *Spaine*.

Hannibal being aduertised by his Spies of the great prouision of A Come within *Lucerna* and *Geryona*, and that moreouer *Geryona* was a very good place, hee resolved to winter his Army there. And passing the Mountaine of *Lyburna*, hee drawes to those places: Being come to *Geryona*, five and twenty miles from *Lucerna*, hee began first to summon the Inhabitants to yeeld, vsing faire promises, and assuring them of his faith. But losing his time hee beseged the Towne, the which hee tooke presently, and slew all the Inhabitants, preserving the greatest part of the houses to serue him for Garners: then hee planted his Campe close vnto the Towne, being well ditched and pallisadoed. This done, hee sends two parts B of his Army to gather in the Come, and continued in battaile with the third part, as well to guard the Campe; as to prevent all oppression of those which gathered in the Come. They brought in dayly a wonderfull quantity, for that the Region was very large, and the number of the people in a manner infinite, and haruest was now at hand. But *Marcus Minucius* Commander of the *Romans*, in the beginning followed the *Carthaginians* by the Mountaines, hoping hee should sometimes encounter the Enemy in some bad passage.

Geryona taken
by assault.

*Marcus Minu-
cius*.

But being aduertised that they gathered in the Come, after the C taking of *Geryona*, and had seated their Campe neare vnto it, hee goes into the plaine and recouers a high Hill vpon the way, where hee planted his Campe: and there hee studied by what policy hee might fall vpon those which were in battaile. But when as *Hannibal* found the *Romans* to bee so neare, hee sent onely the third part of his Army for Come, and kept the two other parts in the Campe. After which hee plants himselfe nearer vnto the Enemy, about two miles from *Geryona*, to the end hee might seeme to bee carefull to defend those which gathered the Come, if they made any attempt against them. In the meane time there was a little Hill betwixt the two Campes, which was very fit and conuenient for the *Carthaginians*, if they could take it, and dangerous for the *Romans*. *Hannibal* sent *Numidians* thither in the Night, who tooke it. But when as *Minucius* at the breake of day, saw that they held it, hee puts forth those that were lightly armed, and giues an assault vnto the Hill.

The Combate for a time was very fierce and cruell: but in the end the *Romans* had the best successe, for they wonne the Hill by force: whither presently the whole Army retired. *Hannibal* vpon a Hill, bal

The *Carthagi-
nians* defeated
by the *Romans*
vpon a Hill.

bal continued for some dayes within his Campe, for that the Romans were still in front. But soone after necessity forced him to fend some to feed the Horses for the Baggage, and others to the Haruest : to the end that as hee had resolved, he might not consume that which hee had gotten, but might draw together some great quantity of Corne to Winter, having alwayes a great care the Army should not have neede of any thing in that time, especially the Horses and sumpters, for that all his hope and confidence was in the Cavallery.

The Carthaginians surprized by the Romans.

Minucius seeing the Enemies dispersed, and wandering vp and downe, hee drawes his men to field, and marching directly against their Campe, put them in battaile, and sends the Horse-men with the best Foote-men against the Forragers, giving them charge to kill all, and not to receiue any to mercy. Hannibal surprized with this suddaine accident, durst not put his men in battaile, neither could hee succour those that were disperced. The Roman Horse-men with those that were lightly armed, made a great slaughter of their Enemies thus scattered. They likewise which were with Minucius, grew so resolute and courageous, as they durst in a manner force the Enemies Fort, and besiege them. Hannibal finding himselfe destitute of counsell and helpe, kept himselfe within his Fort, which hee guarded with great difficulty, whereas Asdrubal gathering the Souldiers together which fled to the place where their Campe had formerly beene, neere vnto the Walles of Geryona, came to succour him with about fourethousand men. Then resumng a little courage, he comes out of his Fort, sauing his Army from that present danger with great difficulty. Minucius having made a great slaughter before the Enemies Fort, and not much lesse in the field, he retired with a wonderfull hope for the future. And three dayes after hee lodged in the Campe abandoned by the Enemies. For Hannibal fearing lest the Romans by night should lodge in the Campe which he had left neere vnto Geryona, and so get all the spoiles, he returned thither with speed with his whole Army.

After this defeat, the Carthaginians were more wary how to forrage and goe for Corne, and contrariwise the Romans more hardy to vndergoe dangers. In the meane time the newes of the victory was (according to the vsuall manner) made farre greater then it had beene: so as all the World reioyced. First for that they imagined that after so many losses, this was the beginning of a better fortune: and iudge thereby, that the slacknesse and cowardize which had seemed to bee in their Army, was not the fault of the Souldiers, but of the Dictator. And therefore all the World condemned Fabius, and held him to bee dull and a Coward. Contrariwise they did so highly extoll and praise Minucius, as they gaue him equall power with the Dictator, the which had not beene formerly seene, hoping that hee would soone make an end of the Warres of Italy. Thus there were two Dictators at one time, and in one Army: which was a new thing.

Two Dictators at Rome at one instant.

Minucius

Minucius much more proud then it is credible, as well for his good fortune as the peoples fauour, grew so glorious as if the Enemies were already defeated and vanquished. Fabius fainted not, nor lost his courage, for the iniury they had done vnto him, but returned to the Campe alwaies constant in his opinion. But when hee saw that his Companion was much troubled to finde an occasion of fighting, fearing lest hee should commit some folly, he gaue him the choice, either that one of them should for a certaine time, or euery other day, or for a longer space, haue the Government of the Campe, or else they should diuide the Legions betwixt them after the manner of the Consuls, and that either of them should doe with his Army what hee pleased. Wherefore they parted their Troupes, and had their Campes separated about a Mile and an halfe distant one from another.

Fabius returned to the Campe.

The diuision of the Roman Army betwixt the two Dictators.

When as Hannibal was aduertised not onely by the Fugitiues, but also of their actions, of the hatred betwixt the Commanders, and of the ouerweening of Minucius, thinking that this would further his intention, he sought occasion to fight with him: hoping hee should easily abate his fury and presumption. There was a little Hill betwixt Minucius Campe, and that of the Carthaginians: whereon whosoever seized, it would proue very preiudiciall to the other. And when as Hannibal made haste to get it, being certaine that Minucius would come to preuent him, as hee had other times done, he vied this stratagem. First of all the whole Plaine betwixt them at the first sight seemed vsute to lay an Ambush, being void of woods and bushes: Yet there were about it many turnings and hollow Rocks, where they might easily hide Souldiers. Hee sends by Night to these hollow places, according to the capacity which hee knew to bee in them, two hundred, and three hundred, and five hundred Horse together with five thousand Foote. And to the end they should not bee discovered by the Forragers, hee send at the breake of day, some that were lightly armed, to take this Hill. The which when Minucius perceiued, contemning so small a number, he marcht with his Army to repell the Enemy from thence. First hee sent those that were lightly armed, commanding them to charge: then the Horse-men. Finally, hee followes with those that were compleatly armed, not changing the order which hee had held in other encounters.

The policy of Hannibal.

The summe was now risen, and all the World looked vpon this Hill. The Ambushes were couered: Hannibal sent succours continually to his men, and afterwards followed with all his Cavallery. Finally, the two Armies fought with all their Troupes: and in the end the Roman Foote-men that were lightly armed, were forced by the Horse-men to retire to their Companions that were better armed: Then the Ambush brake forth, and charged on all sides with great cries, so as they not onely distressed and assisted those that were lightly armed, but likewise the whole Army. The which Fabius perceiuing, and fearing that the Roman Army might be wholly defeated,

A Combate betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Y 2

parts

*Fabius Succours
Minucius.*

parts from his Campe and succours his Companion : At whose coming the Romans reioyced, and retired presently to their Ensignes, although they were broken and scattered here and there, with the losse of many Souldiers that were lightly Armed, and diuers others of the Legions.

*The great Re-
putation of Fa-
bius.*

Hannibal seeing the Enemies re-inforced with Succours, and that they marcht directly towards him, he caused a Retreat to be sounded. Then all the Romans which were in the fight confessed publicly that the Vertue and Wisedome of Fabius, had saued the Roman Empire, which the ouer-weening of Minucius had lost and ruined. When as the newes came to Rome, all the World knew plainly, what difference there is betwixt the ouer-weening and ignorance of Souldiers, and the iudgement and aduice of a wise Capitaine. From that time the Romans contented themselves with one Campe, and all obeyed Fabius. The which I find related after this manner by another Author.

*Minucius his
Speech.*

VV Hen the two Armies were returned to their owne Campes, Minucius having his Souldiers about him spake vnto them in this manner. I haue often heard say, louing Souldiers, that hee is most Wise that can giue good Counsell, and tell what is to be done in his difficult Affaires: And hee is next Wise that can obey him that giueth good counsell, but hee that can neither giue good counsell himselfe, nor obey other mens counsell, is of all others most ignorant and foolish. Seeing that Fortune hath denied vs the first of these Gifts, let vs keepe the second, and whilst we learne to Rule, let vs propound vnto our selues to obey them that be Wise. Wherefore let vs ioyne our Tents with Fabius, and when as you shall heare me salute him as my Protector and Father, you likewise shall salute his Souldiers as your noble Patrons, by whose strength and resolution you are preferred this day. Whereupon they presently removed their Tents, and went to Fabius Campe, whereat hee marvelled much. There Minucius submitted himselfe and his men to the protection of Fabius, resigning the authority of the Empire into his hands.

*Lucius Emilius
and Caius Tar-
rentius chosen
Consuls.*

The Carthaginians thought to accommodate a place to passe the Winter having inuinced it with Ditches, betwixt the Hill and their Campe, and fortified the top of the Hill with men and Pallisadoes. In the meane time the day of the Election of Consuls was come, where they deposed the Dictators, and made choise for Consuls of Lucius Emilius, and Caius Tarrentius Varro. And when as Emilius had created six Pro. Consuls, the Consuls of the precedent Army, Cneus Seruilius and Marcus Asilius Regulus, who had bene subrogated in the place of Flaminius, they took the charge of all the Troupes that were in the Campe, managing all the Affaires of Warre. The Consuls make a new Levy of men to furnish their Army: and giue charge vnto the Pro. Consuls, that they should not dare to fight a Battaille with the Carthaginians, but entertaine their Souldiers with light skirmishes, and inuere the Youth to hardnesse and labour for the time to come: for that they imputed the defeat past vnto the ignorance and slacknesse of the

the Souldiers. Lucius Postumus was created Prætor, and sent into Gaule with an Army, to do the like vnto those Gaules which were in Hannibals seruice. They also provided Rowers for the Vessels which were at Lilybæum: And they sent whatsoever was necessary to the Capitaines that were in Spaine. During these actions at Rome, Cneus Seruilius, and his Companion Asilius, following the Commandment of the Consuls, did not any thing worthy of memory, but make light skirmishes, both by reason they were forbidden by the Consuls, and for the roughnesse of the Weather: Finally, they managed the affaires wisely and with great policy. By this means the two Armies wintred in view one of another.

*Lucius postu-
mus Prætor.*

*The Port of
Naples taken by
Hannibal.*

Hannibal dislodged in the beginning of the Spring, and leauing Geronymus, (for that he had resolved so to presse the Romans, as they should be forced to come to a battaille,) he takes the Fort of Naples, well furnished with Corne and all other munition: For the Romans had drawne thither a great quantity of Corne from Cannusum, and other neighbour Countries, wherewith the Campe was visually victualled. This done they were in great perplexity, not so much for the losse of the munition, as for that the whole Country was left in prey to the enemy. They send men to Rome, to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that they might aduise what was to be done: For that they had resolved to giue battaille if the Enemy approached: Seeing there was no meanes of flight, and that the whole Prouince was ruined, and their Allies waivered. The Senate sent them word that they should not attempt any thing, but expect the coming of the Consuls, whom they afterwards commaunded to depart. All the World had their eyes fixed vpon Paulus Emilius: They had their hope in him, as well for his Wife, dome, as for that he had in former times done great exploits against the Scythians.

BEing ready to depart, I finde it Written that Fabius stayed him for a time, speaking thus vnto him. If thou good Lucius Emilius wert matcht with a Companion like vnto thy Selfe, or if thou wert like vnto thy fellow, then were my Speech in vaine, which I will now make for you both, for being good Consuls you would worke effectually for the common wealth, although I should be silent. But if you were both bad, then would you neither heare my words, nor admit of my Counsell. But knowing thy integrity, and the conditions of thy Companion, I fore see that thy goodness shall little auaille the Common wealth, through the jolly of thy Companion: So as the Common wealth doth halt, and is halfe lame; whereby euill Counsell shall preuaile as well as good. Wherefore to I bee only my Speech tends, fore-telling thee that Thou shalt haue as much Warre with thy fellow Tarentius, as with Hannibal: Neither doe I know which of them will be a more deadly enemy vnto thee. For thou shalt not onely fight with Hannibal in the field, but with thy fellow thou shalt haue continuall Warre in all places, and at all times. With Hannibal thou shalt fight with thy Horses and foote-men, but Varro will assaile thee with thine owne men. I pray thee remember Caius Flaminius, who being Consul and having his men

*Fabius Speech
to Lucius Emi-
lius.*

about him in his Campe, beganne to grow mad. This man (before hee was made Consull, and now being Consull, euen in the Senate-house, before hee sees his field or his enemy,) is already mad. And hee shal thus talke among the Senators, what thinke you will he doe when hee shalbe in the field among a number of fresh young Souldiers, where as one word speaking, all the matter shalbe decided. But in case he make haste to fight, as he saith he will, either I know not what belongs to the Warre, or else we are like to suffer greater losses, then we did at Trasimenum.

There is but one way to maintaine warre against Hannibal, the which I haue fore-seene, and none will be found so good to make him weary of Italy. A We are in our owne Country, hauing Citties and faithfull Allies ready to assist vs at all times with Horse, Harneesse, Victuals, and all other necessaries. Hannibal is in a strange Country among his enemies, farre from home, he looketh for no peace both by Sea or Land: Hee hath no Citties to receiue him; he hath nothing but what he stealeth, and taketh by rapine: he hath scarcely the third part of his Army left, which hee brought ouer Iberus: more are dead by famine then with the Sword; and heere hee can hardly feede those that are liuing. Wherefore doubt not but in sitting still, you shall vanquish such an Army, which decreaseth daily in strength, and cannot haue their wants supplied. This is the onely meane to dally and deceiue your enemy.

Varro desireth battaile, and Hannibal hath the like desire. Wherefore thou alone must wisely oppose thy selfe against them both, and regard not what they speake of thee, let not the vaine glory of thy Fellow, nor the false asperitions which shalbe cast vpon thee, moue thee to the contrary. Suffer thy selfe to be called fearefull, slow, and vnskillfull in the Warre. It is better to be feared of thy wise enemy, then to be praised of thy foolish company. My meaning is, not that thou shouldest do nothing, but what-fouer thou shalt attempt, do it soberly, and according to reason, not rashly, trusting to Fortune; follow not the occasions that the enemy will giue thee: And be not ouer hasty; for haste is blind and worketh vnwisely. C

To these and his other Words the Consull answered little, saying onely that were more true then easie to be followed: But hee would professe one thing, that his desire should alwayes be, to haue things succede well; But in case it should otherwise happen, hee would rather expose himselfe, to the danger of his enemies Weapons, then to the exclamations of his angry Citizens. With these words he parted out of the City, and went to the Campe with his hasty Companion. It was ordred that the Warres should be managed with eight Legions, the which had neuer bene done, and that euery Legion should consist of fife thousand men. The Romans as we haue sayd, make 2 complete Army of foure Legions, euery Legion being foure thousand foote, and two hundred Horse, or else of fife thousand foote, and three hundred horse, if there be any great necessity. To the which they adde as many foote of their Allies, and thrice as many Horse. All the Troupes are equally deuided betwixt the Consuls. Most commonly one Consull giues battaile with two Legions, and with the suc-

cours

A Legion of
fife thousand
Men, and the
manner how
the Romans
make an Army.

cours of their Allies. They seldome fight with all their Troupes. But the feare and amazement of the Romans, was then so great of the Carthaginians, as they thought it fit not to fight onely with foure, but with eight Legions together. And therefore after they had giuen faire admonitions to the Consuls, and had laied before them the consequence of the affaires which way soeuer Fortune should turne, they Commaunded them to goe vnto the Campe inuoluntarily to doe the duties of good men, in the administration of the Warre, as the Roman Maiesty required.

A After the coming of the Consuls to the Campe, they mingled the new Bands to the old Army; and let many vnderstand the will of the Senate, wishing the multitude to be of good Courage, considering the season of the time: Wherewith Emilius made an Oration, whereof this in a manner is the Substance.

That for losses lately made, they should not faint like men amazed: For the losses in former Battails had not hapned for one or two causes, but for many. And if at this day they be Men of Courage and Resolution, there was nothing could hinder, but they should obtaine a good victory. B That neuer vnto this houre, the two Consuls had fought with all the Legions together, nor with more warlike Men, nor of greater Experience. And if on the other side they haue made vse of young Men, and little acquainted with the Art of warre, and who moreover were so ill aduertised of the Enemies enterprizes, of the situation of places, and the nature of the Region, so as many times they haue found themselves in danger, when they had scarce seene the Enemy; which was a matter of great consequence: For they which were defeated in Gaule, were vnto the River of Trebia, came to fight without reason, neuer inquiring of the enemies enterprize, within three daies after their arrivall from Sicily; and they which were meere vnto the Lake of Petronza, were defeated before they could see the enemy, by reason of a great Fogge.

But now Companion, saith he, all things are for vs; for wee are two Consuls vnited in one will, and the same forces, and we haue with vs those of the last yeare. And for your part, you haue not onely seene the daily combats, the order which Souldiers obserue, and the enemies Troupes: But moreover behold the second yeare, wherein you haue had experience of all this, in practising your selues, and fighting continually. Wherefore seeing that things are contrary to those which hapned in former Battails, it is not likely but the end should proue otherwise. It is not credible, nay I say it is impossible, seeing that in fighting with the enemy with an equal number in so many encounters, you haue parted Victors, that now you should be vanquished by them with all the Troupes, seeing you haue a double Army.

Seeing then Companions that you haue the Victory in your owne hands, you haue no more neede of our Counsell and care. I might make you a longer Speech, if I did hold it necessary; for this must be expected from those which are mercenary, or being drawne from the Allies: are Commanders of an Army, to whom nothing is more troublesome then a day of Battaille.

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In regard of those which are like unto vs, whose lines are not onely in danger by their Country, Wines, and Children: whose remembrances happily should be of more force, then any remembrance.

What man is he that would get together vanquish in fighting, or die in the Combat, then to live in misery, and attend so great a Storme and perill? Courage, Companions, consider with your selves what a difference there is betwixt vanquishing and to be vanquished, and what follows the one, and the other, and prepare your selves to Battaille, so as you will remember that it is not the Roman Army that is in danger, but the Country; and moreover the head of the world. What shall the Romans have remaining after your defeat? They have put all their forces and power into your hands, and all their hopes in you. Increase you for the honour of the immortal Gods, that you would not frustrate their expectation. Teeld the thanks which you owe unto your Country, let all the world know, that the losses formerly made, were not by the prowess of the Carthaginians, more then by the Romans: but for that the Roman Souldiers were at that time new, and ignorant of the Warre.

After this Speech or the like, *Emilius* dismissed the Souldiers. Three dayes after the Army marcht towards the Enemies Campe, and on the third day they planted themselves neare unto them. But *Emilius* seeing that the Plaine was large, hee was not of opinion to fight with the Enemy: for that hee was stronger in Horse-men, and that they might draw them into some place where the Foote-men might have the advantage. Contrariwise *Varro* being of little experience in the Warre, was of aduice not to deferre the battaille, lest the Enemy should escape from them. And therefore these two Consuls were in contention and debate, which is the worst thing that can happen in a Campe.

That day (for they gouerne it by dayes) *Varro* had the Command: who dislodging from his Campe, made haste to approach neare unto the Enemy, notwithstanding that *Emilius* opposed himselfe to the contrary. *Hannibal* marcheth against them with his men lightly armed, and his Horse-men, and assaults them with a fight more likely to their fore-runners, then to a pitcht Battaille. The Romans received them valiantly: Finally, the Night parted them. The Carthaginians, hauing gotten little, retired to their Campe.

And when as three dayes after *Lucius Emilius* had resolved not to fight, and could not disswade the other, hee diuides the Army into three, and fortifies two parts on this side the Riuer of *Pauis*, which alone diuides the *Appenine* Hills, and bending towards the Sea of *Italy*, runnes into the Riuer, about two Miles and an halfe distant from the other two, and in a manner as much from the Enemies Campe. When as *Hannibal* had found out a conuenient place for his Horse-men to fight in, and thinking that the Consuls would come to the Combat, hee began to put his men in Battaille: But fearing

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

A skirmish betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans.

The Riuer of *Pauis*.

fearing that the Army was amazed by reason of this last Fortone, hee resolved to preach vnto them. He drawes them together, and commaunds them to looke vpon the Country which was about them, demanding of them what they could desire of the Gods more beneficiall and profitable then the offer of a battaille: in those places where they might make vse of their Horse-men which were numberable. And when as all had confessed freely, therefore saith hee, giue thanks first vnto the Immortal Gods: for in preparing vs the Victory, they haue brought the Enemy into this place of advantage for vs, and secondly to vs, who by our industry and labour haue forced them to come to fight. The Romans cannot die, nor avoid the Combat, and therefore the battaille and victory is in your hands.

I hold it folly now to perswade you to performe the duties of brave men. It had bene well spoken, when you had no experience of the Roman Forces: the which at this present time wee made knowne vnto you by words and examples. But what preaching can more inflame and encourage your hearts then the workes themselves: seeing you haue obtained the Victory in three great severall battailles. You haue bene Masters of the Field in the Combats past, and haue had abundance of all things as wee haue promised you. So as hitherto I haue neuer failed of my promise. But the Combat at this day is for Townes and treasure: if you gaine this battell, you shall be Lords of all *Italy*.

Finally, after so many labours and dangers, being deliuered by this alone, you shall purchase the felicity of the Romans: You shall bee the Head and Emperours of all the World. For the effecting whereof, there is not any neede of words, but of effects. By the will of the Gods before it be long, you shall all see by experience that I am a man of my promise. After these Remonstrances, hauing commended their resolution, hee planted his Campe vpon the Riuer-side, where the Enemies greatest forces lay. The day following hee commaunds them to treace themselves well, and to prepare themselves to battaille for the day following. And therefore at the third day he passed the Riuer at the Sunne-rising, and put his men in battaille. But *Emilius* (seeing that his Forces were not equall in that place, and knowing that *Hannibal* would dislodge for want of victuals) came not out of his Fort.

When as *Hannibal* had stayed some time there, seeing that hee had in vaine called the Enemies forth to fight, he retired the rest of his Army to the Campe, and sent the *Nomidians* to charge those which came from the Romans lesser Campe to water: which they kept and detained from them, pursuing them with great cries vnto the Fort. Whereat *Varro* disdainig much, that the Roman Campe should be annoyed by these men, was the more inflamed and encouraged vnto battaille. The whole multitude wished nor desired nothing more, so much the expectation in all things is tedious.

Hannibal
Speech vnto
his Souldiers.

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

Discord betwixt the two Consuls.

Hannibal putteth his men in Battaille.

And as in the meane time the newes were come to Rome, that although the Armies were not lodged in a place to give battaile, yet they were one right against another, and that there were dayly encounters, all the World entered into great heavinesse and care. Certainly the Romans having received lately wonderfull great losses, feared much the future. Every man fore cast with him selfe what the Romans fortune would bee, after the defeat of this Army: All the World poured out threats against the *Sybs*, *Bookes*; they saw nothing in the Temples and private houses but prodiges and strange Spectacles. And therefore the whole City was addicted to Prayers, to sacrifices to the Gods, and to Ceremonies: for the Romans are great observers, as well in publick as in private, in the time of Warre, neither doe they let passe any thing out of their remembrance which in reason they ought to doe.

Varro to whom the authority belonged the next day, at the Sunne rising draws forth the Armies out of both the Camps without the presence of his Companion. And parting with those which were in the great Fort, hee joynes vnto them those that were in the lesser. Then putting his men in Battaile, hee places the Roman Horsemen vpon the right wing, which was nearest vnto the River. Next to the which continuing the order, hee disposeth of the Foote-men, with the greatest number of Ensignes, and the closest Bands: and the Horse-men of the Allies were vpon the left wing, and in Front those that were lightly armed. They were with their Allies, to the number of fourty thousand Foote, and about fixe thousand Horse. Hannibal passing the River at the same time, sends them of *Maingue* and *Minorque* with those that were lightly armed before: and passing the rest of the Army at two places, hee plants himselfe before the Enemy; ording the Horse-men of *Gauls* and *Spaniards* neere vnto the River vpon the left wing against the Roman Horse-men. After which he sets Foote-men in the midst of the *Affricans*, who were armed to prooffe, and after them the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and finally the rest of the *Affricans*: and on the right wing he lodgeth his *Numidian* Horse-men.

When he had put his whole Army in order, he placeth in the midst the Troupes of *Gauls* and *Spaniards*: he ordered them in a crooked forme, and a weake figure, meaning that the *Affricans* should vndergoe the danger before them, as a safeguard to the Battaile. The *Affricans* were armed in such sort, as you would haue taken for a Roman Battalion, by reason of the Armes which they had gotten at *Trebia*, and at the Lake of *Perouza*. The *Gauls* and *Spaniards* carried the like Targets, but their Swords differ'd: For the *Spaniards* were short, and therefore easie, werewith they did both thrust and strike: But the *Gauls* were long and without points. It was a strange and terrible thing to see the *Gauls* naked about the waiste, and the *Spaniards* attired in shirts of Linnen, wrought with purple after the manner of their owne Countrey. There were ten thousand Horse, and about forty thousand Foote with the succours

that

that came from *Gauls*. *Lucius Emilius* led the right wing, and *Tarpenius Varro* the left: *Marcus Attilius*, and *Cneius Sempronius* gouerned the Battalion in the midst. And as for the *Carthaginian* Captaines, *Asdrubal* led the left wing, *Hanno* the right, and *Hannibal* was in the midst with his Brother *Mago*. The Romans looked towards the South, and the *Carthaginians* to the North: but neither of them were annoyed with the Sunne.

After they had giuen warning to battaile, the encounters and skirmishes were for a time equall. But when as the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* of the left wing, had charged the Romans, the Combate was fierce and cruell, so as they did not charge and recharge, but ioyning together, they did fight Foote to Foote, and man to man, after they had left their Horses. There the *Carthaginians* vanquished and slew most of the Romans, fighting valiantly, and with great courage. In regard of the rest, they flew them retiring neare the River without any mercy or compassion: And then the Foote-men received those that were aduantageously armed, charging one another. The *Spaniards* and *Gauls* resisted the Romans valiantly for a short time, but being forced, they retired, breaking their Lusty order. Then the Roman Battalion pursuing with great courage, did easily disorder the Enemies Ranks: for that of the *Gauls* was weake, as hauing fortified the hornes, being in the midst of the danger. Wherefore the hornes and the midst were not equall: so as the midst of the *Gauls* Battalion aduanced farre vpon the hornes, like an halfe Moone, the crookednesse turning towards the Enemy.

Finally, the Romans pursuing them, marcht thorough without any resistance, so as at their coming they had vpon their Flanks the *Affricans* that were best armed, who couering themselves with their Targets, charg'd their Enemies vpon the sides thrusting with their swords. So as by the prouidence of *Hannibal*, the Romans were inclosed among the *Lybians*, by the encounter which they had made against the *Gauls*. They did not fight by Battalion, but Man to Man, or by troupes, turning against those which charged them vpon the Flanks. And although that *Lucius Emilius*, who commanded the right wing, had beene in the Combat of the Horsemen, Yet hee was safe and well, meaning therefore that in giuing courage, his deedes should bee answerable to his words, seeing that the hope of Victory consisted in the Foote-men, hee thrust into the hottest of the Battaile, where in fighting hee gaue courage to the Horsemen, the which *Hannibal* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Numidians* of the left wing with all their Horse-men, falling vpon the right wing of the Romans, they neither did nor suffred any thing that was worthy of memory, so equall were the two Troupes both in force and courage: yet they made the Romans vnprofitable, scattering them heere and there. In the meane time *Asdrubal* went to aide and succour the *Affricans* with the Horse-men of the left wing. The which the Horse-men of the Roman Allies perceiuing, they presently turned head. *Asdrubal* seeing this, performed the duty of a wise and discreet Captaine: and sent the

Z 2

Numidians,

A great amazement at Rome.

The Romans in old time very ceremonious.

Varro offers battaile, and the order which he held.

The Roman Army of foure score thousand Foote and fixe thousand Horse.

The order which Hannibal held to put his men in battaile.

The diversity of Swords betwix the Gauls and Spaniards.

Hannibals Army consisted of forty thousand Foote, and ten thousand Horse.

The battaile of Cannas.

The defeat of the Roman Horsemen by the Gauls and Spaniards.

The Gauls Battalion of Foote broken by the Romans and routed againe.

Lucius Emilius

Hannibal

Asdrubal

Numidians, (whom he knew were more in number, and terrible to make a chase,) to pursue them that fled; and went himselfe speedily with the Footmen to succour the *Africans*: where assailing the *Romans* in the Rearre, he fortified his owne Men, making a great slaughter of the *Enemies*. *Lucius Emilius* having received many wounds, died in this Battaille: Hee was a Man who vnto his death had done good service vnto the Common-wealth. They write that *Caius Lentulus* a Tribune leading an empty horse in his hand as hee fled; saw *Paulus the Consull* sitting on a stone, all covered with blood, to whom he said: *Lucius Emilius* whom the Gods should hold innocent of this cruell slaughter, take this horse, whilst any strength remaines within, and I being thy friend will lift thee up, and keepe thee on, lest thou make this Battaille dolefull thorough the death of a Consull: without the which there is cause enough of mourning and weeping. Whereunto the Consull answered, *Caius Cornelius* increase thou in vertue, but beware lest whilst thou dost bewaile this accident, thou finde little time to escape thy selfe. Goe therefore and bid the Senate make strong the walls of Rome, and to fortifie it with Succours, before the Conquerour come: and tell *Quintus Fabius* secretly, that *Lucius Emilius Paulus* doth constantly remember his precepts, lieth in them, and will die in them. And I pray thee suffer me to passe this life, among these my dead Knights, lest by longer liuing, I become an accuser of my fellowe, defending my innocencie by the trespassse of another, and yet as length dye being held guilty of this action.

The *Romans* holding still good in so long and furious a Battaille, were in the end all slaine. Among the which died the Consuls of the precedent yearre, *Marcus Atilius* and *Cneius Sernilius*, braue men, and worthy of the *Roman* name. At the same time the *Numidians* ouertooke the horsemen which fled, whereof they slew a great number, and dismounted the rest. Some retired to *Venusium*: among the which was the Consull *Varro*, whose life was base, and his command vnprofitable for his Country. Behold the end of the Battaille of *Cannas*, so famous as well for the victors as the vanquished: whereof the reason is, for that of sixe thousand *Roman* horse, there escaped but threescore and tenne to *Venusium* with *Varro*; and of the Allies about three hundred scattered here and there, who fled to the Neighbour Townes. And as for the Bands of Foote, the *Enemie* tooke about tenne thousand aliue, so as there hardly escaped three thousand. The rest to the number of threescore and tenne thousand were slaine in the Battaille. The *Carthaginians* got not the victory without losse. There were slaine about foure thousand *Gauls*, fiftene hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and two hundred horse. The *Romans* which were taken aliue were not in the Battaille: for *Varro* had left tenne thousand Men in the Campe, to the end that if *Hannibal* led forth all his Army to fight, that in assailing the *Enemies* Campe whilst they were otherwise busie, they might spoile the *Carthaginians* Munition. And if *Hannibal* left a sufficient Garrison for the Campe, then his Forces would be the lesse, for the *Romans* were stronger in numbers of Men. Behold the manner how they were taken. *Hannibal* had left a sufficient Garrison in his Campe to guard it: But when as the *Romans* saw the Battaille grow hot, they go vnto the Campe

as

as they had resolved to besiege it. The *Carthaginians* defended themselves: But for that the *Romans* charged them furiously, they were forced to abandon the place. In the same time *Hannibal* having gotten an absolute victory, falls vpon those which assailed his Campe, and put them to flight, shutting them vp within their Forts, of whom hee slawe two thousand, and tooke the rest. The *Numidians* on the other side brought vnto *Hannibal* the *Roman* horsemen, who being were dispersed in the Fields. Thus after the Battaille ended, neither of them were deceived in their expectation: for presently the *Carthaginians* were Masters of the Prouince, which they call great Greece, so as *Tarent*, *Capua*, and *Naples*, came vnder their obedience, and all the Townes wauered for *Hannibal*, neither was he out of hope to take *Rome* speedily.

Finally, the *Romans* wholly despairing of the Empire of *Italy*, were in feare not onely of their owne ruine, but also of the whole Country, expecting hopefully their cruell *Enemie* at the walls of *Rome*. The Citie being thus troubled, Newes (to the end the measure of their miseries might be full) came from *Gaul* of the Defeat of *Lucius Posthumus* the Pretor, with his Army by an Ambush. Yet the Senate inuolued in so many miseries, made a good shew; aduising the people to fortifie the Citie with Men, and to consider of their affaires with courage and constancie. The which the things which succeeded afterwards did verifie, for being now vanquished by the *Carthaginians*, and seeming to acquit vnto them the glory of Armes, within short time after, by the constancie of the Common-wealth, and by the Councell and wisdom of the Senate, they came (after they had vanquished and ruined the *Carthaginians*) to be Lords not onely of *Italy*, but also of the whole world. And therefore we will conclude this booke, and likewise the actions of *Spain* and *Italy*, which were during the hundreth and fortieth Olimpiade. And when we shall come to those of Greece, during the same Olimpiade, we will speake more at large of the *Roman* Common-wealth: For I hold it not onely necessary for the Reader, for the knowledge of the History, but also profitable, to correct and gouerne a Common-wealth.

The end of the Third Booke of Polybius.

Z 3

THE



THE FOURTH BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



WE haue in my opinion sufficiently shewed the causes of the second punique warre in this last Booke, and then the descent of Hannibal into Italy: Wee haue also related many Combats betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, vnto the Battaille, which was fought neere vnto the Riuer of Fante, and the Towne of Cannes. Now wee will pursue the warres of Greece of the same time, deliuering in few words, the things men-

tioned by vs in the second Booke of the preparation of our worke, and especially of the Common-weale of the Achens: Considering that their manner of government tooke a great increase, as well before as in our time. And therefore beginning with the time of Tisamenes (one of the sonnes of Orestes) we haue said that the Achens liued from his time vnto the Reigne of Gyges, vader Kings descending from him: And that hauing chased them away, the Citie being well aduised, gaue the government vnto the Commons: Some few yeares after the Townes and Burroughes began to fall into dissention, by the meanes of the Lacedemonian Princes. Yet afterwards as we haue said, the Achens reunited themselves, which was the first meanes that all Morea tooke the surname of Achens. Wee haue moreover deliuered their actions in particular, vnto the Defeate of Cleomenes King of the Lacedemonians. And there we haue concluded our preparation, with the death of Antigonus, Seleucus,

Tisamenes.

Cleomenes.

Antigonus, and Ptolemy: for they all died in one Olimpiade: It rests now that in writing the Remainder, wee should begin there. The subject seemes good: first, for that the degges which Arate hath written, end at that time, to the end that to continue the Narration of the Grecian actions, wee should prosecute (as wee haue promised) those which follow: And for that the times are so vnited, as one part hath bene in this age, and the other in the time of our Patents. By this meanes we haue bene part, and heard the rest from those which haue seene them. haue not held it fit to seeke things farre off, nor to make a relation grow- ing from heere, say or report, for that I conceiue it would not be profit- able for the Reader: And therefore let vs begin with the time, when as Fortune seemed to haue made a new world. Philip the lawfull sonne of Demetrius, being in his younger yeares, had taken possession of the Empire of Macedon. Achens Lord of all the Prouince neere vnto Tan- rum, had not onely the Name of a King, but also the Forces. Antiochus surnamed great, succeeded his Brother Seleucus lately dead, in the Realme of Syria, although hee were but young: and Arigates had taken the Realme of Cappadocia. At the same time also Ptolemy Philopater had gotten the Empire of Egypt: and soone after Lycorgus was chosen King of the Lacedemonians. The Carthaginians likewise had chosen Hanni- bal for their Generall in the Warres as we haue mentioned. And there- fore it seemes that there was an alteration, seeing that all the Potentates were renewed, which is a naturall thing, and which happened at one time.

The Romans and Carthaginians made the warre which we haue men- tioned: and Antiochus and Ptolemy that of Syria. In regard of the Achens and Philip, they had warre against the Etoliens and Lacedemo- nians. Whereof see the causes. The Etoliens being long discontented with peace, were not content to liue vpon their owne charges, as being accustomed to liue vpon their Neighbours, for the necessity of their great expences, by reason of their Naturall arrogance, whereunto be- ing subiect, they lead a cruell and brutish life, obseruing no law of friend- ship nor alliance: so as all things are of good prize vnto them. And although that during the life of Antigonus, they did not stirre, fearing the forces of the Lacedemonians: Yet after his death when as Philip had succeeded him, they began (disdaining his youth) to seeke occasi- ons of warre with them of Morea: and namely, for that by an ancient custome of iniuries, they had vsed to rob and spoile at Sea: And that moreover they held themselves more powerfull to make warre then the Achens.

Being in this humour, soone after they found this occasion, together with the fauour and fortune of their enterprize. Dorimache Tricomee was sonne to Nicostrates, who violated the affaires of the Pamphiliens: who being yet young and full of arrogancie and pride, an Etolien had bene sent by the Common-wealth to Phigalea: It is a Towne situa- ted right against the Messian Mountains, and which by fortune was then allied to the Etoliens. Hee let them vnderstand that hee had bene sent thether to gouerne the Towne and the Country: Although they had

The time of the death of Antigonus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy.

Philipus was nothing but what he hath seene, or receiued from those which had seene them.

Philip.

Achens, Antiochus, Seleucus,

Ptolemy Philo- pater, Lycorgus.

The causes of the warre betwixt the Achens and Philip, against the Etoliens and Lacedemonians.

The situation of Phigalea.

had done it of purpose to discover the estate of *Morea*. But for that in regard of the alliance, they could not victual the Pyrates, who wandering thereabouts, retired to him to *Phigalea* for their Munition: and the rather for that the peace made with *Antigonus* continued still, hee advised them to carry away the *Messenians* Cattell, who were their Friends and Allies. The which they began at the first to chase out of their limits: and afterwards as their obstinacie increased by little and little, to ruine the houses in the night standing scattered in the Fields, and to spoile and ruine the whole Country. The *Messenians* discontented herewith, send an Embassie to *Dorimache*, to complaine of the outrages done by the Pyrates, who at the first made no account of it, doing it partly for the benefit of the Pyrates, and partly for his owne interest, having a share in the Booty. But being often pressed by Embassies, by reason of the continuance of the wrongs, he told them that he would be soone at *Messena* to doe them right, for the complaints they made against the *Etolians*. Being arrived, and that many presented themselves vnto him having bin wronged, hee sent some away with scoffes: others with injuries, and some he terrified with bigge and outrageous words. During these pursuits at *Messena*, the Pyrates came in the night to a Burrough called *Chiron*, and tooke it by *Scalade*, and sucking and spoiling it, they slew some of those which were found in Armes, and carrie away the rest Prisoners with the Cattell.

The *Messenians* being more incensed herewith, considering his Presence, and finally thinking that they were deluded, they cause him to come before the Magistrates. By good fortune *Schiron*, a man of good esteeme, and at that time Governour of the *Messenians*, was of opinion, not to suffer *Dorimache* to part out of the Towne, before hee had restored the spoiles which the Pyrates had made, and repaired the houses in the Country, and delivered those which had committed the Murthers. And when as all the assembly approved of this Councell, *Dorimache* inflamed with choller, told them they were fooles, and if in doing that, they thought to wrong *Dorimache* and not the *Etolians*: And that moreover they did him great wrong, and that within a short time reuenge would be taken.

There was at that time in *Messena* a man of base condition, called *Babyrhe*, so like in face, body, lineaments, and voyce to *Dorimache*, that if they had given him his Crowne and Robe, you could hardly haue discerned them. This *Dorimache* knew well. And when he vsed proud and audacious words to the *Messenians*, *Schiron* grew into choller, telling him, thinkest thou that we care for thee or *Babyrhe* for this thy rashnes. After which words, *Dorimache* thought good to strike saile, restoring to the *Messenians* all the pillage. And going then to *Etolia*, he tooke this speech of *Schiron* so to heart, as without any other cause he made warre against the *Messenians*. At that time *Ariston* was chiefe of the *Etolians*, who by reason of the weaknesse of his body, growne by a long infirmity, could not mannage this warre. Although hee were allied to *Scope* and to *Dorimache*, yet he gaue the conduct to *Dorimache*. But he durst not openly incense the *Etolians* to make warre against the *Messenians*.

nians: for that hee could not propound for a sufficient cause, as growing onely vpon choller for an injury spoken to him. And therefore leaving this aduice, hee adresth himselfe to *Scope* in priuate, perswading him to oppose himselfe against the *Messenians*: being then assured of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the minority of their King, for that *Philip* had not seauenteene yeares compleate: and that moreover the *Lacedemonians* held not the party of the *Messenians*, acquainting him with the Friendship and alliance hee had with the *Grecians*. Wherefore hee found not any man that could hinder his passage to *Messena*. Then hee propounded vnto him with an *Etolian* perswasion, the great profite that would redowne thereby: considering that all the Countrey liued in assurance, and that they alone had not felt the *Cleomenique* Warre: and that finally the *Etolians* would bee well pleased, and ready to doe them honour vnto the utmost of their ability and power.

As for the *Acheins*, they would giue them occasion of Warre, if they sought to hinder their voyage: But if they did not budge, they would passe easily to *Messena*: and for that the *Messenians* had made a promise to the *Acheins* and *Macedonians*, to enter into their league, they gaue sufficient occasion of Warre. Having vsed a long Speech touching this enterprize, hee soone moued *Scope* and his Friends, as without assembling the people, or attending the will of the Magistrates, or obseruing any order of Iustice, they made Warre against the *Messenians*, the *Epirotes*, *Acheins*, *Acarnaniens*, and *Macedonians*. Wherefore they presently sent forth many Pirates, who encountred with the royall ship of *Macedony*, laden, and carried it to *Etolia*, where they sold the Pilots and Mariners, and in the end the ship.

Then they ranne along the Empire, spoyling all those which they met, being assisted by the *Cephalonien* Vessels, to commit their outrages, taking Townes by Treason. For in *Acarnania* they tooke *Orea*, and seized vpon a Castle which is in the midst of the *Megalopolitains* Countrey, which they call *Claire*, by men whom they had secretly sent into *Morea*: whereof making vse afterwards for a recreate, they committed great spoiles at Sea. At that time *Timoxenes* which was Chiefe of the *Acheins*, tooke the Towne of *Taurion* by assault, the which *Antigonus* had taken in the time of the Warre of *Morea*.

You must vnderstand that King *Antigonus* held *Corinthe* with the good liking of the *Acheins*, as we haue shewed heretofore, in speaking of the *Cleomenique* War: But he had not restored *Orchomenes* vnto them, the which hee had taken by force, and had made himselfe Lord thereof, requesting and desiring (as it seemes) not onely to haue an entry into *Morea*, but also to keepe the heart thereof by means of the Garrison of *Orchomenes*.

Dorimache and *Scope* making great choise of the time, when as *Timoxenes* had not no many dayes to continue and stay in his Magistracy, and that *Arate* who was to succcede him, could not execute

Warre attempted by the *Etolians* against *Morea*:

Taurion taken by assault.

A₃ his

his office, they assembled the *Etolians* neere vnto the Mountaine of *Rhye*: and hauing prepared the *Cephalonian* Ships, they layled to *Morea*: and in passing by the Coasts of the *Patrenses*, *Pharences*, and *Tritenenses*, they march against the *Messenians*. It had beene forbidden not to doe any outrage to the *Acheins*. But who can prescribe an order to a multitude, who spoile all where they come? Comming in the end to *Phigalea*, and making their attempt against the *Messenians*, without any regard of their ancient Friendship, and without any feare of God or Men, they ouer-runne and spoile the Countrey, putting all to fire and sword. In the meane time the *Messenians* finding themselves too weake, kept themselves close within their Towne.

The time of election approaching for the *Acheins*, they assembled at *Egea*, whereas holding their Diet, when as the Embassadors of *Patres* on the one side, and those of *Pharos* on the other, made their complaints for the outrages done by the *Etolians*, and that on the other side the *Messenians* demanded Succours with great compassion, they were induced, partly by the wrongs done vnto their Allies, and moued partly with pity, which they had of the *Messenians*, being likewise discontented that the *Etolians* had past their Army thorow their Countrey without their priuity, they resolved to giue succours to the *Messenians*, and thereby to accustome the *Acheins* to Warre: and what the assemblies should ordaine, should be observed. *Timoxenus* chiefe of the *Acheins*, who was not yet deposed, fearing to make any attempt, as if there were no other meanes but the multitude: for that after the Warre of *Cleomenes*, when as all quarrels were pacified, hee knew well that the people of *Morea* were giuen to pleasure, and that making no more accompt of Warre, they were growne idle.

Contrariwise, *Arate* not able to endure the outrage done vnto his Allies, and incensed the presumption of the *Etolians*, remembering in like manner their ancient hatred, hee made haste to cause the *Acheins* to take Armes, and to fight with the *Etolians*. And therefore five dayes before hee should enter into the Magistracy, hee receiued the Seale from *Timoxenus*, and wrote vnto the Towne, willing them to leuie men, and to assemble at *Megalopolis*. But before wee proceede, I haue thought good to speake something of his nature and disposition.

Arate was a man perfect in all things for the Government of a City: for hee spake well, and had a good inuention; being also diligent, and of execution: There was not his equall to endure a Ciuill dissention patiently, nor to contract leagues and alliances. Finally, hee was a wise and discreet man in his Magistracy and charge, and to lay Ambushes for his Enemy, bringing them vnto a good end by his labour and patience. Whereof there are many proofes and testimonies, but especially for that he deliuered *Sicyon* and *Mantineia* to the *Acheins*: and had taken *Pellene* from the *Etolians*. Hee likewise conquered the strong Fort of *Corinthe*, which they call *Acrocorinthe*.

Yet

Yet if hee were to fight, he was carelesse to take Councell, and faint-hearted in the fight. Wherefore he filled *Morea*, with the triumph of the spoiles taken by him: so as Nature hath not onely framed a diversity in mens bodies, but also in their soules: So as many times the same man doth not carry himselfe onely in diuers things, an able man in some, and slacke in others: But also hee doth many times in one and the same action make shew of extreame heate, and sometimes of incredible slacknesse: so as sometimes hee seemes a man of great courage, and another time very fearefull. These are no strange things, but vsuall, and well knowne vnto those that doe obserue them. Wee likewise see many men in hunting to bee wonderfull hardy against the cruellest sauage Beasts that can bee found: whom if you leade to the Warre against the Enemy, would be found Cowards and faint hearted. You shall likewise finde many in the Warre, which are resolute to fight man to man, but in a pitch Battaille are ofno esteeme.

It is certaine that the Horse-men of *Thessaly* being ioyned together, are not to bee forc't in a Battaille, but if you charge them by small Troupes, it is easie to cut them in peeces: the which is contrary in the *Etolians*. They of *Candy* are the most aduice men in the World, as well for Combate at Sea and Land, for Ambushes, Robberies, Rapines, surprizes in the Night, and for all manner of deceipts: But in a pitch Battaille, they are faint-hearted Cowards, and of no seruice. To whom the *Acheins* and *Macedonians* are quite contrary: I haue deliuered these things in few words, to the end that no man should maruaile; nor giue lesse credit to the History, if sometimes wee shew that one and the same man hath carried himselfe diuersly in the like affaires. Let vs now retorne where wee left.

After the assembly had beene made at *Megalopolis*, of able men for the Warre, the *Messenians* came againe to the *Acheins*, intreating them to helpe and assist them, being so apparently wronged by the *Etolians*: and desiring withall if it were their good pleasure to bee receiued into their league, hereafter to heare the necessary charges for the preservation thereof. The chiefe of the *Acheins* make answer, that as for the alliance, they could not hearken vnto it, for that it was not in their power and ability to receiue or fauour any one without the consent of *Philip* and the other Allies: For that the accord continued yet firme, which had beene made in the time of the *Cleomene* Warre, vnder the command of *Antigonus*, betwixt the *Acheins*, *Epirotes*, *Phocenses*, *Macedonians*, *Boeotians*, *Arcadians*, and *Thessalians*. And yet they would willingly giue them succours, so as they will giue their Children for hostages vnto the *Acheins*: promising neuer to make peace, nor any accord with the *Etolians*, without the consent of the *Acheins*. It is true, the *Macedonians* had drawne downe an Army neere vnto *Megalopolis*, not so much in regard of their Alliance, as to see the euent of the Warre.

A a 2

When

An Embassie
sent from Arate
to the Etoli-
ans.

When as *Arate* had thus concluded with the *Messenians*, he sends an Embassie to the *Etoliens*, signifying unto them to retire their Army out of the *Messenians* Countrey, and that hereafter they should doe them no wrong, nor touch the *Acheins* Countrey: And if they did otherwise, hee declared himselfe their Enemy. *Scope* and *Dorimache*, hauing heard the Embassadours charge, and being aduertised of the preparation of the *Acheins*, thought good to yeeld vnto *Arate*. Wherefore they sent Letters presently into *Cyleno* to *Aristo*, chiefe of the *Etoliens* requiring shipping: and two daies after they parted, causing the Baggage to march before, taking their way towards the *Elienses*: a people which had bene alwayes faithfull to the *Etoliens*. But *Arate* thinking simply they had gone away, as they had resolued, gaue leaue to all his Bands to retire vnto their houses: and went directly to *Pasas*, accompanied onely with threethousand Foote and three hundred Horse, which were vnder the charge and command of *Taurion*, to cut off the Enemies retreat.

Dorimache being aduertised, and fearing they should hinder the passage, hee sent all the booty with a good Conuoy to the ships, giuing charge to those which had the conduct, that they should come and meete him at *Rhie*, where he had resolued to imbarke. When he had conducted the booty a little way, hee presently turnes head and comes to *Olympia*. Being there aduertised that *Taurion* was about *Gloria* with his Troupes, fearing that he should not be able to imbarke at *Rhie* without fighting or danger, hee held it best to fight presently with *Arate*, who had but small Troupes, and was ignorant of his Enterprize. Hee conceiued that hee should make his retreat safely that way which he had resolued, if he defeated the Enemy, in running the whole Prouince, before the *Acheins* should make a new head: and if they fled the Combate for feare, hee should passe where hee pleased without danger. *Dorimache* moued with these reasons, feared his Campe nere vnto *Methydrie*, which is not farre from *Megalopolis*. The *Acheins* aduertised of the coming of the *Etoliens*, made so little vse of those things which were visible, as they forgot nothing that might augment and increase their folly. First, in leauing *Gloria*, they planted their Campe nere vnto *Caphies*.

The exultation
of the *Acheins*.

And when as the *Etoliens* parting from *Methydrie*, had past at *Orchomeno*, the *Acheins* march by the Countrey of the *Caphiens*, being inclosed with a Riuer, as with a Rampier. The *Etoliens* fearing to fight with the Enemy according to their first resolution, as well for the difficulty of the places, (for there were before the Riuer Ditches and inaccessible places) as for the coming of the *Acheins*. They march vnto *Oligarte* in good order, being loath that any one should force them to runne into danger. When as the Bands of Horse-men followed them vpon a Plaine nere vnto them, *Arate* sent the Foot-men that were lightly armed after the Horse-men, vnder the conduct of *Acarnane*, giuing them charge to fight with them, and to tie the

the Fortune wherein hee committed a great errour, for seeing hee had an intent to fight, he should not haue charged them in the Rear, for that they were not farre from the Mountaines, but in front, before they should haue gotten the top: By this means the Battaille had bene in the Plaine. Whereby vndoubtedly the *Etoliens* had bene defeated by reason of their kind of Armes and order. Contrariwise *Arate* by bad aduice left vnto the Enemies the opportunity of the place, and of time which was offered him. When as the *Etoliens* saw the *Acheins* march, they vsed all diligence to gaine the Mountaine, making halte to ioyne with their Foote-men. *Arates* men not duely considering what had bene done, and being ignorant of the Enemies enterprize, when they saw the Horse-men runne, they sent those that were lightly armed of two wings, thinking it had bene a flight: and giue them charge to succour the Horse and Foote. Then *Arate* marched with the rest much discontented, making a long wing. The *Etoliens* Horse-men approaching to the Foote of the Mountaines, began to march a slow pace, and called downe their Foote-men with great cries: who comming suddainly to succour them, and seeing they were not fewer in number then the Enemy, they turned head against the *Achein* Horse-men, and charged them, for that they had an aduantage in the number of men, and the opportunity of the place.

A fight betwixt
the *Acheins*
and the *Etoli-
ens*.

The Combate was fierce on either side, and the victory for a time was in suspense. Finally, the *Achein* Horse-men were repuls'd. And when as they which were lightly armed, which had bene sent to succour them, met with them that fled, they were forced to doe the like being amazed with this new accident, and partly broken by them that fled. So as the defeat was but of five hundred, whereas the flight was of about two thousand. The *Etoliens* seeing plainly what they had to doe, pursued the *Acheins* with cries and loy. Who thinking to finde their men in Battaille where they had left them, retired to *Arate*. And therefore their flight in the beginning was honest, and for their safety. But when as they saw them dislodge, and to come by files, and in disorder, then some flying here and there, sought for their safety: others marching directly to their owne men, disordered one another without any Enemy: Finally, they all fle, and saue themselves in the neighbour Townes: for *Orchomeno* and *Caphies* were not farre off, otherwise they had bene all taken or slaine that day. Thus the *Acheins* were defeated nere vnto *Caphies*.

A defence of
the *Acheins*.

The *Megalopolitains* being aduertised, that the *Etoliens* had planted their Campe nere vnto *Methydrie*, they assembled all with one consent, and went to Field three dayes after the Battaille, to succour the *Acheins*: but they were forced to bury those, with whom they did hope to fight against the Enemy. And therefore they made a great Ditch, wherein they put all the dead Bodies, and performed their obsequies after the manner of the Countrey. The *Etoliens* being Victors, past through *Mroea* without feare of danger. At what time after they had sought diuers wayes to gaine the *Pellensiens*, and

had ruined the Country of the *Sicyonians*, in the end they retired by the Freight of the *Isthmus*. These were the causes of the warre of the *Alies*, whereof wee haue formerly spoken: whereof the beginning was by a Decree which was afterwards made among the *Alies*, and confirmed at *Corinthe*: where they were all assembled for that cause: *Philip King of Macedon* consenting thereunto.

Arate blamed
by the *Acheins*.

Some few dayes after, the *Acheins* being assembled, they blamed *Arate* both in publique and priuate, as if he had bene the cause of this defeat and losse, and the Commons were the more inflamed, for that the Enemies league made it to seeme greater. First, it seemed hee had committed a great fault, to haue seized vpon the Magistracie before his time, and to haue made enterprizes doing another mans office: wherein hee had many times before bene vnfortunate. But it seemed hee had done worse, dissoluing the *Acheins* Army, the *Etolien* Commanders being still in the midst of *Morea*. Thirdly, that being ill accompanied, he had giuen Battaille without force: considering that hee might easily haue retired to the Neighbour Townes, vntill the *Acheins* had made a new head: and then giue Battaille if he had thought it fit. Finally, that hee had carried himselfe so inconsiderately, that in leauing the *Plaines* (where without doubt his Men had bene the stronger) he had assailed the Enemy in the Mountaines with Souldiers lightly armed: whereby the *Etolians* could haue no greater aduantage.

Yet suddenly when as *Arate* was returned, and entred into the assembly, and that he began to celiuer the things which he had formerly done for the publique good, and had made knowne the causes of the last Defeat, and giuen them to vnderstand that he was not the cause thereof, as his Enemies had falsely slaudered him: and that finally hee would haue craued pardon, letting them know that if hee had committed any fault, the *Acheins* should not consider the euent of things, so bitterly nor with such rigour, but with fauour and mildnesse, the opinion of the Commons was suddenly so changed, as where before they seem'd to be wonderfully incensed against *Arate*, they sodainly turned their choller against his ill-willers, so as from that time they followed the Councell and opinion of *Arate*. These things happened in the hundred and nine and thirtieth Olympiade, and those which follow in the hundred and fortieth.

The advice of
the *Acheins*
touching the
warre against
the *Etolians*.

It was then resolved by the *Acheins*, to send Embassies to the *Epirotas*, *Peociens*, *Phocenses*, *Acarmaniens*, and to *Philip King of Macedon*, to let them vnderstand that the *Etolians* had entred twice into *Acheia*, contrary to the former accords: and likewise to demand succours according to the league, and moreover that the *Messenians* might bee received: and that the chiefe of the *Acheins* might leaue five thousand Foote, and five hundred Horse, and succour the *Messenians*, if the *Etolians* did reasseile them. Finally, that he might agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messenians*, touching the number of Foote and Horse, which they should keepe ready for the common affaires of the league. After these things thus resolved, the *Acheins* stomacking the Defeate whereof we haue spoken, did not forget the *Messenians* affaires, nor their resolution.

tion. The Embassadors execute their charge diligently. The chiefe likewise assemble the youth as it had bene decreed, and agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messenians*, that either of them should furnish two thousand five hundred Foote, and two hundred and fifty Horse, to the end that the whole might amount to ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. The time being come, when as the *Etolians* were to hold their Diet, they assembled the Commons, and consulted how to make a peace with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messenians*, and with other people their neighbours, being forced partly by pouerty, and partly weakened by the *Acheins* Allies. As for the *Acheins*, they resolved to contract with them, if they would leaue the Alliance of the *Messenians*: But if they would hold it still, they were of aduice to make Warre against them, which was a most idle and sencelesse thing. For being allied to the *Acheins* and *Messenians*, they declared Warre against the *Acheins*, if they contracted any Friendship or alliance with the *Messenians*: and contrariwise a peace was confirmed, if they held them for their Enemies. And therefore their villany could not take place, by reason of the contrariety of their subtil inuention.

The idleness
of the *Etolians*.

The *Epirotas* and *Philip* having heard the Embassadors charge, received the *Messenians* into the league: and although they disliked the outrages of the *Etolians*, yet it seemed they made no great account of it: for that they had done no new action, considering they had bene accustomed to such things. Wherefore they willingly continued a peace with them. Thus sometimes outrages growne old and continued, are sooner pardoned then those of new date. The *Etolians* vsing this course of life, in ruining *Greece* by their incursions, and making Warre many times before they declared it, did not vouchsafe to answer to the complaints: Many times also they made no accompt, and mockt at those which demanded satisfaction, for those things which they had done, or would doe. And although that the *Lacedemonians* had bene lately restored to liberty by *Antigonus*, by meanes of the *Acheins*, having promised to *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, not to attempt any thing against them, yet they sent an Embassie secretly to the *Etolians*, and confirmed friendship and alliance with them.

When as the *Acheins* Army was assembled, and the succours of the *Lacedemonians* and *Messenians* ready, as it had bene decreed: *Sceardilaide*, *Laide*, and *Demetrius* sayling from *Sclauonia* with fourescore and ten Vessels, past to *Lisse*, contrary to the accord made with the *Acheins*. And attempting first to take *Pyle*, they were shamefully repuls'd after some dayes siege. *Demetrius* afterwards made a voyage with fifty Saile vnto the *Cyclades*, and spoiles the Islands, taking some by Treason. *Sceardilaide* with the other forty, drawes towards *Naxos*, relying vpon the friendship of *Amicus King of the Acheins*, to whom he was allied. There an accord was made with the *Etolians*, by the meanes of *Agelau*, that in marching with them into *Acheia* they should diuide the booty by halves. The which being concluded betwixt *Sceardilaide* and *Agelau*, *Dorimache*, and *Scope*, they entred into *Acheia* with an Army of *Etolians* and *Sclauonians*, the Towne

The descent of
Sceardilaide, *Agelau*, *Dorimache* & *Scope*
into *Acheia*.

of the *Sithians* being of their party: *Arifon* chiefe of the *Etolians* stayed at home, saying that he had peace and no waite with the *Acheins*, as if hee had beene ignorant of the Enterprize: which was a simple and idle counseil. Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke long to couer with words things that are plaine and euident? This done *Dorimache* comes with his men to *Cynethe* with wonderfull speed. The *Cynethenses* were tormented with great diuisions and seditions, hauing beene long time *Arcadians*: whereas many murders had beene committed, with Banishments, Rapes, and Spoiles: Finally it fell out, that they which held the *Acheins* party, had the command of the Towne. Wherefore their chiefe men, and the guards of their Towne were of *Acheia*. Matters standing in this estate some yeares before the descent of the *Etolians*, when as the banished men had sent to them of the Towne, intreating them to receiue them into grace and concord, the *Gouernours* perswaded by their words, sent an Embassie to the *Acheins*, desiring to make this peace and agreement with their Councell and aduice. Whereunto the *Acheins* consented, for that they conceiued that the affection and loue of the one and the other, would by this meanes be more firme vnto them, considering that they which were within had all their hope in them, and that the banished men would conceiue, that they had beene preferred by the benefit of the *Acheins*: The *Cynethenses* sent backe the Garrison of the *Acheins* with their Captaine, and called the banished men into their Towne, which were to the number of three hundred, in taking their Faith with Oathes, whereby men may be most religiously bound.

But presently after they were receiued into the Towne, they resolu'd among themselves to betray it, and to be reuenged on those which had preferred them, without any consideration of the cause of this new practise: So as I am of opinion, that at the time when they sacrificed, and gaue their Faith and Oathes, that euen then they resolu'd to contemne the Gods, and vse cruelty towards those which had saued their liues: for they had scarce set footing within the Towne, but they called the *Etolians* to deliuer it vnto them. The businesse was mannaged in this manner. Some of the banished men, were created *Polemarches*: It is a Magistrat which hath charge of shutting of the Gates, and keeping the keyes at night, and in the day time to attend the Guard thereof. The *Etolians* hauing their ladders and other things necessary, attended the execution of the enterprize. The *Polemarches* slew their Companions which were not of their faction, and opened the Gate. This done, the *Etolians* entered, some by the Gate, some by Ladders. The whole Citie being troubled by this new accident, ranne vp and downe full of feare and lamentation: for that they could not runne to the Gate, for that the Enemies cast themselves from the walls, neither could they goe to the walls, for that they came by multitudes in at the Gate. And thus the *Etolians* tooke the Towne presently, where among all the outrages which they committed, they did one act of great iustice, for they slew all the Traytors, and spoiled their goods. The like they did to others, taking away all their substance: Men were tormented to confesse their Goods, if they

Polemarches.

Cynethe taken by the Etolians.

they had hidden away, and many others slaine. Hauing thus taken the Towne, and after some fewe dayes leauing a sufficient Garrison, they marcht with their Army towards *Lufes*. Where approaching neere to *Diana's* Temple, which is betwixt *Clitoria* and *Cynethe*, and is held by the *Grecians* as a place of Freedome, they had an intent to carry away the Cattell of the Goddesse, and to rauish all the Treasure of the Temple. But the *Lufates* offered them part to temper their wickednesse. The which being receiued, the *Etolians* parting from thence, planted their Campe neere vnto *Clitoria*.

A At that time *Arate*, chiefe of the *Acheins*, had sent an Embassie to *Philip* for succours, and had assembled the choyce of the youth from all parts, and demanded from the *Lacedemonians* and *Messenians*, the number of men, which they were to furnish by the accord. The *Etolians* began first to perswade the *Chytorians*, to leaue the alliance of the *Acheins* and to imbrace their party. The which being refused, they tormented them with diuers assaults, and scaling the walls, they laboured to enteragiously, they rais'd the Siege, being in despaire to take it: and returned to *Cynethe*, spoiling the Sheepe and Cattell of the Goddesse, meaning to deliuer the Towne to the *Elienses*: Vpon refusall they resolu'd to keepe it, making *Enripides* Captaine. But being afterwards terrified with the Newes of the succours of *Macedon*, and the preparation of the *Acheins*, they burnt it, and taking their wayes againe towards *Rhie*, they resolu'd to passe there. *Taurion* aduertised that the *Etolians* marcht, and of the ruine of *Cynethe*, and that *Demetrius* of *Phareb*, was come from the *Cyclades* to *Cenchrea*, hee perswaded him to succour the *Acheins*, and to hinder the passage of the *Etolians*, in transporting the ships by the *Ethymus*.

The Chytorians assaulted by the Etolians.

Cynethe burnt by the Etolians.

Demetrius had parted from the Iland with profit, but with little honour, for that the *Rhodiens* came against him with an Army at Sea, hee yielded easily to *Taurion*: and the rather for that he furnished the necessary expences the transport of the Shippes, wherefore after hee had transported them, and was aduertised that the *Etolians* were past two dayes before, hee sail'd againe to *Corinthe*, after he had spoiled some of the *Etolians* Coasts: with whom the *Lacedemonians* hauing secret intelligence (as we haue said) they deserr'd to send the succours promised by the accord, sending onely some Horse and Foot for a colour: *Arate* made shew to his people, that for the present hee would performe the duty of a Citizen, rather then of a Captaine without any trouble, for the remembrance of the losse which he had made, vntill that *Scops* and *Dorimache* were retired, hauing ruined the whole Prouince, and what they pleased: although it were no difficult thing to defeat them in their rough and narrow passages. And although the *Cynethenses* had suffered a wonderfull losse of all their goods, and were in a manner all slaine, yet the world held them worthy of the punishment which they endured.

And for that the people of *Arcadia* haue a certaine fame and renowne of good men, nor onely for their easie kinde of life, and their good dispositions, and great honesty towards all the world, but also for the

The customes of the Arcadians.

the honour and reuerence they beare vnto the Gods. I haue thought it good to relate in few words, something concerning the rudenesse of the *Cynethenses*, and to let the world vnderstand (seeing they were held to be *Arcadians*) how they did so much differ from the other *Grecians* of that time, in wickednesse and cruelty. For my part I thinke this hath happened, for that they haue bene the first and the onely men which among all the *Arcadians* haue neglected that which their Ancestors had wisely inuented.

Musique profitable to all the world.

It is certaine that Musique, (I meane true Musique) is profitable to all the world, and necessary for the *Arcadians*: Neither is that true which *Ephorus* (speaking without reason) writes in the Proeme of his Histories, that Musique is inuented to deceiue and abuse men: Neither must wee thinke that the ancient *Gandoyts* and *Lacedemonians*, had without reason, prefer'd the Flute and Songs before the Trumpet in Warre: Neither had the ancient *Arcadians* Musique in so great honour in their Common-wealth, as they not onely caused Children to learne it, but also young men vnto the age of thirty yeares, who otherwise were rude and vnciuill. It is no vnknewe thing, that in *Arcadia* alone, they did accustom their children from their infancies, to sing praises in Hymnes, by the which euery one did vse to commend the Angels of his Birth, vertuous Men, and the Gods. And after all this they doe yearly make Games to father *Lyber*, with Songs and Dances, instructed in the Disciplines of *Philoxenus*, and *Tymotheus*. And those of Children, are called the Games of Children, and the others the Games of Youth: Finally, all their life is added to this kinde of singing, not so much for the pleasure they take to heare the Musique, as to excite them to sing together. Moreover, if any one be ignorant in other Arts, it is held no shame: but none of them may be ignorant of Musique: for they learne it by necessity: Neither may he confesse that he vnderstands it not, for that among them is reputed infamous. Finally, the young men doe yearly present Shewes and Games in the Theater to the Burgeses, with Songs and Dances, at the publique charge. Which things (in my opinion) were wisely inuented by their Ancestors, Not for lasciuiousnesse or delights, but for that they see the continuall toile of the people in manuring the land, with a rudenesse and brutishnesse of life, and moreover with an austere kinde of liuing, which proceedes from the coldnesse and roughnesse of the Ayre, to the which of necessity we growe like.

The Games of Children and Youth.

It is apparent that the Region of heauen, made Nations to differ in their manner of liuing, in their forme and complexion, and in many disciplines. Seeking then to make Nature pleasing and tractable, which of it self seemes fierce and rude, they first propounded all those things which we haue mentioned, and afterwards common assemblies, and many sacrifices, where as men and women frequented, and finally danced of Virgins and Children. All which things they haue done to the end that that which by Nature was rude in the hearts of men, might be made milde and pleasing by custome. But for as much as the *Cynethenses*, after some tract of time, became to disdain these things, which were

The occasion of the ruine of *Cynethenses*.

were about all things necessary for them, (inhabiting in the coldest part of *Arcadia*) they grew in a short time to such a rudenesse of life, as there was not any Citie in *Greece*; where there were more villanies and Murthers committed. The testimony of their wicked life is most manifest, for that the other people of *Arcadia* detested their manner of liuing: For at what time as they sent an Embassie to *Sparta*, after this great sedition, in what Towne so euer they entred during their voyage, they were chased away ignominiously, and forbidden to returne: and the *Mountaines*, after their departure, purged the Citie, and all places thereabouts with sacrifices.

We haue related these things, to aduise the Cities of *Arcadia*, not to giue ouer the custome of their Countrey: and to the end men should not thinke that they were so much giuen to the Musique of lasciuiousnesse, and that by this meanes no man should mocke at their custome: I haue also done it for the loue of the *Cynethenses*: to the end (the Gods permitting it) that in punishing them, they may leade a better life and loue Musique, for it is the meanes by the which they may leaue their naturall Rusticitie. Seeing then we haue spoken sufficiently of the *Cynethenses* manner of liuing, and of their ruine, let vs returne where we left.

The *Etolians* hauing ouer-runne all *Morea*, and put the Countrey to fire and sword, returned to their houses. Finally, *Philip* King of *Macedon*, came to *Corinthe* to succour the *Achiens* with an Army. But hearing that all was past, he sends post to his Allies, aduising them to send men vnto him to *Corinthe*, to conserue of their common affaires. In the meane time he causeth his Army to march towards *Tegea*, for that he was aduertised that the *Lacedemonians* were in mutinie among themselves. And for that they had liued long vnder Kings, and had then recovered their liberty vnder the conduct of *Antigonus*, being subiect to no man, they fell into diuers factions, euery man seeking to haue authority in the Common-wealth about his fellow. There were two among the *Gouernours*, which held their Councell so secret, as no man could discover it: the rest to the number of three, carried themselves openly for the *Etolien* party, being confident that *Philip* considering his age, could make no alteration in *Morea*. But when as contrary to their hope and expectation, they had newes of the flight of *Etolians* in *Morea*, and of the coming of *Philip* King of *Macedon*: These three *Gouernours* of the Citie, hauing no confidence in one of the other two, called *Adimant*, for that knowing their secrets, he seemed to dislike of their proceedings, and fearing that at the coming of *Philip* all would be discovered. They declared themselves to certaine young men, and afterwards caused all the people to assemble in Armes, at *Iuno's* Temple, by the sound of the Trumpet, as if the *Macedonians* were come against the *Spartans*: who suddainly assembled vpon this new accident.

Adimant disliking this, came into the assembly, saying: The Trumpet should haue sounded some dayes past, and this assembly of men in Armes should haue bene made, when as wee heard that the *Etolians*, Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, approached their Mountaines, nor now when

A mutinie among the *Lacedemonians*.

Philip comes to *Corinthe*.

when as we are aduertised, that the *Macedonians* our Benefactors and preferers came with their King. And whilst he continued this speech, the young men falling vpon him, slew him cruelly, with *Stenclaus*, *Alcarnenes*, *T byestes*, *Dyonides*, and diuers others. As for *Polyphonte*, hee retired with his friends to *Philip*, hauing long before foreseene the future.

The Murder of the Governours of the *Lacedemonians*.

Ambassadors sent from *Lacedemon* to *Philip*.

Things passing in this manner, the *Lacedemonian* Governours sent an Embassie to the King to lay the wrong vpon them that were slaine, and to perswade him to proceede no farther, vntill that all the troubles of the Citie were pacified: Giuing him to vnderstand, that the *Lacedemonians* kept their faith and friendship with the *Macedonians* inuolable. The Ambassadors meeting the King neere vnto the Mountaine of *Perithenia*, deliuered their charge. Who being heard, *Philip* aduised them to returne speedily, and to aduertise the Governours that hee would soone returne with his Army to *Tegea*, and that they should presently send the chiefe of their Citie to *Corinthe*, to conferre of their present affaires.

By this meanes the Ambassadors being returned, and hauing acquainted them with *Philips* answer, the Governours sent him tenne of the chiefe of the Citie, among the which *Omiu* was the first, who comming to *Tegea*, and entering into the Kings priuie Councell, they vsed disgracefull speeches of *Adimant* and his confederates: as if he had bin the cause of this Mutinie. Finally, they omitted nothing, which they thought fit to purchase the Kings loue, promising to doe any thing, whereby it should appeare plainly, that they continued constant in the Kings alliance and friendship.

Hauing deliuered these things, the *Lacedemonians* went out of the Councell. The *Macedonians* were of diuers opinions concerning these affaires: for some being aduertised of the Enterprizes, which the *Spartans* made with the *Etolians*, being also of opinion, that *Adimant* had bene slaine for the loue he bare vnto the *Macedonians*, beganne to counsell the King, to make the *Lacedemonians* an example to others, as *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, when he came to be King. The other Senators said, that this kinde of punishment was more rigorous then their deedes deserved, and that they should onely let the offenders know their offence, and deprive them of the government of the Common-weale, and giue it to his friends. All which being heard, the King deliuered his opinion, (if it be credible that it was his owne) for it is not likely that a young man who had scarce attained the age of seauenteene yeares, could giue iudgement in so great affaires. But it becomes a Historiographer to attribute the resolution taken in Councell to Princes, by whose will all things are gouerned. So they which read or heare this History, must conceiue that these kinde of sentences proceede from those which are the wisest, and neerest vnto Princes: as if they should attribute this to *Arate*, who at that time was in great authority with the King.

Philips wife and brother.

Philip therefore said, that if the Allies attempted any thing in particular among themselves, it did not concerne him, but onely to warne them

them by words or letters: But if they offended their Allies openly, they must receiue a publique punishment, and that the *Lacedemonians* had not infringed the common alliance in any thing, but contrariwise had offred to doe all things for the *Macedonians*: and that moreover hee must not study to intreate them worse, considering that it were against reason, to take reuenge on those for a light cause, who being Enemies his Father had pardoned. The Kings Sentence being confirmed, *Petrens* a Friend to *Philip*, was presently appointed to goe to *Lacedemon* with the Embassie, hauing charge to aduise the *Spartans* to liue in Friendship, and to take an Oath for the preservation of their Faith and League.

In the meane time *Philip* razeth his Campe, and returnes to *Corinthe*, leauing a great hope in the Allies of his good disposition, hauing vsed the *Lacedemonians* so graciously. And hauing found the Ambassadors of the Allies at *Corinthe*, who were assembled there by his command, they began to hold a Councell for the common affaires of *Greece*, where as all with one voice, had the actions of the *Etolians* in execration. The *Beociens* charged them that in the time of peace they had spoyled *Minerva's* Temple: and the *Phoenes* that hauing planted their Campe neere vnto *Amyrse* and *Daulia*, they had a resolution to take them. The *Epirotes* shewed that they had put all their Countrey to fire and sword: the *Acarnanians* that they had attempted to take a very rich Towne in the Night by *Scaladoc*. Finally, the *Acheins* propounded, that they had taken *Caria* belonging to *Megalopolis*: That they had ouer-run and spoyled the Bounds of *Patras* and *Phare*, and put *Cynethe* to fire and sword, and then razed it: And moreover, had spoyled *Diana's* Temple at *Lusea*, and besieged the *Clitoriens*: and that finally they had made Warre at Sea to *Pyle*, and at Land to *Megalopolis*, ioyning with the *Sclanoniens*.

Complaints of diuers people against the *Etolians*.

The Councell of the Allies hearing these things, all with one consent concluded to make Warre against the *Etolians*. It was resolved in Councell, that all they should bee receiued into the league, whose Townes or Provinces had bene taken by the *Etolians* after the death of *Demetrius*, who was Father to *Philip*. And that moreover they which through the necessity of the time had bene forced to make an alliance with the *Etolians*, should be restored to their former liberty, and it should bee lawfull for them to liue according to the Lawes and customes of their owne Countries. Finally, they ordained that the *Amphicliens* should bee restored to their Lawes, and haue the superintendency of the Temple, which at that time the *Etolians* held, who had made themselves Lords. When as these things had bene thus resolved, the first yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade, suddenly the Warre of the Allies was kindled, which tooke its iust beginning from the outrages done by the *Etolians*, whereof we haue spoken. They that were in the assembly, sent presently to the Allies, to aduertise them, that according vnto that which had bene ordained, euery one for his part should make Warre against the *Etolians*. Moreover, *Philip* writes vnto the *Etolians*, that if they

Warre concluded against the *Etolians*.

The *Amphicliens* ou.

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would

would answer any thing to that they were charged, they should send vnto him: And that they were mad with folly, if spoiling and ruining all the World without any open Warre, they which were vniustly wronged, would not seeke reuenge: and that in doing so, they would be held to begin the Warre. The *Etolians* hauing receiued these Letters, making no stay for the Kings comming, appointed a day to goe to *Rhie*, to meete the King. But when as they were aduertised of that which had bene concluded in the assembly, they sent a Post vnto the King, to let him vnderstand that they could not resolue any thing concerning the affaires of the Common-weale, before the *Etolians* had called an assembly.

The *Acheins* hauing held their Diet at *Egia* according to their custome, they confirmed the resolution: and presently signified Warre to the *Etolians*. In the meane time *Philip* comming to *Egia*, vsed a gracious and friendly Speech vnto them, the *Acheins* embraced his words with great affection, renewing that ancient Friendship which they had held with his Predecessours. At that time the day of the Election was come, and the *Etolians* had made choice of *Scope* for their Capitaine, who had bene the first Author of the former alterations. Wherevpon I know not what to say: for a warre managed by a common consent, a spoile committed by souldiers vpon all their neighbours, not to punish such crimes; to aduance and honour the Capitaines, and Heads of such actions, seemes to mee an absolute villany. For how can wee otherwise call this kind of Malice? That which I say, is manifest herein. When as *Phœbidius* had violated the *Cadmean* league, the *Lacedemonians* punished the Authour of the crime, yet they did not withdraw their Garrisons: as on the other side, it is fit to make satisfaction for the vniust wrongs committed. The *Thebains* did otherwise: For when as by a publique edict, they had restored the Townes to their liberty, and to their owne Lawes, according to the *Antalcidean* peace, yet they did not deprive the Magistrates. And when as hauing a league with the *Mantineians*, they had ruined them, they laid they had done them no wrong, for that they had transported them from one Towne into many. Hee is simple, and accompanied with Malice, who shutting his owne eyes, thinks he is not seene. Beleeue me, Envy hath bene a great occasion of the mischief of these two Citties: the which no man of iudgement should follow in his priuate or publique affaires. But when as *Philip* had receiued money from the *Acheins*, hee retired into *Macedony* with his Army, to leuie men, and to make necessary preparations for the Warre. Finally, hee left a great hope of Clemency, not onely in the Allies, but throughout all *Greece*, for the conclusion which was generally confirmed.

These things were done at such time as *Hannibal* chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, beleaged *Sagunt* after that he had conquered all beyond the River of *Ebro*. If then the beginning of *Hannibals* actions fall out at the same time with those of *Greece*, it is apparent that we have not vnaduidedly related his valour in the last Booke: considering that wee follow the order of time. And for that the Affaires of *Italy*, *Greece*, and

Scope chosen
Head of the
Etolians.

Phœbidius.

Envy the cause
of great mis-
chiefe.

Asia, had their proper beginnings, and their common ends, it hath bene necessary to make a particular relation of either of them, vntill wee come vnto the time: when the said affaires being intermixt together, haue begun to draw vnto the same end. By this means the relation of euery part is more manifest, and the vinting of all more plaine. You must vnderstand, that they were intermixt and turned to the same end, in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. Wherefore we will relate in common that which followed. As for that which was before this time, we haue deliuered it in particular, euery thing in its place in the last Booke: to the end that the time should not only follow, but there should be an vnion of all things.

Philip wintering in *Macedony*, made a new leuie of men; and necessary prouisions for the Warre: he fortified the Townes against the attempt of the *Barbarians*, which dwelt about *Sparta*. Afterwards he went to *Scerdilaide*, with whom hee made a league, promising him aide and succours to pacifie the affaires of *Sclauonia*: and in blaming the *Etolians*, he perswaded him to what he would: For a priuate injury doth not differ from a publique, but by the number and greatnesse of things which happen. It is also an ordinary thing that the alliance of wicked men is easily broken, if Equity and Iustice bee not obserued. The which happened at that time to the *Etolians*. You must vnderstand, that when as they had compounded with *Scerdilaide*, that the Booty should bee equally diuided, if hee would fall vpon the *Acheins* with them; who giuing credit to their words, marcht with them to *Cynetbe*, where after the taking and razing thereof, the *Etolians* carried away great store of Gold, and a great number of Cattell, diuiding the Booty among themselves, whereof they did frustrate *Scerdilaide*. Wherefore he grew into choller and indignation: and when as *Philip* put him in minde thereof, hee suddenly confirmed the alliance vnder these Conditions: that he should haue twelue thousand Crowns yearly, and should faile with thirty ships, making Warre by Sea against the *Etolians*. Behold the things with such like which *Philip* contriued. In the meane time the Embassadors sent vnto the Allies arrived, first in *Acarnania*: whereas letting them vnderstand what they were enioyned, they presently and freely confirme what had bene decreed, and make Warre against the *Etolians*: although they had bene to bee pardoned, if they had forborne longer then the rest: considering that for their neighbourhood, they seemed to haue iust cause of feare, and that they had formerly had experience of what consequence the hatred of the *Etolians* was vnto them, and for that they alone might be ruined. It is true, and I am of opinion, that honest men, and such as respect their honour, should hold nothing more deare, then to giue order that their duty may in no sort be forgotten: the which the *Acarnanians* haue alwayes obserued about all the *Grecians*, although they had but a small beginning: whereby it follows, that no man should forbear to make this people a Companion in his affaires: for they haue naturally something in them that is generous and noble, and desirous of liberty. The *Epirians* on the other side, after

The difference
betwixt a pri-
uate and pub-
lique injury.

The common
dation of the
Acarnanians.

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they

they had heard what the Embassadours had in charge, they allowed of the resolution: Yet they made answer, that they would not make War against the *Etolians*, before they were aduertised that *Philip* had begun it. And afterwards they made answer to an Embassie of the *Etolians*, that they had decreed to maintaine peace with them, shewing themselves in such affaires fearefull and inconstant. For they sent Embassadours vnto King *Ptolomy*, to intreate him not to furnish the *Etolians* against *Philip* and his Allies, with money, victuals, or any other succours.

But the *Messenians* (for whose cause this Warre was kindled) answered the Embassadours, that they would not make Warre against the *Etolians*, before they had recovered (by the meanes of their Allies) the Towne of *Phigalea*, situated in the Mountaines, which then the *Etolians* detained from them vniufully. Which aduice was given by *Oenes* and *Nicippus*, Gouvernours of the Towne, with the consent of some of the principall, notwithstanding that the Commons opposed. Wherein I conceiue they vnderstood not their Duty, nor the profit of their Common-wealth. I am of opinion that we should sit and auoide Warre, but not in such sort, that wee should choose to endure, and suffer all things rather then to enter into it. But why should wee commend an equality in a Common-wealth, or Faith, or the name of liberty which is so pleasing, if there were any thing to be preferred to peace? I doe not commend the *Thebians*, who in the time of the Warre of *Media*, made choice of it for feare, to free themselves from the common calamity and danger of all *Greece*, whereby they were after ruined. Neither am I of the opinion of *Pindarus*, who in his Poesies exhorts the Burgeses, that in neglecting all other things, they should onely seeke for peace and rest: and hauing sought for peace, hee defines it to be the end of rest and a cleare light. But when as hee thought to haue spoken with great perswasions, soone after hee deliuered a sentence, the most scandalous and incommodious thing in the World. It is true that peace is a most excellent thing, if it be iust and honest. Yet wee may not doe an vnreasonable act, nor suffer an infamy to enioy it. It is certaine that the Gouvernours and chiefe men of *Messene*, hauing a regard to their private profits, were much inclined to peace, which was not reasonable. Wherefore as often the times were propitious vnto them, according to their desires, and sometime dangerous, they fell continually into the same inconuenience: so as alwayes hauing the same resolution to keepe the peace, they many times brought their Countrey into great danger. Whereof I conceiue the cause was, for that they were Neighbours to two principall Cities of *Greece*, that is to say, the *Arcadians*, to whom they had bene alwayes Allies and Friends, and the *Lacedemonians*, to whom they had bene continuall Enemies, yet they did not openly carry themselves as Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, or Friends to the *Arcadians*: By this meanes they liued in peace, when as the said Cities made war betwixt themselves, or with other. But when as the *Lacedemonians* (after they had made a peace with their other enemies) ran vpon them, they

Answers to
Embassadours.

The blame of
the *Etolians*.

The *Messenians*
always friends
to the *Arcadi-
ans*, and En-
emies to the *Lac-
edemonians*.

they were forced to serue them with ignominy: or abandon the Countrey with their Wiues and Children, to auoide seruitude. Considering that they were not able with their owne forces to resist the power of the *Lacedemonians*, nor to defend themselves with the helpe and succor of the *Arcadians*, whose Friendship they were not able to keepe. The which hath often happened vnto them of late yeares. I pray vnto God if it bee his will, that the estate wherein the affaires of *Messene* now stands, may be such, as that which wee haue to say, may not take place. Yet if there happen any alteration, I see but one hope for the *Messenians* and *Megalopolitans*, to preserve and defend their Countrey, if following the sentence of *Epaminondas*, they liue alwayes well vnitd, and gouerne their Councils and Affaires with one consent, whereof they haue ancient testimonies of the truth. The *Messenians* as *Calistines* doth report, erected a Pillar in the Temple of *Iupiter of Lyce*, in the time of *Aristomenes*, on the which these Verses were ingrauen.

Time on a wicked King hath vengeance shewne,
The Traytour to the *Messaine* state Ioue hath made knowne:
Nor could hee punne the most reuengefull fate
Of Ioue, who fauours the *Arcadian* state.

You must vnderstand that for as much as they had bene chased from their Countrey, they wrote these Verses, as meaning to pray vnto the Gods for their second Countrey. For the which in my conceit they had good reason. For the *Arcadians* not onely receiued them into their City, during the Warre of *Aristomenes*, being banished and chased away, making them Burgeses, and assisting them with Councell and Wealth: But they also suffered them to marry their Daughters vnto their Sonnes. Moreover, hauing examined the Treason of King *Aristocrates*, they not onely put him cruelly to death, but punished all the Race proceeding from so wicked a stocke. But leauing the times past, let vs come to things of a fresher Date, and are happened since this alliance betwixt the two Citties, which gaue sufficient testimony of that which we haue spoken.

You must vnderstand that at what time the *Lacedemonians* began (after that great Victory which the *Grecians* had neere vnto *Mantineia* by the death of *Epaminondas*) to enter into hope to make the *Messenians* subiect, not comprehending them in the accord, the *Megalopolitans* and all the Citties of the league tooke these things so to heart for the *Messenians*, as presently they receiued them into their Alliance, and excluded the *Lacedemonians* alone of all the *Grecians*. Matters standing in this estate, who will not thinke but wee had reason to say that which wee haue formerly spoken? Wee haue continued this discourse of the *Arcadians* and *Messenians* at length, to the end that remembreing the outrages which the *Lacedemonians* had many times done them, they should continue alwayes true and constant in their Faith and Friendship: and that for no feare of

their affaires, nor for any desire of peace, they should neuer abandon one another when it concerns their safety. But let vs retorne now to the discourse where we left.

The *Lacedemonians* according to their manner of living, sent backe the Embassadors of the league without any answer: they were so iostish and over-weening. Wherefore I hold that to be true, which is commonly spoken, that over-weening doth many times make men mad, and drawes them to ruine. After all these things, when as the new Magistrates were created, they which in the beginning made that sedition in the Common-wealth, and were the cause of the Murthers before mentioned, sent to the *Etolians*, requiring them to send an Embassie. The which when they had easily obtained, and that *Machate* Embassador for the *Etolians*, was come to *Lacedemon*, they goe presently to the Governours of the City, telling them, that they must assemble the people to heare this Embassie, and to create according to the custome of the Countrey: and that they must no longer suffer the Empire of the *Heracids* to be lost, contrary to the Lawes of the City. And although the Governours were discontented to see the present estate of their affaires, yet not able to resist their force, fearing also the young men, they made answer, that as for Kings they would aduise of it afterwards, and presently they would assemble the people to heare *Machate*.

The assembly being made, they caused *Machate* to enter, who began to perswade them to imbrace the alliance of the *Etolians*: blaming the *Macedonians* much without reason, and speaking many false things in praise of the *Etolians*. Having ended his speech, there was a long debate among the people, and their opinions were diuers: for some held it fit to follow the *Etolien* party, and to embrace their alliance: others were of a contrary opinion, insisting that they should preferue the Friendship of the *Macedonians*. Finally, after that some Senators were risen, and had put them in minde of the benefits of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and of the losse they had in the time of *Carixenes* and *Timee*, when as the *Etolians* entred the *Spartans* Countrey, and put all to fire and sword, attempting to surprize the Towne, restoring the banished men by force and policy, they caused many to change their opinion: and in the end the people were perswaded to entertaine their Friendship with *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. Matters thus decided, *Machate* retournes into *Etolia*, hauing effected nothing of that for which hee came. The Heads of this Mutiny, whereof wee haue spoken, being discontented herewith, began to plot a most cruell Enterprize.

Soone after the Youth were to assemble in Armes, to performe a Sacrifice which was done yearly, after the manner of the Countrey in *Pallas* Temple, where the Governours of the City had the authority, and continued some dayes in the Temple. Wherefore they corrupted some of the Yong men which should be there in Armes with gifts: who at a time appointed amongst them, seeing the Governours busie at the Sacrifices, should assaile them suddainly, and kill them like Sheepe: And

although

Machate sent
Embassador
from the *Eto-
lians* to the *La-
cedemonians*.

Carixenes
Timee.

although they were in the Temple, the which the *Lacedemonians* honoured as a Sanctuary, and where all malefactors, (although they were condemned to dye) were in safety, yet the insolence of men was growne to so great a cruelty, as they slew all the Magistrates before the Altars, and on the Tables of the Goddesse. The like they did afterwards to the Senators, which had followed the opinion of *Herides*. Finally, after they had chased out of their Citie those that were opposite to the *Etolians*, they created new Magistrates of their owne faction: making a league with the *Etolians*. By this meanes they declared themselves at one instant Enemies to the *Acheins*, and vnthankfull to the *Macedonians*. They had a great hope in the loue of *Cleomenes*, whose comming they expected with great affection. Beleue mee, the mildnesse and courtisie of Princes hath so great power, as it leaues in the hearts of men, not onely by their presence, but also by their absence, a generall zeale of loue and good will towards them.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing the Government of their Common-wealth, almost for the space of three yeares, after that *Cleomenes* had beene chased away, they neuer thought of chusing a King: But when they had newes of his death, they had an humour to chuse one: whereof the first Authors of this practise, were the heads of the sedition, who had made the league with the *Etolians*. Wherefore they elected (according to their lawes and customes) for one of their Kings, one named *Agisipoles*, being yet very young, the sonne of *Agisipoles*, who was sonne to *Cleombrotus*. It happened that he reigned at such time, as *Leonides* was deposed from the Magistracie: for that hee was the neerest of that race. And they gaue him for Tutor *Cleomenes*, the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, and brother to *Agisipoles*. And although that *Archidamus* had two sonnes by the daughter of *Hippomedon*, who was sonne to *Endemides*: and *Hippomedon* liuing still, who was sonne to *Agislaus*, and Nephew to *Endemides*: and that there were many others of the same blood, yet they made choise for their King, (making no account of the rest nor of their race) of *Licurgus*, who was of another house, and had no expectance to raigne. In truth it was said, that he was of the race of *Hercules*, and created King of *Sparta*, ingiuing to euery one of the Magistrats fixe hundred Crownes.

Thus you see that all wicked things haue alwayes beene set to faile. But it was not long but the heads of this crime suffered the punishment of their folly and over-weening. *Machate* aduertised of that which had bene done at *Lacedemon*, retournes againe to *Sparta*, and perswades the Kings and Magistrates to make warre against the *Acheins*, laying that by this meanes, the ambition of those *Lacedemonians* which held the contrary party, and fled the alliance of the *Etolians*, might be easily suppressed. When as the Kings and Magistrates were perswaded by his words, he returned into *Etolia*, hauing done what he desired by the folly of the *Lacedemonians*. Afterwards *Licurgus* leuying mercenary men, and assembling the people of the Citie, enters into the limits of the *Argiues*: whom he assailes vnprovided, expecting no such vllage from the *Lacedemonians*: And suddainly takes *Polychne*, *Parise*, *Leuise*, *Cyphis*, Townestaken in *Argos* by *Licurgus*.

The murder
of the *Lacede-
monian* Gouver-
nours by the
young men,

A league made
betweene the
Lacedemonians
and *Etolians*.

The power of
clemencie in
Princes,

Licurgus chos-
ten King.

Machate pers-
uades in his
enterprize.

Townestaken
in *Argos* by *Licurgus*
and *Licurgus*.

and some other of their Burroughes, putting all the Countrey to fire and sword. These things being done, the *Lacedemonians* declared warre against the *Acheins*. And in the meane time *Machseus* went to the other neighbour Townes, perswading them as he had done the *Lacedemonians*. By this means the *Etolians* (to whom all things succeeded happily) vnderooke the warre boldly. Contrariwise, all things were auerfe to the *Acheins*. For King *Philip* (in whom they chiefly relied) did but then leuie men: the *Epirotes* had not yet begun the warre with the *Etolians*, and the *Messenians* lived in peace. The *Etolians* hauing drawne vnto them the *Elenses*, and *Lacedemonians*, prest the *Acheins* of all sides. It happened that *Arate* had left the gouernment, and his sonne *Arate* was chosen chiefe of the *Acheins*, and that *Scope* was Captaine Generall of the *Etolien* Army, but he was not to stay long in it: for the *Etolians* at that time made their election, after the middelt of September, and the *Acheins* about the beginning of May.

Summer being past, when as young *Arate* had vnderaken the gouernment, all the warres in a manner had one beginning. For *Hanibal* prepared at that time for the siege of *Sagunt*: The *Romans* sent *Luctius Emilius* into *Sclauonia* against *Demetrius* of *Phare*: *Antiochus* began the warre in *Syria*, by the means of *Ptolomais* and *Antyrus*, which were deliuered vnto him in trefaon by *Theodotus*: and *Ptolomy* against *Antiochus*. *Licurgus* to follow *Cleomenes*, besieged *Athene*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains*. The *Acheins* leuied both Horse and Foote. *Philip* parted from *Macedon* with his Army, hauing about tenne thousand Legimaries, and fise thousand men arm'd with Targets, and about eight hundred Horse. This was the preparation for warre at that time. The *Rhodiens* made warre at the same time against the *Constantinopolitains* for some such causes. The *Constantinopolitains* inhabit a City strong by scituation, and wonderfull commodious to finde all things that may giue content vnto man: For it is so well seated vpon the Gulfe of *Pontus*, as no Merchant can enter nor goe forth, but at the mercy of *Constantinople*. And as the Pontique Sea, brings any things necessary for man, the *Constantinopolitains* are the Masters: for the Countreies thereabouts supplies them with great abundance of Leather for their common vse, and a great multitude of Stags, and they send to vs honey for daintinesse, wax, fiesh salted, and such like things: They draw also from vs other things which abound in our Countreies, as Oyles, and all sorts of Wines: Sometimes they furnish Wheat, and we doe the like to them.

These are the things whereof the *Grecians* make vse, or else the vent would bee vnpofitable vnto them; whereas the *Constantinopolitains* should shew themselves malicious in allying themselves to the *Gauls*, or to any other barbarous Neighbours: So as the *Grecians* should be forced to abandon the Pontique Sea, for the straightnesse of the places, and the multitude of *Barbarians*. Wherefore the *Constantinopolitains* haue great commodities by reason of their scituation, transporting those things whereof they abound, and drawing vnto them what they want without any paine or danger. They are also very profitable to the other Cities of *Greece*. And therefore the *Grecians* did honour and esteeme

Philip's Army.

The scituation of Constantinople.

esteeme them worthy, to whom they not onely giue thanks, but they are bound to giue them Succours against the *Barbarians*, as doing good to all men. We haue thought good to shew the cause, why this Citie is so happy: for that there are many which know not the nature and property of the place: and it hath bene, alwayes our desire, that such things might come to the knowledge of many: and that if it might be, they might be visible to the eye, if not, yet at the least as much as should be possible, they might be comprehended in the vnderstanding.

The Sea then which they call Pontique, hath in circuit two and twenty thousand furlongs, or thereabouts, hauing two mouthes opposite one to the other: whereof the one comes from *Propontis*, and the other from the blacke Sea, the which hath in circuit eight thousand furlongs. But for that diuers great Rivers fall from *Asia* into it, and more out of *Europe*, it sometimes flowes into the Pontique Sea by its mouth, and from thence into *Propontis*. The Mouth of the blacke Sea is called *Bosphorus Cimeriques*, and is thirty furlongs broad, and threescore in length.

The circuit of the Pontique Sea.

Bosphorus Cimeriques.

As for the mouth of the Pontique Sea, it is called the streight of *Constantinople*, whose length is not in euery place equall: for from the *Propontis* the space betwixt *Chalcedon*, and *Constantinople*, containes foure teene furlongs, and from the Pontique Sea, the which they call *Fannus*, situated in *Asia* (whereas *Iafon* first as they sacrificed to the twelue Gods, returning from *Cholchois*) is distant from *Europe* tenne furlongs. Moreouer, they deliuer two reasons, why the blacke Sea and the Pontique runne continually: whereof the one is well knowne, for that the water encreaseth by the multitude of Riuer which fall continually into it, and hauing no other means to voide it, it must of necessity encrease, so as it is forced to passe away by its mouth. The other is, that the bottom is fill'd with abundance of sand, which the Riuer bring continually into it: so as the water is forced to swell, and so to passe away. These are the true causes of their course, which neede not the relation of Merchants to purchase credit, but onely of naturall reason, which is the truest testimony that can be found.

Two causes why the black Sea and the Pontique run continually.

But seeing wee are fallen vpon this discourse, wee must not omit any thing, (as many Historiographers doe) to seeke out the secrets of Nature: and wee must vse (as much as possibly wee may) a demonstrative relation, to the end wee may leaue nothing in doubt to those which desire to vnderstand. Neither were it fitting in these times, (when as all things haue bene discouered) to seeke the testimony of Poets or fabulous Writers in doubtfull things: the which former Historiographers haue done.

By this means, as *Heraclides* saith, they haue not propounded testimonies worthy of credit, in doubtfull things, and which are in debate. Wee therefore say that the Pontique Sea fills it selfe continually with sand, which the Riuer bring into it, and that in time it will be made euen with the land. The like we say of the blacke Sea, so as the scituation of places continue as wee see them at this day, and that the causes of the sand which fall continually into it cease not. For seeing the time

is

is infinite, and the bottomes whereof wee speake are enclosed with certaine limits, it is manifest, that by a long succession of time, they would be fill'd vp by the descent of that which falls into them, bee it neuer so little, so as it continues. And for that the sands which are brought into them, are of no small quantity, but in a manner infinite, it is apparent that what wee say will soone happen: and wee see it partly already, for that the blacke Sea is in a manner fill'd vp: for, the greatest depth hath not aboue five fathome, or seauen at the most, wherefore they cannot saile without great Ships, vnlesse the Marriners towne them off by their Masts. And although in the beginning the blacke Sea was like vnto the Pontique in taste, as the Ancients confesse, Yet it is now a very sweete Marsh: for that the sea hath bene surmounted by abundance of sands, and the many sweete Riuer which fall into it. The like will happen to the Pontique, and begins already: But it cannot be so easily discovered by reason of the great depth. And yet if we shall obserue it well, we shall finde it euidet: for there are made within it by the substance (which by the descent is carryed, for that the *Danowe* enters by many mouthes) hills which the Marriners call Shelves, a daies journey from the shore: where many times in the night they suffer Shipwrecke.

The *Danowe*.
The shelves in
the Sea.

Behold the cause why these Shelves are rather made farre within the Sea, then neere the shore: for the greater force the Riuer hath in their course, driving the waues into the sea, it is necessary that the sand and other substance should be carried farre into it: And whereas the violence of the Riuer ceaseth by reason of the depth of the Sea, rather then by a naturall reason, all the sands sinke and findes a bottome where it staves. Wherefore it happens that the shelves of swiftest Riuer are found farthest into the Sea, and their depth neere vnto the shore: where as they which haue a slow course, are not farre from the mouth. Finally, wee must not wonder at the great quantity of wood, stone, and sand, which is carried into the Pontique Sea: for that many times wee see a torrent or land flood ouerflowe a great Countrey in a short time, carrying away earth and stone. So as it sometimes happens, there is such an alteration made of a great Countrey, as in seeing it soone after, we doe scarce know it. Wherefore wee must not wonder, if so many and such great Riuer fall continually into the Pontique Sea, in the end fill it vp: for this is not onely likely, but also necessary, if wee will diligently examine the reason, the likelihood it should proue so, is great, for as much as the Pontique Sea differs from ours, for that the blacke Sea is sweeter. Wherefore it followes, that when as the Pontique Sea hath pass as much more time as the blacke, for that it is of a greater depth, it will be sweeter and moorish like vnto it: and the sooner, for that there are more Riuer, and greater fallen into it. Wee haue spoken these things for those which thinke that the Pontique Sea cannot bee fill'd vp, nor become moorish, being now a full Sea. Wee haue likewise done it, for that Saylors report such variety of lyes, to the end that like children we should not alwayes giue credit vnto them, for that wee haue not visited the places: and that hauing some knowledge of the truth,

trueth, we may discover whether that which they relate be true or false. But let vs returne to the commodity of the situation of *Constantinople*, as the length of the Sea, which ioynes the Pontique, and the *Propontis* hath fixe score furlongs, and that *Funum* limits the part which is from the Pontique Sea, and *Constantinople*.

On the other which is from the *Propontis*, there stands a Temple betwixt both, which they call the refuge of *Europe*, seated vpon a Promontory on the mouth of the Pontique Sea, and is distant from *Asia* five furlongs. It is situated vpon the greatest streight of the Sea, where as King *Darius* made a Bridge as they report, at such time as hee made a descent against the *Syrians*. From the Pontique Sea vnto this place the Waues runne equally, for that the shores of either side are of one distance. But when it comes to the refuge of *Europe*, where (as we haue said) the Sea is narrowest, the Water of the Pontique Sea beats violently vpon the opposite Country, and those places of *Asia* which are right against it: Then it doubles its course, against the Promontory of *Europe* neere vnto the Altars; and then it falls into the Country which the inhabitants call *Oxe*. This stands in *Asia* whereas *Io* (hauing past the Sea first) staied, as fables report. Yet in the end it takes its course to *Constantinople*, hauing bin beaten backe by the *Oxe*. Whereas dispersing it selfe about the City, it partly diuides it selfe, and seperates that place which they call the Horne; and on the other side it flowes againe in its owne course. Yet this violence cannot passe into that Country which is right against it, where *Calcedon* stands: For whereas it makes so many turnings here and there, and that the Gulfe is of no small breadth, it failes in a manner in this place, passing to the opposite part, not in a direct Line but bending: So as leauing *Calcedon*, it takes its course by the Gulfe. This drawes so many Commodities to the *Constantinopolitains*, and the contrary to the *Calcedonians*. And although it be apparent that the situation of these two Cities are equally commodious, yet the passage is difficult for those which will saile to *Calcedon*. Contrariwise they are carried to *Constantinople* by the violence of the Waues: So as it seemes that they which will goe from *Calcedon* to *Constantinople*, cannot Saile directly thither by reason of the Violent course of the streame: And therefore they recovered the *Oxe*, and the Towne which they call *Chrysopolis*, from whence they are afterwards Transported by force vnto *Constantinople*.

The refuge of
Europe.

The Country
of the *Oxe*.

Finally the *Constantinopolitains* haue a good commodity to Saile any way, whither they bend to *Helleponte* with a Southerly Winde, or else from the Pontique Sea to *Helleponte*. You must vnderstand that the direct and common course from *Constantinople* to the streights of the *Propontis*, is by *Abydos* and *Sestos*; and in like manner from the streights to *Constantinople*. But it fales out otherwise with the *Calcedonians*, for the reasons which we haue mentioned, and for the distance of the Region of the *Cyziceneins*; for it is a difficult thing for them which Saile from *Helleponte* to *Calcedon*, to keepe the Coast of *Europe*, and in approaching the Country neere vnto *Constantinople*, to turne vnto *Calcedon*.

The commodities of *Constantinople* by the Sea of *Abydos* and *Sestos*.

cedon, for the violent course of the streame. And againe, it is impossible to Saile from thence into *Thrace*, as well for the violence of the Waues, which go crosse, as the contrariety of the Windes, for a Southerly winde is good for those which enter into the Pontique Sea, and the contrary for such as go forth; and these two winds only serue to go in, and come out. These are the things whereby the *Constantinopolitains* draw such great commodities from the Sea.

The continuall
Warre of the
*Constantinopoli-
tains* with the
Thracians.

New we will shew the discommodities which the City is to suffer by reason of the firme Land. *Thrace* enuiros the Country of *Constantinople* in such sort, as it imbraceth it from Sea to Sea. So as they are in perpetuall Warre with the *Thracians*: For although they get a Battaille or two against this cruell and barbarous Nation, yet they cannot quench the Wars, the multitude of people and Princes is so great: For that after they haue gotten Victory ouer one, there doth suddainly arise three other mighty Princes, who ouer-runne the Country for spoile: Neither can they doe any thing to haue an accord, or to pacifie the Warre by paying of Tribute; for presently they find their Enemies multiplied. And therefore they are wasted and consumed with a continuall and cruell Warre. But what can you finde more disloyall then a neighbour enemy? Nor a Warre more dangerous then with a barbarous Nation: And with all these miseries wherewith they are oppressed by Land, they are moreover tormented with *Tantalus* paine, as the Poets feigne: For the *Barbarians* (considering that they haue a fertile Region) ouer-run the Country and spoile it, after that the Land hath bin well manured, and that the fruites which is very beautiful, and in abundance, is in Season.

The *Constantinopolitains* seeing so great a spoile of their goods, and the losse of their labour and charges, are wonderfully grieved. Yet bearing this War with the *Thracians* by a Custom, they alwaies held their auncient accord with the *Grecians*. But when as the *Gauls* beganne to be their neighbours, vnder the Conduct of King *Cementioire*, they were in great danger. You must vnderstand that the *Gauls* which

Brennus Chief
of the *Gauls*.

The *Thracians*
vanquished by
the *Gauls*.

An absolute de-
scate of the
Gauls Empire.

had made Warre vnder the leading of *Brennus*, and had escaped a great danger at *Delphos*, past not into *Asia* when as they came to *Hellestone*: But allured with the commodity of the place, they staid neere vnto *Constantinople*, whereas after they vanquished the *Thracians*, and built *Tyle* the Royall, they made Warre against them of *Constantinople*. Who at the beginning pacified their fury with presents, when as they first assailed them vnder King *Cementioire*, in giuing them sometimes thirty thousand, another time fifty thousand, and sometimes a hundred thousand Crownes, to the end they should not ouer-runne their Country. Finally, they were forced to giue them fourescore thousand Crownes yearly vntill the time of *Clyare*, at what time the *Gauls* Empire had an end, and this Nation was wholly vanquished and extinct by the *Thracians*. Their Treasure being at that time exhausted by reason of these Tributes, they sent first an Embassie into *Greece* to demand their assistance. But for that most of the *Grecians* made no account of it, they resolved to take a Tole vpon all those which should

pass

pass into the Blacke Sea. The which all the rest disliking for the novelty of the thing, they blamed the *Rhodiens* for suffering it, as being then Lords of the Sea.

A Tole imposed
vpon those
that sailed into
the Blacke Sea
by *Constantinople*.

This was the beginning and Fountaine of the Warre which wee are now to describe. The *Rhodiens* moued, as well with their owne losse as with that of their neighbours, hauing first called their Allies, sent an Embassie to *Constantinople* to abolish the Tole. VVho performing their Voyage according to their Charge, could not perswade the Commons: For that *Hecatonodore* and *Olympiodore* (who had then A the Government of the Common weale) opposed themselves: So as they returned without effect. Soone after they sent to declare VVarre vnto them for the afore-said causes. Presently after the *Rhodiens* sent Embassadors to *Prusias*, to perswade him to make Warre against the *Constantinopolitains*: for they knew well hee was offended with them for certaine causes. The *Constantinopolitains* in like manner solicited *Attalus* and *Acheus* by many Embassies, to succour them against the *Rhodiens*. It is true that *Attalus* was at liberty, but hee was much oppressed with pouerty: for that *Acheus* had forced him to retire himselfe within the liberties of his Fathers Empire. Finally *Acheus*, who teamed himselfe Lord of all the Country which lies on this side *Tauris*, and publishing himselfe for King, promised succours vnto the *Constantinopolitains*, which gaue them occasion of great hope, and terrified very much the *Rhodiens* and *Prusias*: For *Acheus* was allied vnto *Antiochus*, who reigned in *Syria*, and had attained to this Principallity by such or the like meanes.

The meanes of
Acheus raising.

After the death of *Selenus* father vnto *Antiochus*, and that his Sonne *Selenus* the eldest of the brethren, had succeeded in the Realme, *Acheus* past the Mountaine of *Tauris* with him in regard of his kindred, about two yeares before the time wherof wee now speake. For as C soone as *Selenus* was King, and hearing that *Attalus* had taken the whole Country which lies on this side Mount *Tauris*, considering that hee must giue order to his Affaires, passeth the Mountaine with a great Army: VVhere within few dayes after hee was slaine by *Apaturus* a *Gaul*, and *Nicanor*. *Acheus* resolving to reuenge the death of his kinsman, kills them presently. And then he gouernes the Army and all other affaires with great VVisedome and Courage. For when as the opportunity of the time, and the generall consent of all the Souldiers, perswaded him to take the Crowne; yet hee would not doe it, but kept the Realme for the younger Brother *Antiochus*: and gouerning all other matters carefull, he resolved to subdue the whole Country which is on this side *Tauris*. But when as all things had succeeded happily, and that in the end he had left nothing but *Pergamus* to *Attalus*, hee presently changed his minde, and caused himselfe to be called their King, being growne proud with the Victories which hee had obtained contrary vnto his Hope. So as it fell out that his name was more feared, by the Inhabitants on this side *Tauris*, then of any other King or Prince.

Acheus caused
himselfe to be
called King.

Wherat the *Constantinopolitains* being moued, they made no difficulty

Cc

to

to vnder-take a Warre against the *Rhodiens* and *Prusias*: Who accused them, that when they had promised to set vp his Images, yet they afterwards forgot it thorough negligence: And withall, hee was much more incensed, for that they had done what possibly they could to pacifie the Warre which was kindled betwixt *Achews* and *Attalus*: For that euery man knew that their peace was dangerous to him for many Reasons. Finally, hee objected against them, that whereas they had sent an Embassie to *Attalus*, at the Games which he had made in the honour of *Minerva*, they had not sent any one vnto him when hee gaues thanks vnto the Gods. For which reasons (being incensed) hee willingly embraced the *Rhodiens* party against them of *Constantinople*. And therefore hee agreed with their Embassadors that they should send forth a very strong Fleete, to assaile the *Constantinopolitains* by Sea, promising likewise to inuade them by Land with no lesse forces then they should. This was the beginning, and the causes of the Warre which the *Rhodiens* made against the *Constantinopolitains*.

They also at the first entered into it with great Courage, hoping that *Achews* would succour them, according vnto his promise. They had also called *Thibete* of *Macedony*, whom they opposed against *Prusias*: to take from him the means to make VVarre against another, being much troubled for the defence of his owne. But *Prusias* parting with great rage and fury against the *Constantinopolitains*, hee presently tooke *Fanum*, a place very strong by Nature, and feared vpon the mouth of the Pontique Lea, which they of *Constantinople* had lately purchased for a great summe of money, mooued with the opportunity of the place: to the end that no man might enter or goe forth of the Pontique Sea but by their fauour. Moreouer he put all the Countrey of *Asia* (which the *Constantinopolitains* had long helde) to fire and Sword. On the other side the *Rhodiens* hauing made fixe shippes, and taken foure from their Allies, whereof they made *Xenophane* Commander, they sailed vnto *Hellesponte* with an Army of ten saile of very strong Shippes. And hauing left nine neere vnto *Seste*, for the defence of the entry into the Pontique Sea, the Commander hauing a good VVinde sailed with the tenth vnto *Constantinople* to view their Countenance: And whither at this first beginning of the VVarre they would be better aduised. But finding them ill affected, hee retired vnto his whole Army with the which hee returned to *Rhodes*.

In the meane time the *Constantinopolitains* sent Embassies, some vnto *Achews*, intreating him to hasten his Succours: Others into *Macedony* to draw downe *Thibete*, for it seemed that the Realme of *Bythinia* did as rightly belong to *Thibete* as to *Prusias*, for that hee was his Vncle. The *Rhodiens* being aduertised of the obduracy of the *Constantinopolitains* vsed Wisedome and Policy: For when they vnderstood that all their Hope was in *Achews*, whose Father *Polomey* kept in Prison at *Alexandria*, and that *Achews* leauing all other Affaires whatsoever, was carefull of his deliuerie, they thought good to send an Embassie to

Fanum taken
by *Prusias* from
the *Constantinopolitains*.

An Embassie
sent by the
Rhodiens to
Polomey.

Polomey, and to intreate him with great Affection, to deliuer vnto them the father of *Achews*: to the end that by this meanes they should make him bound vnto them. *Polomey* after he had heard the Embassadors, did not seeme very willing to deliuer *Andromochus*, hoping to make vse of him at neede: for that hee was not yet well pacified with *Antiochus*, and that *Achews* hauing leazed vpon the Realme without any contradiction, and farre extended his power: For *Andromochus* was Father vnto *Achews*, and brother to *Laodicea* Wife to *Seleucus*. Yet to please the *Rhodiens* hee deliuered him vnto them, to restore him vnto his Soane if they thought good. The *Rhodiens* by this meanes hauing done according to their owne desires, and reconciling themselves vnto *Achews* by some other meanes, they did frustrate the *Constantinopolitains* of their principall hope. There fell out also another accident which troubled them very much: For *Thibete* whom they had drawne out of *Macedony* (as we haue said) died suddainly of sickness. For which accidents the *Constantinopolitains* began to faint.

The Death of
Thibete.

Contrariwise *Prusias* hauing a greater hope of his Enterprize, parted from *Asia* to make Warre, and leuid men in *Thrace*, pressing the *Constantinopolitains* so neere, as they durst not issue or fall out of the Gates, which looked towards *Europe*. Wherefore being thus destitute of all hope, and suffering all the injuries of Warre, they sought and inuented some honest means to be freed. And therefore when as *Canare* King of the *Gauls* approached neere vnto the City, labouring by all means to pacifie this Warre, both they and *Prusias* referred themselves vnto him for all their Quarrells. Whereof the *Rhodiens* being aduertised, and desiring to bring their Resolution to a final end, they sent *Aridix*, and *Polemocle* to *Constantinople* with three Triremes, meaning (as they commonly say) to send them peace or Warre.

Canare King of
the *Gauls*.

After the coming of this Embassie vnto *Constantinople*, there was an Accord made with the *Rhodiens*, that the *Constantinopolitains* should not take Tole of any one that sail'd into the Pontique Sea. The which if they performed, the *Rhodiens* and their Allies would make a firme peace with them. And as *Prusias* they concluded and agreed vpon these Conditions: that *Prusias* and the *Constantinopolitains* should liue in Peace and Amity, and neuer hereafter make Warre one against another. And that *Prusias* should make restitution of all the Prouinces, Townes, People, and Slaues, without any recompence, in the like manner hee should doe of the Shippes, and other Booty which hee had taken from them in the beginning of the Warre. Moreouer the Carpenters VVorke, Tiles, and remainder of Houses, which hee had transported from *Fanum*, (for *Prusias* fearing the coming of *Thibete*, had razed all the Burroughes whereinto the Enemy might retire himselfe:) and that finally hee should bind himselfe with all the Souldiers of *Bythinia*, to restore vnto the Inhabitants of *Mysia*, (which are vnder the obedience of the *Constantinopolitains*) all they had taken from them.

An accord be-
twixt the con-
stantinopolitains
and the *Rho-
diens*.

An accord
made with
Prusias.

This was the beginning and ending of the Warre of *Prusias* and the *Rhodiens* against the *Constantinopolitains*. At that time the *Gnosiens* sent an Embassie to the *Rhodiens*, to draw from them three or foure well built *Tirèmes*, with the which *Polemocle* had lately made his Voyage, with three other stately Vessels of Warre, against those which lately had Revolted against them. The which being done, when as the Army arrived at *Candy*, the *Eleuterneins* doubting that some few daies before *Polemocle* had slaine *Timarche* their Burgesse to please the *Gnosiens*, made Warre against the *Rhodiens*, after they had made their complaint. A little before the *Lyciens* had so many severall

Candy in a manner reduced all under the obedience of the *Gnosiens* and *Gortiniens*. Finally all *Candy* was in Combustion. The *Gnosiens* and *Gortiniens* making Warre with one Councell and consent, reducing all the Island under their obedience, except the *Lyciens* Towne: For the taking whereof they did their utmost power and indeavours, thinking in the end to raze and ruine it quite: To the end it might serve for an Example to other Cities, to terrifie them from a Revolt: For that it alone would not receive them for their Lords. In the beginning all they of *Candy* made Warre against the *Lyciens*, but they beganne presently to fall into Discorde, vpon a very light cause: The which happens often with that Nation. So as the *Polyreneins*, the *Certeins*, the *Lampeins*, and moreover the *Horeins*, and the *Arcadians* held the *Lyciens* party, forsaking the alliance of the *Gnosiens*. The *Gortiniens* were in diuers opinions: The most aged held the *Gnosiens* party: and the young men that of the *Lyciens*. The *Gnosiens* seeing the will of their Allies thus changed, and that the Affaires went otherwise then they formerly expected, they drew a thousand men from *Etolia* by the right of Alliance. Which being done, the most aged of the *Gortiniens* seized suddenly vpon the Fort, drawing in the *Gnosiens* and *Etolians*, and deliuered them the Towne, chasing away the party of the young men, and killing some most cruelly.

The *Lyciens* had by chance at that time made a Roade into the Enemies Country, leaving no forces within the Towne, whereof the *Gnosiens* being aduertised by their Spies, they tooke it vnfortified of any forces, and sent the Women and Children to *Gnoson*. And when they had burnt and razed it with fury, they retired. The *Lyciens* returning, were so amazed when they saw all in fire and ruine, as no man durst enter into the Towne. But going about it in troupes, they lamented their Country and Fortune. From thence turning head, they returned to the *Lampeins*, who receiued them lovingly and with great affection: Who being Fugitiues and strangers, were in one day admitted Burgeses, and made Warre against the *Gnosiens* with the Allies.

Behold how *Lycia* a Collony of the *Lacedemonians*, and the most antient of *Candy*, was suddenly and miserably ruined. The *Polyreneins*, *Lampeins*, with all their other Allies, seeing the *Gnosiens* to be in League with the *Etolians*, and the *Etolians* to be enemies to *Philip* and the *Acheins*, sent an Embassie to the King and the *Acheins*, to make a League

League with them, and to draw succours from them. Who receiued them, and sent them foure hundred *Sclauoniens*, vnder the Command of *Plator*, and about a hundred *Phociens*, who at their arriuall did greatly assist the *Polyreneins* allied to the *Acheins*. For within a short time, their forces being increased, they forced the *Eleuterneins*, *Cydoniates*, *Aptereins*, and diuers others being shut vp within their Walls, to abandon the *Gnosiens* alliance, and to embrace their party. Which things being effected, the *Polyreneins* and their Allies sent five hundred *Candyots* to *Philip* and the *Acheins*. Not long before the *Gnosiens* had sent a thousand to the *Etolians*. Thus the Warre was managed for the loue one of another. The banished men among the *Gortiniens* surprized the Port of the *Phociens* and that of the *Gortiniens*, from whence they made many sallies against them of the Towne. And this was the estate of the affaires of *Candy*.

At the same time *Metbridates* made Warre against the *Synopenes*, which was in a manner the beginning and cause of his misfortune. And when as they required succours of the *Rhodiens*, they made choise of three men for this businesse: To whom there was giuen foure and twenty thousand five hundred pounds, to furnish the *Synopenes* with necessary prouision for the War. They which had this Commission, made prouision of ten thousand Goate skines fill'd with Wine, of thirty fixe thousand pound weight of Ropes made with Haire, and ten thousand made with sinewes, a thousand Armes complete, three thousand pieces of gold coyned, foure Merchants ships, with Crosse-bowes and other Engines of battery in great number. The *Synopenes* hauing receiued all this prouision, returned to *Synope*. They were in great feare least that *Metbridates* should besiege them both by Sea and Land. *Synope* is seated on the right side of the Pontique Sea, where as the Riuer of *Phasis* enters into the Sea, and likewise vpon a Cape which stretcheth farre into the Sea: The necke whereof is closed in by the Towne, which ioynes vnto *Asia*, and hath in length about two Furlongs: The rest of the Cape aduanceth it selfe into the Sea, which is a flat Countrey and the approaches very easie, and contrariwise very difficult and inaccessible, to those which come from the Sea, neyther hath it any passages. The *Synopenes* fearing that *Metbridates* should besiege the Towne, not onely on that side which ioynes to *Asia*, but likewise on the other, drawing his Army to Land, they did carefully fortifie that part which is inuironed by the Sea, leaving a good Guard there to keep the Enemy from landing: For the place is of a small Circuit, and requires no great guard. This is all which pass'd at that time in *Synope*.

King *Philip* parting with his Army from *Macedony* (for there we left our former Discourse) caused it to march by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, making hast to passe by those Regions into *Etolia*. *Alexander*, *Dorimache* resolving at the same time to take *Egirus*, hauing drawne together twelue hundred *Etolians* at *Ocanthy*, which is one of their Townes, opposite vnto that whereof wee now speake, and their shippes being ready to passe, they only attended an opportunity to put

Plator chiefe of the *Sclauoniens*.

Metbridates.

The *Rhodiens* succour the *Synopenes*.

The Situation of *Synope*.

Alexander, *Dorimache*, *Egirus*, *Ocanthy*.

their enterprize in Execution. It happened that an *Etolian* having liued long at *Egire*, and finding that the Guard at the Gate kept no good Watch by reason of their Drunkenesse, hee acquaints *Dorimache* therewith, soliciting him to take the Towne by night: he being a man accustomed vnto such Actions. *Egire* is a Towne of *Morea*, situated neere vnto the Gulfe of *Corinthe*, betwixt *Egia* and *Sieyon*, vpon a certaine Hill which is rough and difficult, drawing towards *Parnasse*, and about seauen Furlongs distant from the Sea. When the time was come, *Dorimache* having imbarqued his Army, and provided carefully for all things necessary, he came before the breake of day to a Ringer which runs neere vnto the Hill whereon the Towne stands.

From thence, he with *Alexander* and *Archidamus* the sonne of *Pantaleon*, accompanied with a great number of *Etolians*, marcht directly vnto the Towne, along the way which leads to *Egia*. The Fugitiues was gone before with twenty of their best foot-men, for the knowledge he had of the places: And had gotten the Walls by Rocks which seemed inaccessible: Where as entring the Towne by a sincke, he found the Guards a sleepe: Who being slaine, and having broken the barres of the Gate without discovery, they made way for the *Etolians*, who entred with great fury, and carried themselves simply and without discretion, which was an occasion of the *Egirates* Victory, and of their defeat and shame. For thinking that all had bene lost for the *Egirates*, they suddainly Armed, and put themselves in Battaille within the Towne, where they staid for a certaine time. But at the breake of day euery man thought of his owne priuate profit and gaine: And dispersing themselves throughout the whole Towne, they fell vpon the Burgeses houses, and rifled their goods: Finally they had no care at all but of spoile and Rapine.

The *Egirates* moued at this strange accident, some fled out of the Towne amazed with feare: whose houses the Enemies had forced, for that the *Etolians* were apparently masters of the Towne. But they who hearing the sound of the Trumpet, were gone forth with their seruants to aide and succour the City, retired vnto the Fort: Wherefore their number and force augmented continually, and the *Etolians* grew weaker: For that the *Egirates* repaired still to the Fort, and the others dispersed themselves in houses for spoile. And although that *Dorimache* saw the apparent danger: yet without any amazement, he assaults the Fort with a wonderfull Resolution, imagining that they which were retired into it, being amazed at his coming, would presently yield vnto the *Etolians*. But the *Egirates* encouraging one another defended the Fort, with incredible resolution and assurance.

By this meanes the Combat was furious of either side. But for that the Fort was not inclosed with wals, they fought man to man; and the Combat for a time was furious and equal: For that the one fought for their Country and children; and the other for their liues. But the *Etolians*

The situation
of *Egire*.

Egire surprized
by the *Etolians*.

An assault
giuen by *Dorimache*
vnto the Fort
of *Egire*.

in the end beganto flie shamefully: whom the *Egirate* (growing more courageous) pursued: so as a great part of the *Etolians* died in falling out at the Gate, oppressing one another in the throng. *Alexander* was slaine fighting valliantly. *Dorimache* struing to get forth, died in the presse. The rest were presently slaine, or kill'd themselves falling into Pits. There were few saued, who abandoned their Armes, and fled to the ships. By this meanes the *Egirates* by their incredible courage recovered their Country in a manner lost by negligence.

At the same time *Euripides*, (who had bene sent by the *Etolians* to be Chiefe of the *Eliesen*, who after he had ouer-run the Countries of the *Dimenses*, *Pharenenses* and *Tritenses*) tooke his way through the *Eliesen* Country, chasing before him a great Booty, whereof *Micchus* of *Dime* being aduertised, who by chance was at that time subrogated in the place of the Commander of the *Acheins*, and following the Enemy vpon the retreat, with the help of the *Dimenses*, *Pharenenses*, and *Tritenses*, fell vnadvisedly into their Ambushes, and was defeated with the great losse of his men: whereof there died forty Foot, and there were two hundred taken. *Euripides* glorious of this good fortune, soone after went againe to Field, and tooke a Castle from the *Dimenses*, which was of consequence, the which the people of the Country called *Mure*: and they say, that *Hercules* built it in old time, making Warre against the *Eliesen*, to vse it as a Fort, and retreat in the time of Warre.

The *Dimenses*, *Pharenenses*, and *Tritenses* hauing made this losse, and fearing for the future by the taking of the Castle by *Euripides*, they first sent Letters to the Chiefe of the *Acheins*, to aduertise them of their misfortune, and to demand succours against the *Etolians*. And afterwards they sent some of the Chiefe of their Towne in Embassie. *Ara* could not raze any mercenary Souldiers, for that during the Warre of *Elephenes*, the *Acheins* had payed them ill, and withall hee managed the affaires fearefully and without consideration. And therefore *Lycorgus* tooke *Athenes*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains*: the like *Euripides* did (besides the former prize) to *Gorgon* and *Telphusa*. The *Dimenses*, *Pharenenses*, and *Tritenses* being frustrate of the hope they had in the Chiefe of the *Acheins*, resolved among themselves not to contribute any more money, to supply the necessities of their Warre: And that they would leuie at their owne charge about three hundred Foote, and fifty Horse to defend their Country. Whereby they seemed to haue taken good order for their priuate affaires, but they had no great respect to the profit of a Comminalty: For they haue giuen a very bad example to others, to make a new enterprize vpon any occasion: whereof the blame may well be layd vpon the Commander, who by his sloth and negligence had frustrated his men of their expectance.

It is a common course, that all they which are in danger, hold that Friendship is to be entertained and kept, so long as there is any hope to draw succours from them: and when that ceaseth, then they are to provide for their owne affaires. And therefore the *Dimenses*, *Pharenenses*, and *Tritenses* are to be pardoned, for that in the extreame danger

The *Etolians*
defeated by the
Egirates.
Alexander
slaine.
Dorimache im-
barched.

Micchus de-
fected.

The Castle of
Mure taken by
Euripides.

Athenes taken
by *Lycorgus*.

of their Townes, they had leuied men, considering the negligence of the Chiefe of the *Acheins*. But whereas they would not furnish money for the common affaires of the league, that is not excusable: For as it was not fit to neglect their owne affaires, so it was a base and disgracefull thing to omit that which concerns the preferuation of a common league: seeing they wanted not Victuals according to the common conuentions: and moreover they had bene Authours of the league with the *Acheins*. And this was the estate of the affaires of *Morea*.

Philip's Army.

King Philip had past *Thessaly*, and was in *Epirus*: whereas taking a number of *Epirotes*, with the *Macedonians* he brought with him, and three hundred Slingers out of *Acheia*, with a hundred *Candists* which had bene sent by the *Messenians*, hee comes vnto the Countrey of the *Ambraclates*: whereas if hee had entred presently into the heart of *Etolia*, the Warre might haue had an end. But for that hee was solicited by the *Epirotes* to force *Ambracia* first, he gaue the *Etolians* means to resist, and provide that which was necessary for their defence. But the *Epirotes* preferring their private interest before the common profit of the Allies, hauing a great desire to make *Ambracia* subiect, perswaded Philip to besiege it, and to take it before hee past: For they conceiued that the Towne of *Ambracia* would bee very beneficiall vnto them, if they might take from the *Etolians*, and that it would easily fall into their hands. You must vnderstand that *Ambracia* is a place strong by nature, well fortified with double walles, and so enuironed with Moares and Marishes, as there is but one narrow passage by Land, made by Art. Moreover, it looks towards the Towne, and the Prouince of the *Ambraclates*. Philip at the perswasion of the *Epirotes*, plants his Campe neere vnto *Ambracia*, making prouision of that which was necessary for the Siege.

The Situation of Ambracia.

Scope makes an incursion into Macedony.

At the same time *Scope* drawing together a great number of *Etolians*, and passing thorough *Thessaly*, enters into *Macedony*, and puts all that Region to fire and sword which lies neere vnto Mount *Pieria*, and drawes towards *Die*, making a great spoile. And for that the Inhabitants of the Countrey were fled, he razed the houses, and places for Games: and not content therewith, he set fire on the Cloisters built neere vnto the Temple with great charge: moreover, he ruined whatsoever was erected there for ornament or for vse: Finally, he beate in peeces all the Images of Kings. Thus *Scope* in the beginning and first fury of the War, hauing not onely assaulted Men, but euenthe Gods themselves, returned into *Etolia*, not as a Church-robber, or execrable to the immortall Gods, but he was honoured as a man of merit, and a good seruant to the Commonwealt: and withall he gaue great hope to the *Etolians* for the time to come. For they conceiued that by this means no man durst presume to enter as an enemy into their Countrey, and contrariwise they might easily run and spoile not onely *Morea*, as they had bene accustomed, but also *Thessaly* and *Macedony*. Philip aduertised of these things which had bene done in *Macedony*, and suffering for the ignorance and couetousnesse of the *Epirotes*, held *Ambracia* besieged: whereas making vse of all Engins of Battery, he tooke

Ambracia taken by Philip.

it within forty daies, where leauing a garrison, hauing first taken the oath he satisfied the will of the *Epirotes*, to whom *Ambracia* was deliuered.

After these things he raiseth his Campe, and marcheth directly by the next valley, making haste to passe the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, the which is very narrow, neere vnto the Temple of *Acarnania*, which they call *Antia*. This Gulfe comes from the Sea of *Sicily* betwixt *Epirus* and *Acarnania*, with a very narrow entry, being scarce fixe hundred paces broad. But when as it dilates it selfe towards the Land, it is in a manner a hundred Furlongs broad, and three hundred in length, beginning at the Sea of *Sicily*. It diuides *Epirus* from *Acarnania* the one

The Gulfe of Ambracia.

lying directly towards the North, and *Acarnania* directly towards the South. Hauing past this Gulfe with his Army, and entering into *Acarnania*, he came to a Towne of *Etolia* which they call *Poesia*, leading with him two thousand Foote, and two hundred Horse of *Acarnania*. And planting his Campe about the Towne, and giuing many sharpe assaults, he tooke it the third day after his coming by composition, and left a Garrison of *Etolians* therein taking their Oath. The Night following fiftene hundred *Etolians* thinking that all things had bene safe, came to succour their fellows. The King aduertised of their coming, layed an Ambush, and slew the greatest part: The rest were taken, except some few which escaped by flight. After this hee distributed Wheat to the Souldiers for a Moneth, for hee had gotten a great quantity in this Towne. Then he marcheth to the Region of the *Stretenses*, and plants his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Acheloë*, about ten furlongs from the Towne: And from thence ouer-running the Prouince, hee puts all to fire and sword, for that no man durst shew himselfe.

Poesia taken by Composition.

Fiftene hundred Etolians defeated by Philip.

At the sametime the *Acheins* more tormented with the Warre then the rest, and aduertised that the King was not farre off, they sent an Embassie vnto him to demand succours: The Embassadors met the King at *Straton*, where acquainting him with their necessities according to their charge, they intreate him to giue them succours, and perswade him by many reasons, that in passing the *Rhie*, he should take his way thorough the Countrey of the *Elientes*. Hauing heard them, the King sent them backe, promising to consider thereon: who raising his Campe, marcht to *Metropolis* and *Conope*. Whereof the *Etolians* being aduertised, they abandoned the Towne, and retired to the Fort. When as Philip had set fire on the Towne, proceeding in his course, he drew to *Conope*. There the *Etolian* Horse-men had made a head, to encounter him at the passage of a Riuer, twenty Furlongs distant from the Towne, to stop his passage, or to fight with him if hee past.

Metropolis taken and burnt.

An assembly of the Etolians to keepe the passage of a Riuer.

Philip aduertised of their enterprize, commands those that were armed with Targets to enter the Riuer first, and that keeping close together, they should strue to passe in Barraile. Having obeyed him, the *Etolians* hauing skirmished in vaine with the first Troupe, for that it kept close together, and afterwards with the second and the third, in the end they retired to the Towne, despairing of their Enterprize. From that time the *Etolians* Army kept the Townes: but Philip ouer-running the

Isthoria very strong.

the Prouince at his pleasure, spoiled *Isthoria* it selfe. It was a place seated vpon the passage, of great strength both by Nature and Art: the which the Garrison abandoned vpon his approach. The King razed it to the ground. Finally, he ruined all, reducing vnder his obedience many Townes which were strong by situation and fortification: demolishing all the Castles, whereof there were a great number in the Countrey. Then abating his fury, he gaue leaue vnto his men to run where they pleased for their owne gaine. After which he led his Army full of wealth towards the *Eniades*, and layed Siege to *Peania*, resolving to take it by assault: The which he did after many attempts, for although the Towne were not very bigge, hauing but a thousand paces in circuit: yet it was not inferior to the rest in the strength of Walles, Towers and Houses. He razed the Walles to the ground, and ruined the Houses, commanding to carry away the Timber and Tiles to the *Eniades* by Water.

Peania taken by assault.

The *Etolians* first began to fortifie the Fort of the *Ceniades* to defend it, ramping the Walles, making of Ditches, and doing all things necessary for the fortification of a Towne. But being aduertised of *Philips* approach, they fled for feare. *Philip* taking this Towne without any resistance, led his Army into *Calydonia*, to a certaine Towne which was held very strong, called *Glaos*, the which was well ramped with Walles, and all manner of fortifications. *Astalus* had furnished the *Etolians* with munition to defend it. But the *Macedonians* taking it by force, they ouer-ran and spoiled all *Calydonia*, and then returned vnto the *Eniades*. Whereas *Philip* considering the opportunity of the place, as well for other affaires, as for his passage into *Morea*, resolved to re-paire the Walles. For the *Eniades* are *Maritime* opposite to *Acarnania* by the Sea which ioynes vnto the *Etolians*, neere vnto the mouth of the Gulfe of *Corinthe*. It is a Citty situated in *Morea*, right against the Bankes of the *Dimeens*, and neighbour to the Countrey neere vnto *Araxia*, distant onely a hundred Furlongs. Which things *Philip* considering, hee fortified the Fort apart, and ioyned vnto it the Port and Arsenall with a Wall, making vse of the materials which were brought from *Peania*.

Philip fortifies the Fort of the *Eniades*.

Whilest that *Philip* was busie about this worke, hee receiued Letters from *Macedony*, by the which they did aduertise him that the *Dardanians* doubting of his Voyage into *Morea*, made haste to leue men, and to make preparations for Warre, to fall suddenly vpon *Macedony*. After which newes resolving to succour it speedily, hee sent backe the *Acheins* Embassadors with this answer, that as soone as hee had giuen order for his affaires of *Macedony*, hee would haue nothing in so great recommendation, as to come to their aide with all his forces. After this hee returned speedily with his Army by those Countreys where hee had formerly past. And as he past the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, parting from *Acarnania* to *Epirus*, *Demetrius* of *Phare* (whom the *Romans* had chased out of *Sclanania*) met him. Whom the King (embracing him with great courtesie) caused to saile to *Corinthe*, and from thence to march into *Macedony* by *Thessaly*. Where drawing to *Epirus*, he

he presently transported himselfe into *Macedony*, to the Towne of *Pella*. But when the *Dardanians* were aduertised by some fugitiue *Thyaciens* of the Kings coming, they presently dissolved their Army, being terrified with feare, notwithstanding they were neere vnto *Macedony*. *Philip* aduertised of the retreat of the *Dardanians*, gaue leaue vnto his Souldiers to gather new Corne, and euery man to retire into his Countrey. For his part he went into *Thessaly*, and spent the rest of the Summer in *Larissa*.

The retreat of the *Dardanians* without doing any thing.

At the same time *Paulus Emilius* triumphed at *Rome*, after his returne from *Sclauonia*. *Hannibal* after the taking of *Sagunt*, had sent his Army to winter. The *Romans* aduertised of the razing of *Sagunt*, sent an Embassie to *Carthage*, demanding *Hannibal*: and made their preparations for Warre, *Publius Cornelius* and *Titus Sempronius* being then created Consuls: Of which affaires wee haue spoken in the precedent Booke. But we now make a brieue repetition, to refresh the memory: to the end that (as we haue promised) all the actions may be present to the eyes of the Readers. The first yeere of this Olympiade is past. And when as the day of the Election which the *Etolians* make, was come, they made choice of *Dorimache* for Generall of the Warre, Who being seized of the Magistracy, he drew together a great number of Souldiers, and falling vpon the high Countrey of *Epirus*, hee made a most cruell spoile: so as it seemed, hee did it rather to ruine the *Epirotes*, then for his owne profit. Then passing the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*, he let fire of the Cloisters, and ruined all its beauty: and finally, he demolished it.

Dorimache chosen Generall of the *Etolians*.

Behold how the *Etolians* cannot obserue any meane either in peace or warre, so as both in the one and the other they violate the common conseruation of men, and in a manner the Law of Nature. When as *Dorimache* had committed all these mischiefs and many greater, hee returned into his Countrey. But whilest that Winter lasted, and that euery man despaired of the coming of *Philip* by reason of the thoroughness of the time, and hardness of the Winter, the King taking three thousand men with Bucklers, and two thousand with Targets, with three hundred *Candiors*, and about foure hundred Horse, parted from *Larissa*: and taking his way by *Thessaly*, he came to *Negrepont*: and from thence passing by *Beotia* and *Megara*, in the midst of *December* he arriued at *Corinthe*, making his voyage so secretly, as no man of *Morea* discovered it: then keeping the Gates of *Corinthe* shut, and setting Watches vpon the wayes, the day following hee sent to *Sicyon* for old *Arate*. He then aduertised the Chiefe of the *Acheins* and Townes, of the time and place when they should be ready in order. These things thus ordered, he continued his voyage as he had resolved, and seated his Campe neere to *Disfore*, a Towne of *Phlissia*.

At the same time *Euripides* parting from *Psophis* accompanied with two Legions of *Eliences*, Pirats at Sea, and some voluntaries, so as all together made two thousand two hundred Foote, and about a hundred Horse, tooke his way by *Phenice* and *Symphalia*, being ignorant that

that *Philip* was in field, and desirous to spoile the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*. It fell out the Night that *Philip* camped nere vnto *Discope*, that *Euripides* passing further at the breake of day, entred into the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*, and that some *Candiors* which were with *Philip*, abandoning their Ensignes, and going to forrage met him. By whose meanes knowing that the *Macedonians* were nere, hee drew his army out of the Countrey, hoping that after he had past the Countrey of *Stymphalia*, he might easily defeat the *Macedonians* in places of aduantage. *Phillip* hauing no aduertisement, raised his Campe the next day at the Sun-rising, as he had resolu'd, to take his way vnder *A Stymphalia* towards the *Caphires*: for there he had appointed the *Acheins* to meete in Armes.

When the *Macedonian* Scouts were come to the top of the Mountaine, which the Countrey-men call *Apeare*, about ten Furlongs distant from the *Stymphalins* Towne, it happened by chance that the Scouts of the *Elieues* arrived there also. The which *Euripides* perceiving, and amazed at the disadvantage of the place and time, hee flies with some of them, and recouers *Sophia* by Groues which lay disperced. The rest of the *Elieues* Troupe being amazed, as well for that they were abandoned by their Commander, as for the newnesse of the accident, were for a time in suspence what they had to doe. But conceiuing afterwards that they were *Megalopolitains*, to see the manner of their Harnesse (for the *Macedonians* carried Helmets) they marcht in Battaille, keeping good order for a time without any despair. But when the *Macedonians* began to approach, (knowing then the truth) they abandoned their Armes, and fled. There were about twelue hundred taken aliuie by the Enemy: the rest were slaine, some by the *Macedonians* like Sheepe, others falling downe the Rocks, so as there escaped not a hundred. *Philip* continued his course, and sent the spoiles and Prisoners to *Corinthe*. This seemed very strange to them of *Morea*, to whom the newes of the Victory, and of *Philip's* arrivall came at one instant.

When the King had past by *Arcadia*, hauing suffred much vpon the way by Snow, and the difficulty of the Countrey, hee arrived at mid-night at *Caphies* on the third day. Where after hee had refresh't himselfe three daies, and that *Aras* the younger had ioyned with him with his Troupes, so as the whole Army consisted of ten thousand men, hee arrived at *Psofia*, passing by *Clitoria*, and made great profusion of Darts and Ladders taken out of the Townes where hee past. *Psofia* is a very ancient Towne of the *Arcadians*, scituated in the midst of *Morea*, ioyning to *Arcadia* vpon the West, and nere to the Countrey of the *Elieues*, who at that time had the gouernment. Where *Philip* arrived the third day after his departure from *Caphies*, and seated his Campe vpon the Mountaines which are opposite, from whence he might discover the Towne and Countrey round about without danger. Where viewing the strength, he was for a time in suspence: for towards the West there ran a swift Torrent along the walls: the which for the most part of Winter, was not to be waded thorough, so as no

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man enters that way. And vpon the East it hath the Riuer of *Erimanthe*, which is great and violent: Of which the Poets and Historiographers tell many tales. Moreouer, the Torrent (whereof we haue spoken) defends and assures the third part towards the South. In regard of the fourth which lookes towards the North, it hath about it a Mountaine which is steepe and difficult, and serues them for a good Fort. By this meanes the Towne is defended on three sides by water, and on the fourth by the Mountaine: And moreouer it is enuironed with good walls, made with great Art. Finally, there was a Garrison of *Elieues*, with that which *Euripides* had brought with him in his flight.

All these things considered, *Philip* was partly distast to force it, for the difficulty thereof. And partly inflamed to besiege it, for the opportunity of the place. For hee considered that as this Towne was an annoyance to the *Acheins* and *Arcadians* (for that it was an assured Fort and safe retreat for Warre to the *Elieues*) so if it might bee taken, it would bee to them of great consequence; and a retreat to the *Arcadians* for the Warre. Wherefore in the end following this aduice, hee sent vnto the *Macedonians*, that they should bee ready the next day in the morning, and in Armes after they had fed. Then passing the Bridge of *Erimanthe* without any opposition; considering the strangenesse and greatnesse of the accident, hee came boldly, and log'd at the foote of the Wall. Whereat *Euripides* and the Chiefe of the Towne were in great doubt what to doe: for they immagined that the *Macedonians* had no conceits to bee able to force this strong Towne, and that they should not bee able to continue the Siege long during that season. Wherefore when as they saw no likelihood of any Treason within the Towne, the greatest part run to the walles to defend them.

The Voluntaries of the *Elieues* made a sally vpon the Enemy by the Gate which lookes directly to the Campe. But when as *Philip* had appointed men to set vp Ladders in three places, and a sufficient number of *Macedonians* for either of them, hee gaue warning for the assault. Which done, they all fell to fighting with wonderfull fury. The besieged in the beginning defended themselves valiantly, and overthrew many which laboured to scale the walls. But when as their Darts and other munition failed them, as to men which had run hastily to the walls: and withall the *Macedonians* retired not, but after the fall of one, the next ascended the Ladder, in the end they fled, and retired to the Fort. Then the *Macedonians* of the Kings Troupe recouered the wall. On the other side the *Candiors* who fought with those which made their sally from the vpper part of the Towne, forced them in the end to flee, abandoning their Armes basely: And pursuing them with great fury, they slew many vpon the way, and entred the Towne with them: so as it was taken in diuers places at one instant. All the Burgeses retired into the Fort with their Wiues and Children. Thelike did *Euripides*, with the rest which had escaped the danger. The *Macedonians* being entred, they spoiled both publique and priuate houses, and afterwards kept themselves quiet within the Towne. They which held the

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Fort,

The Riuer of Erimanthe.

A sally of the Elieues vpon the Macedonians.

Psofia taken by assault.

The retreat of Euripides from Stymphalia.

The Mountaine of Apeare.

Thy flight of Euripides.

A defeat of the Etolians.

Aras ioyned with Philip.

The situation of Psofia.

Fort, being without victuals and other munition, they began to thinke of yeelding, fore-seeing the future. Whereupon they sent a trumpet to the King: and having obtained a passe-port for an Embassie, they sent the Princes of the Towne with *Euripides* to *Philip*, who compounded with the King, that in yeelding him the place, the Burgeses and strangers might retire in safety. This done, they returned againe to the Fort according to the Kings command, not to depart before hee had retired his Army out of the Towne, lest falling into the Souldiers hands, they might bee spoiled. The King stayed some dayes there by reason of the roughnesse of the weather: during the which hee calls together the *Acheins* which were in the Army, and made a long speech vnto them of the situation of the Town, and of its opportunity for the present War, putting them in mind of the loue hee bare them: Finally, hee gaue them the Towne, to the end they should know plainly, that hee was resolu'd to please them in all things, and not to forget the affection and diligence which was requisite in their affaires.

After which Speech, when as the *Acheins* had giuen him thanks for his loue and good-will, *Philip* leaues the Company, and drawing his Army presently together, hee marcht directly to *Lasson*. The *Phosphibians* leauing the Fort, came into the Towne, and euery man returned to his house. *Euripides* retired with his men first to *Cortinthe*, and afterwards into *Etolia*. The Chiefe of the *Acheins* which were there present, gaue the guard of the Fort to *Proslas* a *Sycionian* with a sufficient Garrison, and made *Pythias Pellemense* Governour of the Towne. And this was the end of the *Phosphibians* Warre.

When the Garrison of *Lasson* which consisted of *Elienfes*, being (formerly advertised of that which had happened at *Phosphis*) saw the *Macedonians*, they abandoned the Towne, as amazed at so strange an accident. So as *Philip* tooke it as soone as hee saw it. The which he likewise gaue to the *Acheins*, according to the loue and affection which hee bare them. Hee likewise gaue *Straton* to the *Telpulsiens*, which the *Elienfes* had taken. This done, the fift day after hee arrived at *Olympia*: whereafter he had sacrificed to the Gods, and made a solemne Banquet to all the Capitaines, and refreshit his men for the space of three dayes, hee marcht, and entering the Countrey of the *Elienfes*, hee abandoned it to his Souldiers: Then planting his Campe neere to *Artemisea*, hee returned soone after to *Dioscuria*, bringing a great Booty from thence. Then making many Roads into the Countrey, there were a great number of men taken. Many also retired into the neighbour Townes, and into places of strength: For the Region of the *Elienfes* is very fertile amongst the rest of *Morea*, in people and abundance of wealth: for that the greatest part of the Countrey people are giuen to tillage, employing their time in labour, vnto the second and third generation: And although they bee otherwise rich, yet they enter not into Townes. The which happens, for that the principall of the Townes haue the Labourers in recompensation, and are very carefull that they may not be oppressed with the want of any thing of that which is requisite and necessary for them.

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and that no man should do them wrong. In my opinion the ancients haue so ordained it, for that in old time the multitude was commonly giuen to tillage; or rather for that they led a holy and religious life, when with the consent of all the *Grecians*, they liued in safety, free from all inconueniences and trouble of Warre, for the Combate which was made at the Olympicke Games. But when by the controuersie of the *Arcadians*, concerning *Lasson* and *Pisa*, they were forced to vnder-take War for the defence of their Countrey, and to leaue their first manner of liuing, they cared no more to resume that ancient and hereditary

liberty giuen them by the *Grecians*, remaining in the same estate, and making a bad discourse of the time to come. For if any may haue from the *Grecians* (in obseruing right and iustice) peace and quietnesse for euer, which is a thing which wee all demand of the immortal Gods, and for the which wee endure any thing, and which all the world consenseth to bee an vndoubted good, and yet they contemne it, and doe not esteeme it, or hold some other thing in greater recommendation, are not they to be held fooles and mad men? But some one will say vnto mee, that they which shall hold this course of life, shall not be able to defend themselves, when they shall be oppressed with War, or some other outrage. This without doubt happens seldome, and if it doth, they may be defended and relieved by all the *Grecians*. And if it be a particular offence it will be no difficult thing to leaue men with the money which they haue gathered together by long peace and rest? But now fearing that which happens seldome, and beyond all humane consideration, they consume themselves and their Countrey in continuall Warre and troubles. Wee haue thought good to relate these things of the *Elienfes*, for there was neuer time, when as a greater opportunity was offered, to recouer this liberty from all the *Grecians*, then at this day. The people then as wee haue said, dwelt in all assurance.

Wherefore there were taken by the *Macedonians* a great number of men, although that many were retired in strong places. For there was assembled a great multitude of men and Catrell, with other wealth in a neere Burrough, which they call *Thalamus*: for that the Countrey about it is very streight, the approach is difficult, and the Burrough very steepy, and in a manner inaccessible. *Philip* advertised of this great assembly, and being loath to leaue any thing which hee would not vnder-take, recouers the places of aduantage, to enter it with his Mercenaries: and marcheth in person by the streights of the Countrey with the men which bare Targets, and were lightly armed, leaving the Baggage, and the greatest part of his Army in the Campe, and came vnto the Burrough finding no resistance.

They which were therein, amazed at the greatnesse of this accident, and ill furnished for the war, and without experience: hauing moreover many vnprofitable persons for their age, yeelded presently: Among the which were two hundred Souldiers of diuers nations, wherof *Anphidamus* Chiefe of the *Elienfes* had the charge. *Philip* hauing made booty of all things, as of fife thousand men, and of an infinite number of Catrell, returned presently to the Campe. And when as afterwards

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A composition
made betweene
the Citizens
of *Phosphis* and
Philip.

Philip giues
forces to the
Acheins.

Lasson taken;

Straton.

Thalamus.

Thalamus
yeelds.

the Souldiers seemed vnprofitable vnto him for the Warre, being thus laden with spoiles, he raised his Campe and returned to *Olympia*.

Appelles Tutor
to Philip.

Appelles was one of the Tutors which was left to *Philip* in his infancy by *Antigonus*, and had then great authority and fauour with the King. Who beginning to pacifie with himselfe, by what meanes hee might reduce the Nation of the *Acheins*, to the same estate wherein the *Thebaisians* were, he bethought himselfe of a notable villany. You must vnderstand that the *Thebaisians* seemed to liue vnder their owne Lawes, and to differ much from the *Macedonians*, onely they endured all things like vnto them, and obeyed the will of the King. Wherefore *Appelles* tending hereunto, began to try the hearts of those that were in the Campe. And at the first hee commanded the *Macedonians*, that if by chance the *Acheins* should take any place before them, they should alwayes chase them away, and strip them of their Booty. Afterwards he caused some to be whipt by the hangman for small offences. And if any one questioned this kind of outrage, or did succour them that were beaten, they were put in prison, hoping by this meanes to accustom the *Acheins* to endure patiently what should please the King. Finally, when as some young men *Acheins* were assembled and come to *Arate*, relating vnto him the practise of *Appelles*. *Arate* considering that this must be prevented in the beginning, he came to *Philip*, and accompanied with these young men, deliuered all things in order. Who being heard, *Philip* wisht him to take no further care, and that hereafter they should not be so interested. He giues charge to *Appelles* not to decree any things against the *Acheins* without the aduice of their Commander.

The malicious
policy of Ap-
pelles.

Philip was held excellent in Eloquence and sweetnes of speech to persuade his Souldiers, and of great wisdom and courage in the profession of Armes, not onely in the iudgement of Souldiers, but of all *Morces*: neither was it easie to finde a King which had so many gifts of Nature. He was a man of great diligence, memory, and of a good aspect, and held him worthy of an Empire, in whom there was a royall power, a great force, and an incredible courage in actions of Warre, and as he layd the foundation of his Empire by so many great virtues, it is hard to say for what reason he was in the end so peruerbed, and made an execrable and wicked Tyrant of a good and iust King. Wherefore leaving this to another season, we will returne to our discourse.

The Nature of
Philip.

Philip parting from *Olympia* with his Army, came first to *Pharia*, then to *Erea*, where the Booty was sold, whereof wee haue spoken. Hee made a Bridge vpon *Alphra*, meaning to passe from thence into *Tripbalia*. At the same time *Dorimache* chiefe of the *Etolians*, sent succours vnto the *Elienses* at their request, whilst they ruined their Countrey: being about six hundred *Etolians* vnder the command of *Philides*, who passing by the Countrey of the *Elienses*, after that he had taken about five hundred voluntaries of theirs, and a thousand men of the City with the *Tarentines*, he came into *Tripbalia* to succour the *Alies*. It is situated in *Morces*, betwixt the Regions of the *Elienses* and *Messenians*, hauing drawne its name from *Tripbalia* in *Aradia*. Finally, it looks towards the Sea of *Iybia* rayning to *Achia* vnto

Succours sent
to the Elienses
by Dorimache.

The Situation
of Tripbalia
and its Townes

vpon the West. Wherein are comprehended the Townes of *Samicon*, *Lepres*, *Hygiame*, *Typanea*, *Pyrgon*, *Epion*, *Bolac*, *Tylaugion*, and *Phrixo*. The which as the *Elyenses* held before, so as they had also taken the Towne of the *Alphirenses*, which formerly did belong to *Arcadia*, by the meanes of *Allades* the *Megalopolitaine*, who deliuered it vnto them in exchange, at such time as hee was King. As soone as *Phylides* was entred into *Tripbalia*, he sent the *Elienses* to *Lepreon*, and the *Mercenaries* to *Alphra*: and he remained at *Typanea*, hauing the *Etolians* with him.

A *Philip* leauing the Baggage, hauing past the Bridge of *Alphra*, which runs along the walls of *Erea*, he came to *Alphra*, which is seated vpon a certaine Mountaine full of Caves and Pits round about it, and hath aboue ten Furlongs in ascent. Finally, it hath a Fort vpon the top of it, and the Image of *Minerva* made of Copper, much differing from others in greatnesse and beauty: The people of the Countrey know not who made it, nor at whose charge, nor at what time it hath beene erected. All the World holds for certaine, that it is the most excellent worke among all those which *Hecateodorus* and *Sofrates* haue made. The next Morning being cleare and bright, *Philip* commands many

The Situation
of Alphra.

The Image of
Minerva

B Ladders to be brought, before the which he had Troupes of aduenturers, and then the *Macedonians*, commanding them all at the Sun rising, to make haste to creepe vp the Mountaines, and to assaile the Towne. Which being performed, the *Alphirenses* ran all to a place where they saw the *Macedonians* vnder the greatest force. In the meane time *Philip* hauing with him the choice of all the Troupes, was come secretly to the wall by a difficult Countrey. And when as the Souldiers assailed the Towne of all sides, and scaled it, *Philip* commanded to doe the like vnto the Fort which was neere the Fortresse: the which hee tooke suddainly being vnturnished of Souldiers. When as the *Alphirenses* saw it on fire from their walles, they were terrified with this new danger, fearing that if the *Macedonians* should take the Fortresse, there were no meanes of safety, they retired suddainly, abandoning the walls, the *Macedonians* tooke presently with the Towne. Afterwards they which held the Fortresse, yeilded it to *Philip*, to haue their liues saued, according to the Composition which they had made with him.

Philip assails
Alphra.

C After these actions, the people of *Tripbalia* being amazed, were carefull of their safeties: *Philides* also parting from *Typanea*, after he had ransack'd and spoild some houes, retired to *Lopira*. Behold the recompence which the *Etolians* at that time made vnto their Allies: so as they not onely abandoned them in their greatest extremity, but made them suffer things which were scarce fit to be endured by an Enemy. The *Typanaeans* yeilded the Towne presently to *Philip*: the which they of *Hippone* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Phialences* hauing newes of that which past in *Tripbalia*, being in Armes, tooke a place neere vnto *Polimarche*, detesting the alliance of the *Etolians*. The *Etolian* Pirates who by chance were in that Towne in regard of the *Messenians*, laboured in the beginning to resist the *Phialences*. But when they were aduertised that the whole Towne was of one accord, they gaue

The Typanaeans
yeelde vnto
Philip.

ouer their enterprize, and trussing vp their Baggage, departed. The *Phalences* sent an Embassie to *Philip*, and submitted themselves and their Towne vnder his obedience. This being done, the *Lepreates* gaining a place of advantage within their Towne, resolved to chafe away the Garrison of *Eliences*, *Etolians*, and *Lacedemonians*: *Philides* in the beginning was nothing moued herewith, but continued still within the Towne. But when the King had sent *Taurion* with a part of his Army against him, and comming in person with the rest to *Lepreon*, *Philides* and his Company hearing the newes, began to faint. Contrariwise the *Lepreates* growing more resolute, did an act worthy of memory: For hauing within their Towne a thousand *Eliences*, fiftene hundred *Etolians*, and two hundred *Lacedemonians*, Voluntaries, holding moreover the Fort, yet their courage was so great, as they resolved not to forget the safety of their Country in so great a danger.

The resolute of
the Lepreates
against the Eto-
liens.

But when as *Philides* saw the *Lepreates* to prosecute what they had begun with such courage, and the *Macedonians* to approach neere vnto the Towne, he fled with the *Eliences* and *Lacedemonians*, hauing no more hope of safety. So as the *Lacedemonians* taking their way by *Messena*, returned to their houses, and the *Etolians* went to *Samice* with their Commander *Philides*. The *Lepreates* being Masters of the Towne, sent an Embassie to the King to yeeld it vnto him. Who being heard, the King sent part of his Army thither, and pursuing *Philides* for a time, with those that were lightly armed, hee tooke all the Baggage, and *Philides* saued himselfe within a Castle. There the King planted his Campe, and made shew to besiege the Towne, causing the rest of his Army to come from *Lepreon*: wherewith the *Etolians* and *Eliences* being amazed, as hauing nothing wherewith to defend the Siege but their hands, began to parley for their safeties. Who going forth vpon the Kings word, retired to *Eliu*. The King was presently Lord of *Samice*. Afterwards diuers others came to submit themselves, so as hee tooke *Phrixu*, *Tylangion*, *Epiron*, *Bolac*, *Pyrcon* and *Epicalion*. After which he returned to *Lepreon*, hauing in sixe dayes made all *Tryphalia* subiect. There he made remonstrances to the *Lepreates* according to the time, and put a sufficient Garrison into the Fort, he led his Army to *Erea*, leaving *Ladix* of *Acarnania*, Gouverneur of *Tryphalia*. Being arrived there, he diuided the spoile among the Souldiers, and hauing made provision of victuals, hee took his way to *Megalopolis* in the heart of Winter.

Lepreon yeeld-
ed to Philip.

Townes which
yeelded to Philip.

Chylon.

When as *Philip* was in *Tryphalia*, *Chylon* the *Lacedemonian* imagining that the Crowne of the City belonged vnto him, and being discontented at the insolvency of the Magistrates in choosing *Lycurgus*, he began to plot an enterprize of reuolt. Hoping therefore to gaine the loue and fauour of the people, if doing like vnto *Cleomenes*, he put them in hope to diuide the Lands againe, hee doth his indeauour to bring it to effect. And communicating his practice to his Friends, he had 200. Confederates of his enterprize. But knowing that *Lycurgus* and the Magistrates which had made him King, would make a great opposition, he studied first how to prevent it. When as by chance all the Magistrates

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supr together, he assailes them by surprize, and kills them cruelly. Behold how Fortune prepared a punishment worthy the deedes which they had committed. Beleeue me, there is not any man but will say that they had well deserved to be punished by him, and for the cause for which they suffered. As soone as *Chylon* had done this Execution, he transports himselfe to *Lycurgus* house: And although he were there, yet he could not come at him, for hee was preferred by his Household Seruants and by his neighbours, and retired vnto *Pellene* by unknowne wayes. *Chylon* frustrated of so great an opportunity, being wonderfully discontented, was forced to doe that which necessity required, and transporting himselfe to the place, hee seized vpon all his enemies, and gaue courage to his friends, labouring to induce the rest to reuolt. But when as he saw no man to like of it, and that the City was in mutiny against him, fearing what might happen, hee steals away from thence, and comes into *Acheia* alone, being chased out of his Country. The *Lacedemonians* fearing the descent of King *Philip*, retired with whatsoeuer they had in the fields into their Townes: and fortified them with men and all sorts of munition, razing to the ground *Athenae* of the *Megalopolitains*. For that it seemed a very conuenient place for the enemy.

The Lacedemo-
nian Magistrate
slaine by Chylon.

It is certaine that whilst the *Lacedemonians* maintained their good government, according to the Lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were growne very great vnto the Warre of *Lendres*. Since which time they beganne to feele the crosses of Fortune, and their government grew worse, being full of many discommodities and intestine Seditions, with Banishments and ruines vntill the Tyranny of *Nabysade*: whose name they could not endure. These are things which haue bene related by many and are well knowne, since that *Cleomenes* ruined the government of the Country, whereof wee will speake hereafter when opportunity shall require. *Philip* passing by *Megalopolis* with his Army, drew to *Argos* by the Country of *Tegetane*, and there past the remainder of the Winter: purchassing a wonderfull renowne of all the World, as well for his course of life, as for the things which he had done in this Warre, beyond the strength of his age. *Appelles* who (notwithstanding the Kings Commaundment) desired not from his desigine, laboured by little and little to make the *Acheians* subiect. And when he found that *Arate* and the rest that were with him, were opposite vnto his ends, and that the King had them in great Reputation, especially olde *Arate*, for that he was in great Authority among the *Acheians* and *Argonius*, and was moreover a good and discrete man, hee beganne to T raduce him with iniuries. Then hee inquires what men there were in *Acheia* of a contrary faction to *Arate*, and drawes them vnto him. To whom hee giues a courteous and gracious reception, drawing them by perswasions to his friendship, and afterwards recommended them in pericula to the King, he gaue him to vnderstand that if hee fauoured the party of *Arate*, hee should enioy the *Acheians*, according to the Contract of the League: But if vsing his Councell hee received the others into friendship, hee should dispose of all *Morea* at his pleasure.

The Lacedemo-
nians were vn-
fortunate after
they had left
the Lawes of
Lycurgus.

Appelles per-
sists in his en-
terprize.

Arate and
Argonius.

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More-

Moreover the time of the Election approaching, hee had an intent to cause one of the other Faction to be chosen. Wherefore hee beganne to sollicite the King to be at *Egis* at the Common Assembly of the *Acheins*, as if he meant to goe from thence into the *Elienfes* Countrey. The King perswaded by his Words, came vnto *Egis* at the prefixed time: Where *Appelles* amazing the aduerse party, in the end preuailed with great difficulty. By this meanes *Epestrate* was chosen Chiefe of the *Acheins*, and *Tymoxenes* quite reiected, whom *Arate* had named.

Epestrate chosen
chiefe of the
Acheins.

After these things *Philip* drawing his Army from *Egira*, and marching by *Patres* and *Dimes*, hee went to a Castle, which the Countrey-men call *Mur*, situate in the *Dimenfes* Countrey, and lately taken by *Enripides*, as wee haue formerly said. As hee halted with great heate to yeild it to the *Dimenfes*, having his Army ready in Battaille, the Garrison of *Elienfes* was so amazed, as they presently yeilded themselves and the Castle, the which is not great in Circuit, but very strong by Situation and Walles: For it had but two furlongs in Compasse, but the Walls had not lesse then seauen Fathomes and a halfe in height. *Philip* deliuering it to the *Dimenfes* presently, hee ouerranne the Prouince to spoile it: After which he put all to fire and Sword, and returned to *Dime*, laden with great spoiles. *Appelles* supposed that hee had effected part of his designe, for that the chiefe had bene chosen according to his desire, hee chargeth *Arate* againe, desiring to him into disgrace with the King; and raiseth a slander vpon him vpon these causes.

The Castle of
Mur yeilded to
Philip.

Amphidamus Chiefe of the *Elienfes* in the Burrough which they call *Tbalame*, being taken and sent with the other Prisoners, came to *Olympia*: And there hee beganne to seeke (by the meanes of some) to speake vnto the King: To whom when hee was brought, hee told him that it was in his power to make the *Elienfes* embrace his Alliance and Friendship. The King perswaded with his Words, let him goe without ranfome, with a Charge to tell the *Elienfes*, that if they would entertaine his Alliance, hee would deliuer all their Prisoners without ranfome, and that hee would preferue their Prouince from danger, suffering them moreover to liue in liberty, and that hee would giue them no Garrisons, nor pretend any Tribute, but would suffer them to leaue mercenary men where their Affaires required. The *Elienfes* hearing these offers, would not accept of them, although they were great and profitable.

The slander
of *Appelles*.

Appelles making this the occasion of his slander, goes to *Philip*, telling him that *Arate* and his Confederates kept no true Friendship with the *Macedonians*, nor entertained the League sincerely: For it was certaine they had bene the cause that the *Elienfes* had not accepted the Conditions of the Alliance which had bene offered them: For at that time when as hee sent *Amphidamus* to *Olympia*, they had vied speeches secretly vnto him, that it was not for the good and benefit of *Morea*, that *Philip* should be Lord of the *Elienfes*; and by this meanes the *Elienfes*, disdayning the conditions of Peace, obserued their League with

with the *Stolians*, and indured the *Macedonian* Warre. This Speech being ended, *Philip* caused *Arate* with the *Acheins* to be called, and Commanded *Appelles* to speake the same Words in their Presence, the which hee performed boldly and without blushing: Finally, the King speaking not any thing, hee said moreover vnto them: And for that *Arate* the King hath found you ingratefull and deceitfull, hee hath resolved to returne into *Macedony*, having first called the *Acheins*, and acquainted them with the occasion. Whereunto *Arate* answered; The King, sayd hee, ought not to beleeue lightly; but to consider well of the businesse, when they speake any thing against his Allies and Friends, before hee giue credite to a slander. This is proper for a King, and very profitable in all things. And therefore in this slander you must call them that heard the Words, and let *Appelles* enter with them, and omit nothing that may bee necessary to discouer the Truth, before it be reuealed to the Assembly of the *Acheins*. This answer was pleasing vnto the King, saying, That he would diligently search out the truth, they then departed.

The accusation
of *Appelles* against
Arate &
the *Acheins*.

The Answer
of *Arate*.

But within few dayes after, when as *Appelles* could not finde any proofe of those things which hee had objected, there was by chance a great testimony found of *Arate* his innocency. For whilst that *Philip* ruled the Prouince, the *Elienfes* hauing some suspicion of *Amphidamus*, had resolved to take him, and to send him bound into *Etolia*. The which *Amphidamus* discouering, hee fled away secretly, and comes first to *Olympia*: But hauing certayne newes that *Philip* stayed at *Dyme* to diuide the Spoile, he went speedily vnto him. As soone as *Arate* had newes of the banishment of *Amphidamus* from his owne Countrey, hee was wonderfull ioyfull, knowing that hee had not committed any thing against the *Macedonians*, and goes vnto the King, intreating him to call *Amphidamus*: For hee was the man that could giue best satisfaction in those things where with hee was charged, to whom the Words had bene spoken: And that moreover he would willingly deliuer the truth, seeing that for the loue of *Philip* hee had bene banished his Native Countrey, and that all his hope consisted in him onely.

At whose words the King was moued, and calling for *Amphidamus* hee found that *Appelles* had falsly slandered him. Wherefore after that day hee held *Arate* in greater esteeme and fauour, but disliked the practise of *Appelles*, although hee were forced to indure this and many other things for the great Authority which hee held. But *Appelles* changed not his humour: Hee depriued *Taurion* of the gouernment of *Morea*, not taxing him with any offence, but commending and holding him worthy to bee in the Campe about the King, for that hee desired to put another in his place. Behold a new invention of slander to wrong any one, not in blaming him but in commending him. There is also found (but principally among Courtiers) a malicious diligence accompanied with Enuy and fraud, by a mutual Icalousie and extreame Auarice.

Taurion depriued
of the gouernment
of *Morea*.

The conditions
of Courtiers.

Alexander
Chamberling
to King
said.

Hee did likewise in decauour to disappoynt *Alexander* the Chamber-
laine,

laine, and affected the care of the Kings Person for himselfe, and finally to breake all the Order which *Antigonus* had left. Who had duly performed his duty in the Government of his Realme and Sonne during his life: And dying hee provided wisely for the future: For he left a Will, by the which hee set downe an order what the *biacedoniens* should doe, and what charges they should execute, labouring to take away all occasions of Ambition and Discord, which might rise in Court. Hee appointed *Appelles* to be Tutor to his Sonne, who had bene at the Warre with him: And hee made *Leonce* Chiefe of the Souldiers which carried Targets, and *Megalée* Chancellor, and *Taurion* Gouvernour of *Morea*.

It is true, that *Appelles* at that time held *Leonce* and *Megalée* in his Subjection, and was resolved to chide away *Alexander* and *Taurion*: To the end hee might supply their places in Person, or by his Creatures. The which vnderstandedly hee had done, if *Arate* had not prevented it. But now hee suffers the paine of his folly and Cautionlesse: For within a short time after hee suffered that, which hee laboured with all his power to doe vnto others. But wee will forbear at this present to deliuer the causes, making an end of this Booke, and we will endeavour in the following Booke to set downe every thing in its place.

After this *Philip* came to *Argos*, where hee past the remainder of the Winter with his friends, and sent backe his Army into *Macedony*.

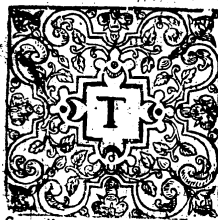
The end of the Fourth Booke of Polybius.



The



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIUS.



He Yeare of *Arate* his Government being ended about May (for so the *Acheins* measure the time) he left it, and *Epirate* took it: And *Dorimache* was then Chiefe of the *Esolians*. At the same time Summer beginning, *Hannibal* was parted from *Carthage* with his Army, for that the Warre grew hote betwixt the *Romans* and the *Garthaginians*, and made hast (passing *Ebro*) to goe into Italy. Then the *Romans*

Epirate Chiefe
of the *Acheins*
and *Dorimache*
of the *Esolians*.

sent *Titus Sempronius* with an Army into *Affricke*, and *Publius Cornelius* into *Spaine*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* hauing no more hope to decide their Controuersie concerning *Syria*, neither by Embassies nor meetings, had begunne the Warre. And then King *Philip* prest with want of Viſuals and money for his Army, caused the *Acheins* to assemble by their Magistrates. But when as the people were met at *Egia*, according to the custome of the Countrey, the King seeing *Arate* much discontented for the affront which hee had receiued from *Appelles*, at the time of the Election, and that *Epirate* was disdained of them all, as a man simple by Nature and sloathfull, and was helde as a scorne, knowing also the treachery of *Appelles* and *Leonce*, he beganne againe to turne his affection to *Arate*. And after that hee had perswaded the Magistrates to referre their Diet to *Sicyon*, hee spake curteously to olde and young *Arate*, and perswaded them to continue in their

their first affection, charging *Appelles* with all that had beene done. Whereunto they consenting, hee presently after his entry into the Assembly, obtained by their fauour whatsoever was necessary for his present affaires: for it was ordain'd by the *Acheins* that they should pay vnto the King thirty thousand Crownes: That is to say, three moneths pay for the Souldiers; and three score and cleauen moneths of Wheate, (euenly mine being valued at thirty Crownes a Combe and a Bushell of *Londons* measure) and withall as long as *Philip* should remaine in *Morea*, he should haue fixe thousand two hundred Crownes monthly. Which being done, the *Acheins* returned euery man to his Towne. But winter being past, and the Troopes returned, the King thought it best to assaile the enemy by Sea: for hee saw well that by this meanes hee might enter their Countrey, and surprize them on either side, and that they should not bee able to succour one another, as well for the distance that is betwixt them, and for the newnesse of the Warre by Sea, as also for that they should bee amazed at the suddaine descent of their Enemies: for at that time hee made Warre against the *Etolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Elienfes*.

After this resolution, hee drew together the *Acheins* Vessels and his owne at *Leche*, a Port of *Corinthe*: Commanding that in the meane time, they should inure the Souldiers to the Oare, wherein the *Macedonians* did him great seruice. You must vnderstand that they are excellent men at Land in a pitcht field, and ready at Sea in Combates of Surprize. Moreover, they haue not their equals to Rampire and Fortifie: and they complaine not of their paines in such affaires: Finally, they are like vnto the *Bacides*, whom *Hesiodus* brings in reioycing more for Warre then a Banquet. The King stayed at *Corinthe* with the *Macedonians*, being busie in the preparation of the Sea Army. *Appelles* who could not alter the Kings humour and disposition, nor suffer any abatement in his credite, being full of disdaine, hee made a Conspiracy with *Leonce* and *Megalus*, which was, that they being present, should hinder the Kings enterprizes, when opportunity did serue; and that for his part he would goe to *Chaleis* to stoppe the Victuals that should come to the Kings Army. When he had plotted this, hee went presently thither, to put it in practise against the King: wherein hee kept his Promise, and forced him to ingage his plate and all the rest of his moouables.

When as the Army at Sea was drawne together, and the *Macedonians* accustomed to the Oare, and that the Souldiers had receiued Corne and Money, *Philip* set Saile to *Corinthe*, and arriued three dayes after, hauing fixe thousand *Macedonians*, and twelue Hundred Mercenaries. At what time *Dorimachus* Chiefe of the *Etolians* sent *Agelaus* and *Scopas* vnto the *Elienfes* with twelue Hundred *Candytes* newly leui'd. The *Elienfes* fearing that *Philip* would come and besiege *Cyllene*, leui'd Voluntaries with all speede, and likewise made a leuy of men within the City, doing their indeauours to fortifie *Cyllene*. *Philip* aduertised hereof, hee left at *Dime* the Mercenaries of the *Acheins*, and the *Candytes* which hee had with him, and some Horse-men *Ganles*, and about

Money & Corne
Reluctant to
Philip by the
Acheins

The nature of
the Macedoni-
ans;

The Conspira-
cy of *Appelles*
and *Leonce*.

The forces
which *Philip*
left at *Dime*.

about two thousand foote of the choice of the *Acheins*, for the guard and safety of the place against the assaults and attempts of the *Elienfes*. And as a little before he had Written vnto the *Messenians*, *Epirotes*, *Acarnaniens* and to *Scerdilaide*, to meete him in *Cephalenia* with their Equipage by Sea, hee parts presently from *Patres*, and sailes directly into *Cephalenia* to the Burrough of *Pronos*. But when he saw it difficult to besiege, and the Countrey streight, hee past on with his whole Army, and came to *Palea*: Where seeing the Region fertile in Corne, and in all other manner of munition, and fit to feede his Army, hee landed his men, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Towne Walls. He also drew his shippes a shore, and inuironed them with deepe Ditches and strong Pallisadoes, sitting for their defence. Hee likewise sent the *Macedonians* to forrage, and himselfe went to view the Towne: and resolued to set vp his Engines, and to make all necessary preparations to force it, meaning to attend the succours of friends and Allies, and to make the Towne subiect to his obedience: As well to depriue the *Elienfes* of the greatest benefite and commodity they had by Sea (for without doubt they sailed into *Morea* by night, with the *Cephalenian* shippes, and spoiled the Sea Coasts of the *Epirotes* and *Acarnaniens*) as also to prepare this Towne for his Allies, as a retreat in the enemies Countrey.

Now for the Scituation of *Cephalenia*, it lyes within the shore of the *Corinthian* Gulfe, looking towards the Sea of *Sycily*, and bends towards the parts of *Morea*, which turne towards the North and West, and likewise towards the Prouince of the *Elienfes*, and the parts of *Epirus*, *Etolia*, and *Acarnania*, which haue their aspect towards the South and East. Wherefore he resolued to do what possibly hee might, to Conquer this Iland, for the place was very conuenient to assemble the Allies, and well seated to offend the enemies Townes; and for the defence of those of the League. And when hee saw that all the Quarters of the Towne were inuironed, partly with the Sea, and partly with steepy Rockes, and that there was onely a little plaine which looks towards *Zacinthe*, hee was fully resolued to plant his Battery there, and to prepare and make all things necessary for the siege.

In the meane time there arriued fiteene shippes of VVarre sent by *Scerdilaide*, saying, that for the present hee could not furnish and make ready any more, by reason of some mutinies and dissensions which had lately happened in *Scalawonia*. There also arriued succours and supplies from the *Epirotes*, *Acarnaniens*, and *Messenians*, as hee had ordain'd: For the *Messenians* maintained the rest of the VVarre freely, after the taking of the City of *Phigalee*. VVhen as the King had prepared and made things necessary for the siege, and the Engines of Battery were appointed in conuenient places, hee approaches them to the Towne encouraging and giuing heart to his men: By whose meanes after they had mined, they presently opened a Quarter of the VVall, the which was vnderpropt with great peeces of Timber; so great is the experience & knowledge of the *Macedonians* in such affaires.

E e

Then

The Situation
of *Cephalenia*.

Then *Philip* approaching neerer vnto the Wall, hee beganne to summon the besieged to yeilde. But vpon their refusal, they suddainly set fire on that part of the Wall, and ouer-threw it. This being done hee sent the Souldiers which carried Targets to make the point, being vnder the Charge of *Leonce*, commanding them to assaile it and enter that way.

Leonce remembering his Conspiracy, and finding an opportunity to put it in execution, perswaded three young men of his followers, which marcht before all his Troupes to the assault of the Towne, that they should hinder the taking thereof, winning the Captaines of their acquaintance, and Charging very faintly as if they were affraide. By this meanes they were shamefully repul'd and beaten off from the assault hauing many Wounded and soare hurt: Although they might easily haue had the Victory, and haue come off with a great deal of honour. The King seeing the feare of the Captaines, and the multitude that were Wounded, raised the siege. And from that time hee assembled his Friends and Allies, holding a Councell of that which hee had to doe for the future.

In the meane time *Lycargus* entred into *Messenia* with an Army: And *Dorimache* with halfe the *Etolians*, fals into *Thessaly*: Wherefore Embassadours come vnto the King from the *Acarnaniens* and *Messeniens*. He of the *Acarnaniens* intreated him to make a Defecent into the *Etolians* Country, to the end hee might draw *Dorimache* from his Enterprize, and that he would spoile and consume all the Enemies Countries. He of the *Messeniens* demanded Succours, shewing that it was but a dayes journey from *Cephalenia* vnto *Messina*, a Northerly Winde blowing: And therefore *Gorgon* sayd that the Voyage would be suddaine and of great profite and gaine. *Leonce* remembering his Conspiracy, helde for *Gorgon*, seeing plainly that by this meanes, *Philip* should spend all the Spring in doing nothing: For the Voyage from thence to *Messina* was easie, but the returne impossible; for the Winds blew still Northerly.

Wherefore it was apparent that if *Philip* pass with his Army thither, hee should consume the rest of the Spring idly, and in the meane time the *Etolians* ouer-running *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, would put all to fire and Sword. This was the reason why hee Councelled this and such like things. But *Arate* was of a contrary minde and opinion: For hee was of aduice that they should sayle into *Etolia*, and to make Warre first there: For hee imagined that the time was very fitting and conuenient to spoyle and ruine the Prouince, for that the *Etolians* were gone to the Warre with *Dorimache*. The King followed no more the Councell of *Leonce* in anything, both for that the affaires succeeded ill in the last siege, as for that hee was resolu'd to imbrace that of *Arate*, considering the long experience and prouidence he had of his Wisdome: Wherefore hee wrote vnto *Spercheus* Chiefe of the *Acabins* that in holding the Legions suddainly ready, hee should succour and ayde the *Messeniens*. And in the meane time he parts from *Cephalenia*, and two dayes after arrives in the middle of

Leonce a Tray-
tor to Philip.

Embassadours
sent to Philip
from the Mes-
seniens and Ac-
arnaniens.

the night with his Army by Sea at *Leucade*: And from thence holding his course along the Sea of *Ambracia*, the which as wee haue formerly sayd, parting from that of *Syracly*, extends it selfe into *Etolia*. And when hee was come vnto the *Marthes*, hee staued there a little before day, and causeth his men to feede and refresh their weary bodies, commanding them to be ready without any Baggage: Then he called his guides and inquires of the places and Townes, and of all things else that were necessary.

At the same time *Carisophanes* arrived with a good Troupe of *Acarnaniens*, hauing a great desire to reuenge the great and many outrages which the *Etolians* had done them in former times. Wherefore receiving the *Macedonians* willingly, they drew to Armes, not they only which were bound by the Law, but euery many olde men. The *Epirians* had no lesse desire to doe the like for many reasons: But they could not assemble in time for the great extent of the Prouince, and the suddaine coming of *Philip*. *Dorimache*, as wee haue formerly sayd, had halfe the *Etolians* with him, and left the rest in severall parts of the Countrey to be ready, if any new accident should happen.

The King parting after noone from the Fennis, and hauing left sufficient force to guard the Baggage, when hee had marcht about three score Furlongs, hee planted his Campe. Where after hee had staued some certaine space, and had caused his Souldiers to feede, and refresh themselves being formerly wearied, he continued his course: So as marching all night, hee arrived before day at the Riuer of *Acheloe*, betwixt *Conope* and *Sirate*, seeking to surprize *Therme* by a way which they did not regard. *Leonce* and *Megalee* fore-saw for two reasons that the King would preuaile in his enterprize, and that the *Etolians* would haue the worst. The one was, that the *Macedonians* descent was suddaine, and much more speedy then they could imagine: The other, that the *Etolians* fearing not that *Philip* passing by those rough and difficult Countries, would be vnprouided. Wherefore considering these things, and mindfull of their Conspiracy, they aduised *Philip* that in seating of his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Acheloe*, he should refresh his Army for the last nights labour: Hoping that by this meanes the *Etolians* should haue time to seeke for succours, from their friends and Allies.

But *Arate* holding the time very precious to effect the Kings Resolution, and that *Leonce* and *Megalee* like Traytors sought how to stop and prevent his passage, hee intreats *Philip* not to loose so faire an opportunity. Following whose aduise, the King beginning to bee discontented with *Leonce* and *Megalee*, hee proceeded in his journey: And passing the Riuer of *Acheloe* hee marcht directly vnto *Therme* with his whole Army, putting all to fire and Sword: On the left hand hee left the Townes of *Sirate*, *Agrinia*, and *Tessia*: And vpon the right hand he left *Conope*, *Lysimachia*, *Tryconia*, and *Phila*. Being come to the Towne of *Methape*, which lyes betwixt *Tryconia* and the Fennis, about threecore furlongs distant from *Therme*, the *Etolians* fled.

Eg 2

Where.

The Riuer of
Acheloe.

perhaps taken
by Philip.

The order
which Philip
held to passe
the streights of
Therme.

Therme spoiled
by the Macedo-
nians.

Wherefore hee tooke it, and put into it a Garrison of five hundred men, to the end he might make use of it for a Retreat, as well in his passage as in his returne by those streights. For the Country especially about the Fennes is Mountainous, difficult, and inuironed with thicke Forrests.

By this means the way is very troublesome, and in a manner inaccessible. Then he put the Voluntaries in the foreward, and after them the Sclauonians: Then followed the Targeteers and the Leginaries, and in this manner hee marched through the fireights, having the *Candartes* in the Reare, and the *Thracians* on the right Wing for a support. In regard of the left side, the Fennes did fortifie them about thirty Furlongs in length, or rather more. When hee had speedily past the fireights, and taken the Burrough of *Raphia*, and had put a Garrison into it, he proceeded towards *Therme*, which is not onely difficult and inaccessible, but hath also deep Vallies round about it, so as in some places the way is dangerous and narrow, with an Altitude about thirty furlongs high. The which having soone past, for that the *Macedonians* had carried themselves like braue men, hee came in the dead of the night vnto *Therme*, a very rich and likewise a faire Towne: Where planting his Campe, hee abandoned the Countrey and the Houses of *Therme* to the spoile of the Soldiers, the which were furnished not onely with Come, and all other manner of munition, but with the richest moueables of the *Etolians*: For every man carried thither the richest stuffe hee had, for that scarcely they kept Faikes and Feasts there, and they made their Election: And withall they held this place for the safest and most secure of all the rest, whereunto no man durst approach, being such by Nature, as it seemed to be the Fort of all *Etolia*.

Wherefore the Houses (considering their long peace) were full of all Wealth, not onely those that were neere vnto the Temple, but in all other places. They rested this night within the Towne, being in-richt with spoiles. The next day they made choyse of the best, and set fire of the rest. They also tooke the best Armes, which hung vp in their Cloysters or Galleries, and changed some, setting fire of the rest, being about fiftene thousand. You must vnderstand that hitherto they managed the Warre iustly, and according to its Lawes. But I know not what to say of that which follows: For they ruined all the Cloysters and fauery Houses, and ouer-threw all the ornaments which had beene made with great care and Charge, calling to minde that which the *Etolians* had done, at the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonei*. They not onely consumed the building by fire, but they ruined all the Walles: And withall they ouer-threw and beate in peeces about two thousand Images, yet they would not touch those which had the figure or inscription of one God. They had grauen vpon the Walles, when as the dexterity of *Seme*, the soune of *Chryfogone* (who had beene nursed with the same milke that the King) beganne to shew it selfe, This vulgar Verse:

Thou

Thou seest the God, which will terrifie him with his Dart.

The King and his Friends thought they had done well, and that by means they had reuenged with the like reconpence the execration which the *Etolians* had made vnto God. But for my owne part, I am of another opinion; and every man may iudge whether I haue reason, calling vnto minde the example of Kings of the same Line, and not of other Races. When as *Antigonus* had chased away *Cleome-nes* King of the *Lacedemonians* and was Lord of *Sparta*, hee forbore to vie any outrage or cruelty to the *Lacedemonians*, and carried himselfe not onely like a moderate and temperate man, but was also gracious vnto his Enemies: And returned into his Countrey leaving the *Lacedemonians* in their full liberty, doing them many fauours, both in generall and perticular. So as they not onely reard him at that time their Benefactor, but likewise after his Death they called him their Sauour: So as hee not onely purchased Prayse and immortal glory with the *Lacedemonians*, but likewise withall other Nations. Moreover *Philip* who first enlarged the Realme of *Macedony*, and made the name of his Race great, hee did not winne the *Athenians* (after that hee had Vanquished them in *Cheronia*) so much by Armes, as by his milde course of liuing, and the sweetnesse and gentleness of his Nature.

The prudente
of *Antigonus* to
wards the *Lacedemonians*.

It is true, that hee Vanquished those that came against him to Battaille: and had wonne the *Athenians* and their City: Not by a continuance of his Choller and indignation against the Vanquished, but in fighting with his Enemies vntill occasion were offered to shew his mildnesse and Vertue: For hee sent vnto the *Athenians* (who had done him many wrongs) their Prisoners free, and caused such as had bene slaine in the Battaille to bee interred, soliciting the *Athenians* afterwards, to carry away the bones vnto the Sepulchers of their Ancestors. And afterwards sending backe the sayd bones, and many slaues freed, being lightly attired with *Antipater*, hee decided a great businesse by his industry: So as the vatamed hearts of the *Athenians*, being Vanquished by his magnanimity, they were alwaies after obedient vnto him, and ready to satisfie his desires. What did *Alexander*, whose Choller was so great against the *Thracians*, as hee made all the *Citizens* slaues; and razed their City vnto the ground, reducing some of their Princes into seruitude, sending others into banishment, and taking all their Wealth? Yet his rage and fury did not so farre exceede, as to force and violate the Temples of the immortal Gods, using all possible diligence, to keepe his mind from committing any disorder and villany. And when hee past into *Asia*, to reuenge the outrages which the *Persians* had done vnto the *Grecians*, hee punished the men which had committed them, according to their deserts: but hee touched not the Temples: Although the *Persians* had most wronged the *Grecians* therein.

The currense of
Philip the fa-
ther of *Alexan-
der* the *Attes*
ians.

Alexander the
Great.

This *Philip* should haue considered, to the end hee should not bee so
Ec 3 much

The blame of
Philip.

much esteemed, the Heire of the afore-sayd Kings in their Soueraignty, as in life and Conseruation. Hee did what possibly hee could in his life time, to shewe himselfe to bee of the blood of *Alexander* and *Philip*: But hee did not care to imitate them, nor to doe as they had done. Wherefore leading another course of life, hee also left another opinion of him with all Nations. For as hee laboured to yeeld the like vnto the *Etolians* for their outrages, and to purge euill by euill, he thought not to offend. Calling to minde the outrages which *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* had done vnto the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*, hee did not perceiue that he committed the like error, straying wonderfully from A reason. It is true that the Lawes of Warre, permit to vse cruelty against enemies, and to ruine and spoile their Castles, and Gardens, Townes, and Burroughes, Shippes, Fruits, and such like: To the end that their forces may be weakened, and his owne fortified and augmented. But it is the Act of a furious and mad man, to ruine those things that are neither any way profitfull or commodious vnto himselfe, nor hurtfull vnto his enemy: As Temples, Cloisters, Images, and such like.

The Lawes of
Warre.

It is not fitting that a good and vertuous man, should persecute his Enemy to his totall ruine. It sufficeth onely that the faultes of Delinquents may be purged and Corrected; and not to ruine with the vniust those things which haue not offended, nor to seeke to destroy and pull downe with the Enemy that which hath committed no outrage. It is the practise of a cruell Tyrant, to Raigne in doing euill, forcing his people thorough feare, and liuing in mutuall hatred with his Subjects. But the duty of a King is to doe good vnto all men, governing his people without feare, with bounty and Clemency: And liuing with his Citizens in mutuall love and friendship. But wee shall see more plainly the great error which *Philip* committed, if wee shall cruely consider the opinion which the *Etolians* might haue had of him, if hee had not ruined the Cloisters and Images, nor carried away the Ornaments of the Temple. I conceiue that beeing culpable of the things, which had beene committed at the Temple of *Iupiter Dodonee*, they might haue seene plainly that *Philip* could haue done the like, and yet it had beene cruelty, the which notwithstanding in shewe hee had done with reason: And that hee would not imitate and follow their Wickednesse in regard of his Bounty and Magnanimity, they would vndoubtedly haue condemned themselves for their faultes, in commending and approving *Philip* with great admiration; for that like a magnanimous King, hee had carried a respect vnto the Gods, and executed his Choller vpon them.

The practise of
a Tyrant.

The Duty of a
King.

To vanquish an
enemy by mild-
nesse.

There is no doubt, but it is better to vanquish an Enemy by mildnesse and Clemency, then by force and might: For by Armes necessity forceth men to obedience, but mildnesse drawes them to it willingly. By the one faultes are corrected with losse: And by the other offenders amend and reforme themselves without damage. Moreover in the one the Souldiers attribute vnto themselves the greatest part of the glory, which is a great matter: But in cunctis, gentleness, and mild-

mildnesse, all the Victory is giuen vnto the Commander. So as happily considering his age, they will not attribute to *Philip* the greatest part of those things which he had done, but to those that were in the Warre with him, of which number were *Arates* and *Demetrius of Phare*. The which would be easie to say vnto him, although he had not beene there present, and that this outrage done vnto the Gods, had beene by the aduice of one of them. It is true, that this was done contrary to the course of *Arates* life, during the which hee neuer did any thing rashly, nor without consideration: whereas *Demetrius* did alwayes the contrary. There are likewise particular presumptions thereof, whereof we A will speake when it shall be fit.

Philip then (returning to our discourse) parts from *Therme*, laden with all spoiles: and returns the same way he came, causing the Baggage to goe before, with those that were best armed: and placing the *Acarnanians* in Rearward with the Mercenaries, he made haste to passe the streights. He feared that the Enemies relying vpon the aduantage of the place, might charge him in the Reare. The which was presently put in practise, for that the *Etolians* hauing drawne together three thousand men, neuer approaching neere vnto *Philip*, whilst hee held B the high Countrey, made their Ambushes in scattered places vnder the command of *Alexander*. But when the Rearward began to march, they entered into *Therme*, charging them vpon the Taile. When as the *Etolians* places, pursued them with great courage. But *Philip* hauing wisely provided for the future, had left the *Sclauonians* in Ambush vnder a certaine Hill, with many others that were armed with Targets. Who seeing the pursuite of the *Etolians*, they marcht against him with great fury: and presently slew sixe or seauen score, and tooke as many: the rest saued themselves by infamous and shamefull flight.

The *Etolians*
charge *Philip*
Rearward.

C The *Acarnanians* and Mercenaries, after they had gotten the victory, they presently set fire on *Paphia*: and when they had past the streights with great speed, they found the *Macedonians*. *Philip* lea-
ned his Campe neere vnto *Methape*, staying for his men. And parting
from thence after he had razed it, he comes to a Towne called *Ares*.
Then continuing his way for three dayes together, hee wasted the
whole Countrey: The day following hee planted his Campe neere vnto
Coupe, where he stayed the next day. After which hee marcht at the
breake of day towards *Strate*, where hee past the Riuer of *Abelae*, and
lodged within a Bowes shoote of the Towne, drawing the Inhabitants
often to skirmish. For he had beene aduertised, that there were three
thousand *Etolian* foote within it, and about foure hundred Horse, with
foue hundred *Candlers*. When as no man durst come forth, hee raised
his Campe againe, and at the first tooke his way towards the Fennes, to
recover his ships. But when as the Reare of his Army began to passe
the Towne, a number of *Etolian* Horse-men make a sally and charge
them. They were presently followed by a Troupe of *Candlers*, and
many *Etolians* came to succour their Horse-men, the *Acarnanians* being
in danger, turned head against the Enemy, and the Combate began
betwixt

The *Etolians*
made a sally
out of *Strate*.

betwixt them. The Victory was long in suspense: Finally, *Philip* sent the *Sclauoniens* to succour the Mercenaries. Wherefore the *Etolians* being vanquished, fled of all sides. Those which the King had sent, pursued the greatest part of them to the Gates and walls of the Towne, whereof there were a hundred slain in the chafe: the rest durst no more shew themselves in Field. By this means the Kings Army retired without danger to their ships.

After which *Philip* planted his Campe, and gaue thanks vnto the Gods for the good fortune which he had obtained according to his desire: And making a Banquet, he iuried all the Captaines. It seemed true, that he had past by dangerous places, into the which no man before him durst lead an Army. But he not onely past them, but did what he would, and returned without losse or danger. Moreover, *Megalæ* and *Leonce* (discontented at the Kings good fortune having sworn to *Appelles* to hinder all his enterprizes: which they could not effect, for that all things succeeded happily to *Philip*) were present at this Supper sed and peniue: so as they discovered easily vnto the King, and to the other assistants what their hearts were. But when the Tables were taken away, and they were well inflamed with their free drinking, they returned to their Tents, seeking for *Aras*. Whom when they met

Megalæ and
Leonce doe con-
sige to *Aras*.

upon the way, they vsed many iniurious speeches against him, and began to assault him with stones. But for that much people came of either side to succour them, there grew a great mutiny in the Campe. *Philip* hearing the Trumpet, sent men to inquire, and to pacifie this tumult. To whom *Aras* declaring the businesse as it had past, and referring himselfe to the testimony of those that were present, hee returned presently vnto his Tent. *Leonce* retired secretly out of the presse. *Philip* causeth *Megalæ* and *Crimon* to be called, with whom he was much offended. And when as they answered him proudly, that they would neuer cease vntill they had bene reuenged of *Aras*: The King incensed therewith, condemned them presently in twelue thousand Crownes, and to bee committed to Prison. Three dayes after he calls for *Aras*, and intreats him not to care, promising him to giue order for all things when as opportunity shall serue. *Leonce*, aduertised of the imprisonment of *Megalæ*, came with force to the Kings Tent: imagining that *Philip* (considering his youth) would alter his sentence for feare. Being come before the King, he demanded what man was so hardy to lay hand on *Megalæ*, and who had committed him to Prison. But when as the King answered boldly, that hee had done it, *Leonce* went away amazed, and in a manner fleeing.

Megalæ and
Crimon condem-
ned by the
King in 12000.
Crownes.

Philip setting layle with his Fleete, came presently to *Leonce*: where after he had appointed men to diuide the spoile, he called all his friends to iudge *Megalæ*. These *Aras* laied before them the outrages of *Leonce*, the great wrongs he suffered in the time of *Antigonus*, the Conspiracy he made with *Appelles*, and the hinderance he gaue at *Palea*: To all which things he produced witnesses. Whereunto when *Megalæ* nor *Crimon* could not answere any thing, they were condemned by all the assembly. Whereupon *Crimon* remained a Prisoner: But

The condem-
nation of *Megalæ*
and *Crimon*.

Megalæ

Megalæ was delivered vpon *Leonce* caution. This was the estate of *Appelles* and his Confederates whose Fortune was not such as they expected: For hoping to terrifie *Aras*, and to doe what they would with the Kings Army, and by this means to preuaile in their wills, all things succeeded contrary to their expectation.

In the meantime *Leonce* retired out of the *Messenian* Countrey, having shew nothing worthy of remembrance. Afterwards parting from *Leonce* with an Army, he took the Towne of *Ela*, and beleagged the Fort, whereinto the Cittizens were retired: where after hee had stayed there some time, and seeing his labour for nothing, he returned againe to *Sparta*. And when as the *Alans* ouer-ran the Countrey of the *Dalmatians*, some Hosts men which were in Ambush and came to succour them, put them easily to flight, and slew a good number of *Gauls*, taking Prisoners those of the Towne of *Polyphile* of *Egia*, *Agrippa* and *Dionysius*. *Dionysius* was gone in the beginning with an Army onely of *Etolians*, thinking that he might easily ouer-run *Thesaly*, and by this means draw *Philip* to raise his Sieges from *Palea*. But being aduertised of the preparation of *Chryseus* and *Purra* to come and fight with him, he durst not enter into the Plaines, but all wayes kept the top of the Mountaines with his Army: And when he had newes of the coming of the *Macedonians* into *Epila*, he leades *Thesaly* presently to goe and succour his Countrey: where being aduertised of the Kings retreat, not knowing what to doe, and disappointed in all his enterprizes, he remained sad and discontented.

The King at his departure from *Leonce* with his Fleete, hauing spoiled and wasted the Sea coasts, landed at *Corinthe* with his Army, leaving his ships at *Libe*. Then he sent Letters to all the allied Townes of *Morea*, to aduertise them of the day when they should come in Armes to *Treze*. Which things being thus ordered, without making any long stay at *Corinthe*, he parted with his Army: and passing by the Countrey of *Argos*, three dayes after his departure, he came to *Treze*: where after he had receiued the *Acheims* which were there assembled, he proceeded in his course, passing secretly by the Mountaines: he laboured to enter the Countrey of *Sparta*, before the *Lacedemonians* should be aduertised. Where hauing marched foure dayes by the Defarts of the Mountaines, he came to those which were right against the City: Then leaving *Mantala* on the right hand, he drew to *Amyle*. The *Lacedemonians* seeing the Army passe by their City, they wondered at this strange accident, and being terrified with this suddaine feare, they knew not what to doe. For they were amazed at the valiant exploits which they sayd *Philip* had lately done at *Therme*, and throughout all *Etolia*. And there was a certaine bruit amongst them, that *Leonce* was sent to succour the *Etolians*. As for *Philip*s suddaine descent into the Countrey of *Sparta*, no man had euer thought of it, and the rather for that his age seemed worthy of some contempt. Wherefore matters succeeding contrary to all hope, the world had reason to feare: for *Philip* manning the Warre with greater courage and policy then his age did beare, he terrified his Enemies. And namely (as we haue sayd)

Philip comes to
Corinthe.

Mantala
Amyle.

The great
Ligue of
Epila.

sayd) he parted from *Etolia*, and passing the Gulf of *Ambracia* in one night, he came to *Lepeda*, where staying two dayes, and parting the third early in the morning, he arrived two dayes after at *Corinthe*, having spoiled the Sea-coasts of *Etolia*, and from thence continuing his course, he came within nine dayes to the Mountaines which are right against *Sparta*, neere vnto *Menelaus*: so as they could hardly beleue it when they saw him. The *Lacedemonians* then terrified with the great noise and newnesse of this accident, knew not what Councell to take, nor to whom to haue recourse.

the situation of Amycla.

The Temple of Apollo.

The day following *Philip* campe neere vnto *Amycla*. It is a place in the *Spartans* Countrey abounding with all sorts of Trees and wealth, twenty Furlongs from *Helodromus*: Where the Temple of *Apollo* stands, being the most excellent of all the rest of the Prouince, as well for Art as wealth, being seated in that part of the Towne which looks towards the Sea. Three dayes after when he had spoiled the whole Countrey, he went to the Castle of *Pythia*, where he stayed two dayes, and waiting the whole Countrey, he put all to fire and sword, and planted his Campe neere vnto *Carnia*: from whence he suddenly marche to *Asphius*, from whence (after he had attempted in vaine to take it by assault) he raised the Siege, and wasted all the rest of the Countrey, marching directly to *Tenare*: From thence turning his way, hee drawes to the *Lacedemonians* Hauens, which they call *Gythis*: where there is a safe Port, about thirty Furlongs from the City. Then leaving it on the right hand, he planted his Campe neere to *Elea*: which is (if we consider it well) the greatest and best Countrey of the *Spartans*: The which he abandoned to the Souldiers, who put it to fire and sword. Hee also spoiled the *Acropolis* and *Leucas*, and the whole Countrey of the *Boies*.

The Port of Gythis.

The *Messenians* having receiued Letters from *Philip*, were no lesse diligent than the other Allies, who leaued men presently within their Townes, and sent the most able vnto the King, to the number of two thousand Foote and two hundred Horse. But the length of the way was the cause they came not to *Tegy* before the Kings departure. And therefore doubting in the beginning what they should doe, fearing likewise that it would seeme, they had willingly made this delay for the suspicion they had of them in the beginning, they resolved to enter the *Spartans* Countrey, to the end they might ioyne speedily with the King. Being come vnto the Castle of *Olympus*, which is seated neere vnto the Mountaines of the *Argines* and *Lacedemonians*, and had set themselves downe foolishly and without consideration: for they did not fortifie themselves neither with Ditches nor Pallisadoes, neither did they choose a convenient place: But relying on the good-will of the Inhabitants, they lodged simply neere vnto the Walls. *Licurgus* aduertised of their coming, takes the Mercenaries, and part of the *Lacedemonians*, and goes directly to the Enemy. Where arriving at the breake of day, he marcheth in Battaille against the *Messenians*: who perceiving him, abandoned all, and fled by heapes into this Castle. *Licurgus* recouered the greater part of their Horics and Baggage, but

the Castle of Olympus.

The Messenians surprised by Licurgus.

he tooke not a man: he onely slew eight Horse-men. The *Messenians* after this defeat returned by the *Argives* Countrey. *Licurgus* proud of this good fortune, being returned to *Sparta*, vseth all speed to leuie men, and to prepare all things necessary for the Warre, labouring that *Philip* might not returne by the *Spartans* Countrey without a Battaille or danger. The King parts with his Army from *Elia*, spoiling all as he passeth, and brought all backe on the fourth day to *Amycla*. *Licurgus* having resolved with his Friends and Captaines to give Battaille to the *Macedonians*, goes out of the City, and recouers the places about *Amycla* with about two thousand Foote, commanding them of the City to be watchfull, and when they should see a signe, they should speedily make sallies by diuers places, taking their way towards *Eurota*, which is a River neere vnto the City. These were the actions of *Licurgus* and the *Lacedemonians* at that time.

Philip parts from Elia spoiling all as he passeth.

But to the end that what wee say, may not seeme obscure by the ignorance of places, wee must declare the nature and situation: The which we will indeauour to doe throughout our whole worke, alwayes ioyning places knowne to the vnkowne: For the difference of Countreys doe many times deceive in Warre, as well by Sea as Land. Our desire is, that all men should know not onely the things, but how they were done. And therefore the description of places is necessary in all things, but especially in Warre: neither may we blame the vse of Fens, Seas, and Ilands for signes: and sometimes of Temples, Mountaines, Townes, and certaine Countreys: nor finally the difference of circumstances: For these are things common to all men. It is also the meanes to aduertise the Reader of things vnkowne, as we haue sayd. The situation of places whereof we speake is this. Although that *Lacedemon* seemes to stand in a plaine, yet it hath here and there rough and hilly places: Neere vnto which towards the East, passeth this River which they call *Eurota*, the which for the most part of the yeere is not to be waded thorough, by reason of its great depth. The Mountaines where in *Menelaus* stands, are on the other side of the River towards the City, which looke towards the Winters East: the which are rough and difficult and wonderfull high: And bend ouer the Plaine which lies betwixt the River and the City, by the which it takes its course along the foote of the Mountaines. The King was of necessity to passe that way, having the City on the left hand, and the *Lacedemonians* ready and in Armes: And on the right hand the River, and those which were in the Mountaines with *Licurgus*.

The River of Eurota.

Matters standing in this estate, the *Lacedemonians* berthought themselves of a stratagem, by the which in breaking of a Daimme, they should drowne all the Plaine betwixt the City and the foot of the Mountaines, so as neither Horse nor Foote should be able to passe. By this meanes they saw the King should be forced to lead his Army by the foote of the Mountaines: the which he could not doe without great danger: for that he should be forced to extend his Army in length, and not vntied and close, and to march a slow pace. *Philip* seeing this, assembles his Friends, and was of opinion, that he must first chase away *Licurgus* from

from the places which hee held. Wherefore he takes in his company the Mercenaries, the Targeteers, and the *Sclauonians*, and began to march directly towards the Mountaines to passe the River. *Licurgus* vnderstanding of the Kings resolution, put his men in Battaille, and perswades them to doe their duties in fighting, and withall hee makes a signe to them of the City, as he had promised. Which done, the Souldiers presently fall forth, putting the Horse-men on the right wing. When *Philip* came neere vnto *Licurgus*, he sent the Mercenaries to giue the first charge, of whom the *Lacedemonians* had the better at the first, by reason of the aduantage of the place and the manner of their Armes. A But when as he had sent the Targeteers with the *Sclauonians* to succour the Mercenaries, there was so great an alteration, as the Mercenaries seemed to haue the victory in their hands: And the *Lacedemonians* amazed at the fury of them that were well armed, fled presently, as despairing of their safety. There died about a hundred men: and some few more taken: the rest recovered the City.

The flight of
the Lacedemo-
nians.

Licurgus taking his way by inaccessible woods, arriued the night following at the City. When as *Philip* had put a sufficient strength of *Sclauonians* into the Mountaines, he returned with them that were lightly armed, and the Targeteers to his Army. At the same time *Aras* bringing back the Army from *Amycle*, was not far from the City: with whom the King (passing the River) ioynd, and appointed them that were well armed to make head against the Horse-men at the foot of the Mountaine. When as the *Lacedemonian* Horse-men had charged the *Macedonians*, and the targeteers had fought valiantly, and withall the King had performed his duty well, they were in the end repuls'd shamefully to the gates of the City. Afterwards the King past *Eurota* safely, and was forced to settle his Campe in the night, at his comming forth of the streights, in a place which was very strong by nature. Finally, the King had an humour to over-run the Countrey neere to *Lacedemon*. In the beginning of the said streights vpon the approaches from *Teges* by the firme Land to *Lacedemon*, there is a place about two Furlongs distant from the City, vnder the which the River hath its course: the which embraceth the City and the side of the River, with a steepe and inaccessible Mountaine. The foote of this Mountaine is a slimy and watery Plaine, a well for the entry as the going forth of an Army: so as whosoeuer plan his Campe there, in seizing vpon the Hill, seems to campe safely, and to be in a sure place, in regard of the Towne which is opposite, hauing vnder its power the entry and issue of the streights. *Philip* hauing settled his Campe there, he caught the Baggage to march the next day, and draws his Army into the Plaine, in view of the Towne. Where after he had stayed sometime, hee wheels about like a Bowe, and takes his way towards *Teges*. And when hee came into the Countrey where that famous Battaille was fought betwixt *Antigonus* and *Chelonus*, he planted his Campe there.

Three dayes after when the places were well viewed, and the Sacrifices performed in two Mountaines, whereof the one is called *Olympus*, and the other *Eua*, he went on his way, and came to *Teges*, where he

he stayed some time to diuide the spoile: Then suddainly hee returned to *Corinthe* with his Army. Thither came Embassadours from *Rhodes* and *Chios* to the King, to mediate a peace betwixt him and the *Esoliens*. To whom the King giuing a gracious reception, he told them that he had long, and at that present was ready to imbrace a peace, if the *Esoliens* held it fir, and that they should goe vnto them, and consider of the meanes therof. From thence he went to *Leche*, and prepared himselfe to imbarke, desiring to decide some pressing affaires at *Phocis*.

Embassadours
from Rhodes to
Chios.

At the same time *Leonce*, *Megalee*, and *Protolomy* thinking yet to terrise the King, and by that meanes to repaire their errors, calls the Targeteers, and those whom the *Macedonians* terme, the Kings Troupe: whom they informe that they are dayly in great danger without any recompence, or any share in the spoile, according to the ancient custome approued by all men. By meanes whereof they perswade these young men to assaile and spoile the Lodgings of the Kings principall Minions, and that falling vpon the Kings owne Lodging, they should ouerthrow the Gates and couering. The which when they had done, there grew a great mutiny in the Towne. *Philip* hearing the noise, makes haste to returne from the Port: And drawing the *Macedonians* together, he pacifieth them partly with words, and blaming them for the things which they had done. And when as the fury increased, and that some were of opinion to chafe out of the Towne those that had bene the cause of the mutiny, others saying that this fury of the Commons ought to bee pacified without any greater punishment, the King dissembled his conceite for the present. And being as it were perswaded by them, hee returned to the Hauen, after hee had giuen them many admonitions, knowing well the heads of this villany: But hee thought good to deferre it to a more conuenient time. *Leonce* and his Faction despairing, for that none of their enterprizes succeeded, retired to *Appelles*, and caused him to come from *Calcis*, giuing him to vnderstand that they could not doe any thing without him, for that the King cross them in all things. *Appelles* had carried himselfe in *Calcis* with greater liberty then was fit: for he gaue them to vnderstand that the King was young, vnder his Guard and without any power, terming himselfe Lord, and sole Governour of all things. Wherefore all the Princes of *Macedony* and *Thessaly* adrest themselves to him in all affaires. Within a short time likewise all the Cities of *Greece* had forgotten the King in their elections, honours, and offices: Onely *Appelles* managed all affaires. The King being long before aduertised thereof, was much discontented and incensed: whereunto *Aras* spurd him on continually, although he dissembled his conceite so well, as no man could discouer it. *Appelles* ignorant of the Kings resolution, and thinking to obtaine anything when he should present himselfe vnto him, came from *Calcis* to *Corinthe*. When he came neere the Towne, *Leonce*, *Protolomy*, and *Megalee* Chief of the Targeteers, and other Souldiers that were best armed, gaue him a great reception, perswading the youth to goe and meete him: He came then to the Kings lodging in pompe, being attended on by the Captaines and Souldiers. When as he sought (as he was wont) to

A mutiny
against philip
and his men.

Leonce and his
Faction retired
to *Appelles*.

Ff
enter

enter suddenly, a certaine Vther told him, that he must haue patience, for that the King was busie for the present. *Appelles* wondering at this new manner of proceeding, remained pensive for a time, after which he departed discontented, and without iudgement: all the rest likewise abandoned him, so as hee returned alone to his lodging, hauing no other Company but his owne Family. O how suddenly are men aduanced to great honours, and in as short time reduced to greater miseries: especially such as frequent Princes Courts. They are like vnto Lots, which they vsually giue in publike Councells. For as those which a little before were were giuen in Copper, are suddenly turned into Gold, according to the will of those that dispose of them: So they which follow the Courts of Princes, are according to the Kings will and pleasure, happy one day, and miserable the next. When *Megalee* knew that he had sought the assistance of *Appelles* in vaine, he trembled for feare, and intended to flye. After that day *Appelles* was called to Banquets and other honours that were done: but he neuer entered into the priuy Councell, nor assisted at the ordinary resolutions which were taken for affaires.

The misery of Courtiers.

Soone after the King returned to *Phocia*, leading *Appelles* with him: Whereas hauing speedily effected his will, he returned againe to *Elatia*. During this, *Megalee* flies to *Athens*, leaving *Leonce* caution for him for twelue thousand Crownes. And when as the Chiefe of the *Atheniens* would not receiue him, he returned to *Thebes*. The King being parted from the Countrey which lies about *Circe*, hee sayled to the Port of *Sicyonia* with the Targeters and his Guard. From whence comming suddenly to the Towne, he preferred the lodging of *Arate* before the other Princes, making his continuall abode with him, commanding *Appelles* to sayle to *Corinthe*. When as newes came in the meane time of the flight of *Megalee*, hee sent *Taurion* with the Targeters whom *Leonce* had vnder his charge to *Triphalia*, as if hee had bene forced thereunto by some great affaires. After whose departure, hee causeth *Leonce* to be apprehended. The Targeters aduertised hereof, sent an Embassage to the King to intreate him that if *Leonce* had bene taken for any other thing then for the caution, that the iudgement might not be giuen before their returne: Otherwise they should thinke themselves contemned, and in disgrace with the King. The King prickt forward by the importunity of the Souldiers, he put *Leonce* to death sooner then he had resolved.

The flight of Megalee.

The taking of Leonce.

During the which, the Embassadors of *Rhodes* and *Chios* returned from *Etolia*, hauing agreed vpon a Moneths truce: and saying that the *Etolians* were ready to treat a peace with the King, appointing moreover a day when he should meete with them neere vnto *Rhie*: Being confident that they would doe whatsoever he pleased to haue a peace. The King accepting the truce, sent Letters to the Allies, willing them to send Embassadors to *Passes*, to conferre with him on the conditions of the peace. Then hee parts from *Leche*, and arriveth two dayes after at *Passes*. At the same time they bring vnto him Letters from *Phocia*, which *Megalee* himselfe had written vnto the *Etolians*: by

by the which he solicits them to maintaine the Warre courageously, for that the King could not long continue it for want of victuals and other munition. Moreouer, they contained many scandalous and opprobrious speeches against the King. The which being read, the King conceiuing that *Appelles* had bene the cause and the beginning of these practices, causeth him to be taken and brought to *Corinthe*, with his Sonne and Concubine: And hee sent *Alexander* to *Thebes*, giuing him charge to bring *Megalee*, to the end his caution might be discharged. But when as *Alexander* thought to execute his charge, *Megalee* preuened him, and slew himselfe. In a manner at the same time, *Appelles*, his Sonne, and his Concubine were put to death, receiving the worthy punishment of their wicked liues, and namely for the outrage done by them to *Arate*.

Appelles taken Prisoner.

Megalee kills himselfe.

The death of Appelles and his Sonne.

Although the *Etolians* desired peace, being discontented with the long Warre, and seeing their affaires to succeed otherwise then they expected: for that conceiuing they had to deale with a Child (considering that the King had neither age nor experience) they found him by his deeds to bee a man excellent in Councell and Execution, and themselves to bee Children, as well in their particular as publike affaires: Yet aduertised of the mutiny of the Targeters, and of the death of *Appelles*, from whom they expected some great alteration in the Kings Court, they came not to *Rhie* at the day appointed. *Philip* holding this a good occasion to entertaine the Warre, solicites the Embassadors of the Allies which were there assembled, not vnto peace (for the which they had bene called) but to Warre. Then parting from thence with his Fleece, hee came to *Corinthe*, and sent all the *Macedonians* to winter in their houses. Parting from *Corinthe*, hee sailed by the *Euripe* to *Demetriade*: there hee put *Ptolomey* to death, (who onely remained of the Conspiracy of *Appelles* and *Leonce*) by the iudgement of the *Macedonians*.

Philip sails to Corinthe.

At the same time *Hannibal* had past the *Alpes*, and was in *Italy*, and had planted his Campe neere to the Riuer of *Poe*, not farre from that of the *Romans*. *Antiochus* after hee had conquered many places in *Syria*, had brought backe his Army to winter. *Licurgus* King of the *Lacedemonians* fearing the Magistrates, had fled into *Etolia*: for the Magistrates hearing a false report, that hee would attempt some reuolte, came in the Night to his house with a Troupe of Youth: whereof being formerly aduertised, he fled with his seruants. When as *Philip* in the depth of Winter had retired into *Macedony*, and that *Eperatus* Chiefe of the *Acheins* was made a scorne to the Youth of the Towne, and to the Mercenaries, and was not obeyed, nor made any preparation for the defence of the Countrey, *Pyrreus* (whom the *Etolians* had sent to the *Elienses* for their Captaine, accompanied with thirteene hundred *Etolians*, and a thousand Foore, as well Souldiers as Burgeses of the *Elienses*, and with two hundred Horse, being in all about threethou (and men), aduertised thereof, spoiled not onely the Countreies of the *Dimeuses* and *Phareuses*, but also of *Patres*: Finally, he pitched his Campe neere vnto the Mountain *Panachaique*, which

The flight of Licurgus into Etolia.

The Mountain Panachaique.

which looks towards *Patres*, and waisted all the neighbour Region. The Townes thus vexed, being no was succour'd, they payed the Taxe and charge vnwillingly: The Souldiers would not be drawne to succour them, for that their pay was delayed. By this mutuall trouble the *Acheins* affaires were in bad case: And the *Mercenaries* retired by little and little: the which happened by the negligence of the Commander. And when the affaires of *Acheia* stood in this estate, and that the time of the Election was come, *Eperate* left the government, and the *Acheins* in the Spring made choise of old *Arate*. Thus past the Affaires in

Old *Arate*
made Chiefe of
the *Acheins*.

But seeing that in the distinction of times, and the order of actions, we haue found a conuenient place for this Subiect, let vs passe to the Warres of *Asia* vnder the same Olympiade: Relating first (as we haue promised in the beginning of our worke) the Warre of *Syria*, which was betwixt *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*. And for that I know well that this Warre was not ended at such time as I left to treat of the Actions of *Greece*, and being resolved to follow this perfection and distribution, to the end the Readers may not be deceived in the true knowledge of euery time: I hope to leaue a sufficient instruction for those which desire to know it, in setting downe at what time in this present Olympiade, and of the deeds of the *Grecians*, the beginning and ending of other actions happened: Moreover, wee esteeme nothing better nor more honourable in this Olympiade, then not to confound things, to the end the discourse of the History may be plaine and easie: And that distinguishing matters by order as much as may be possible, vntill that coming to other Olympiades, wee may yeeld to euery yeere its actions according to order. And for that we haue not resolved to write them all, nor the actions of all places, and that wee haue vndertaken with greater affection to write Histories then our predecessours haue done; it is fitting wee should be carefull to expresse them in order, and that the generall worke of the History may with its parts be plaine and apparent. Wherefore we will now write the Reignes of *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, reducing things from farre, and pursuing our discourse from a beginning, which may be notorious, and which squares with that which wee haue to say.

An order required in all things.

For these ancients which haue sayd, that the beginning is a moiety of the whole, they haue vndoubtedly taught vs, that in all things wee should vse great diligence, that the beginnings may be well ordered. And although some thinke they haue vied a high stile, yet in my opinion they doe not seeme to speake with truth. Without doubt you may boldly say, that the beginning is not onely a moiety of the whole, but hath also a regard to the end. Tell mee, how canst thou make a good beginning, if thou hast not first comprehended in thy vnderstanding the end of thy Enterprize? And if thou knowest not in what part, to what purpose, and the cause why thou wilt make it? For how can a History haue order, if at the beginning or entrance thou dost not deliuer plainly, from whence, and how, or wherefore thou art come vnto the relation which thou dost

presently

presently make of actions? Wherefore they which will haue things heard and vnderstood fully, thinke that the beginnings doe not onely serue for the one halfe, but also for the end: wherein they imploy themselves with great care and industry: the which I will carefully endeavour to doe. Although that I am certaine that many of the ancient Historiographers haue bin confident to haue done the like, when as they pretended to write all generally, and to haue written a longer History then their predecessours: of whom I will forbear to speake much, or to name them: Among the which I excuse *Ephorus*, the first and onely man which hath attempted to write a generall History. But I will vse no longer discourse, nor name any of the rest: But I will say that some Historiographers of our time, comprehending the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in three or foure small Pages, brag publicly that they haue written all. It is certaine that for as much as there hath beene many and great exploits performed in *Spain*, *Affricke*, *Sicily* and *Italy*, and that the Warre of *Hannibal* hath beene the greatest and longest, except that of *Sicily*. We must also vnderstand, that the excellency of this warre hath beene the cause that wee haue all cast our eyes vpon it: and the rather for that wee were in doubt of the end.

This is a Warre which euery man (be he neuer so dull and simple) knows. Yet some of those which haue handled the History, writing onely superficially the actions of some times, yet they imagine they haue comprehended the deeds of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. Whereof the cause is, for that it is an easie thing to promise many great things by mouth, but it is not easie to bring a great enterprize to an end. And therefore this other is common, and (as a man may say) in the hands of all men, so as they haue courage: But the last is rare, and few men attaine vnto it. Finally, the arrogancy of some, which glorifie themselves too much, and commend their Writings, hath caused mee to make this digression. But now I returne vnto my enterprize.

When *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopater*, had seized vpon the Empire of *Egypt*, after the death of his Father, and had made away his Brother with his adherents, (thinking there was no more cause of feare in his Family, for the afore-said crime;) and that for strangers, Fortune had in good time assured all things, considering the death of *Antigonus* and *Selenus*: to whose Realmes *Antiochus* and *Philip* had succeeded, who were scarce eightene yeeres old) he abandoned himselfe to pleasures, whose example the whole Countrey followed. For this cause his owne people made no esteeme of him. And not onely his subiects, but also the rest which managed the affaires both within and without *Egypt*. The Lords of the lower *Syria*, and of *Cyprus*, haue made Warre against the Kings of *Syria*, as well by Sea as Land. They also which hold the chiefe Cities, places, and Ports which are along the Sea-coasts, from *Pamphilia* vnto *Hellspont*, and the Country of *Lysimachia*, confined with the Principallities of *Asia* and the Ilands. And as for *Thracia* and *Macedony*, the Princes of *Enos* and *Maronia*, and of Townes that were more remote, had alwayes an eye ouer them. Wherefore employing

Ptolemy King
of *Egypt*.

Ff 3

their

The enterprise
of Cleomenes
vpon *Telamy*.

their forces, to assaile forreine Princes, farre from their Realmes, they were not troubled for the Empire of *Egypt*. Their chiefe care then was for the Warres of forreine Countries. In regard of this King of whom wee speake, there were many in a short time, who for his infamous loues, and ordinary excess in drinking, had an eye vpon him and his Realme. Amongst the which *Cleomenes* of *Lacedemon* was the first. He made no alteration whilest that the other King liued, who was surnamed *Benefactor*: as if he were perswaded, that during his life he should want no meanes to reconquer his Realme.

But when as after his death, the affaires required his presence, *Antigonus* being also dead: And that the *Acheims* with the *Macedonians* made Warre against the *Lacedemonians*, which they maintaine according vnto that which hee had aduised them in the beginning, being allied to the *Etolians*: Then hee was forced to thinke of his departure from *Alexandria*. Wherefore hee first solicited the King to send them backe with an Army and sufficient munition. And when as the King would not giue care vnto it, he intreated him at the least to suffer him to depart with his family, for the time was now come, when as great opportunities were offered to recouer his Fathers Realme. The King neither considering the present, nor fore-seeing the future, for the causes aboue specified, like an over-weening man, and without iudgement, neuer made any esteeme of *Cleomenes*. But *Sofibius* (who chieflly gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome at that present) holding a Councell with his Friends, was not of aduice to suffer *Cleomenes* to goe with an Army at Sea, and munition, disdainning forreine affaires, and holding this charge lost, considering the death of *Antigonus*: fearing likewise that this death being so fresh, the way might be made easie to stirre vp some Warre: And there being no man found to resist *Cleomenes*, he would soone make himselfe Lord of all the Cities in *Greece*. Finally, they feared he would become their Enemy, considering the present: in regard of the Kings manner of life, which was well knowne vnto them. With this disadvantage, that *Sofibius* saw the Prouinces of the Realme to lie one farre from another, and to haue great opportunities of reuolts. For there was neere vnto *Samos* a good number of Vessels, and great Troupes of Souldiers neere vnto *Ephesus*. Wherefore he did not hold it fit to send backe *Cleomenes* with an Army for the afore-sayd reasons. But when they considered that it would not be profitable for their Common-wealth, to let goe so great a personage, who afterwards might proue their open Enemy, there was no preuention but to retaine him by force. The which notwithstanding the rest disliked, conceiuing that there would be great danger to keepe the Lyon and Sheepe in one fold. *Sofibius* was of the same opinion for that or the like cause.

An Army neere
vnto *Ephesus*.

Mega.
Berynice.

At such time as they resolved to take *Mega* and *Berynice*, and that they feared to bring their enterprize to a good end, in regard of the fiercenesse of *Berynice*, they were forced to drawe together all those which followed the Court, and to make them great promises if they preuailed. Then *Sofibius* knowing that *Cleomenes* wanted the Kings succours to recouer his fathers Realme, and that he had found him by experience

to

to be wise and politicke in great affaires, he discovered his whole secrets vnto him, propounding vnto him great hopes. *Cleomenes* seeing him perswade, and fearing the strangers and Mercenaries, perswaded him not to care: promising him that the Souldiers should not trouble him, and that moreover they should giue him great assistance to bring his enterprize to an end. And when as the other stood in admiration, dost thou not see sayd *Cleomenes*, that there are about three thousand men of *Morea*, and a thousand *Candyors*, all which will bring vs where we please: Hauing these, whom else dost thou feare? What? The *A* Companions of the Warre of *Syria* and *Caria*? And when as *Sofibius* liked of his words, hee entred more boldly into the Action. And afterwards considering of the Kings foolery and negligence, hee often called to minde this Speech, and had alwayes before his eyes the Courage of *Cleomenes*, and the affection the Souldiers bare him. Wherefore considering this, at the same time hee gaue the King and his other familiars to vnderstand, that hee must seaze vpon him, and keepe him close and priuate. For the working and effecting whereof, hee vsed this meanes.

There was one *Nicagorus* a *Messenian*, a friend to the father of *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, betwixt whom there had formerly beene some friendship. But at such time as *Archidamus* was chased from *Sparta* for feare of *Cleomenes*, and fled to *Messena*, hee nor onely gaue him a good reception into his House with his friends at his first comming, but hee alwayes liued with him afterwards during his flight, so as there grew a great and strict familiarity betwixt them. When as after these things *Cleomenes* made shewe of some hope of reconciliation with *Archidamus*, *Nicagorus* beganne to treat of the Conditions of peace. VVhen the accord had beene made, and that *Nicagorus* had taken the faith of *Cleomenes*, *Archidamus* returned to *Sparta*, assuring himselfe of the conventions of *Nicagorus*, whom *Cleomenes* meeting vpon the way slew, suffering *Nicagorus* and his company to passe away. In regard of *Nicagorus*, he carried the countenance of a very thankfull man, for that he had saued his life: But hee was vexed in his Soule, and incensed for the deede, for that hee seemed to haue giuen the occasion.

Archidamus
slayne by *cleo*
mes.

This *Nicagorus* had sailed vnto *Alexandria* some little time before with Horses: whereas going out of the ship, hee met with *Cleomenes*, *Pamphoe*, and *Hippite*, walking vpon the strande: whom *Cleomenes*, perceiuing, saluted curteously, demanding what business he had brought him thither: To whom he answered, that he had brought Horses. *D* had rather sayd *Cleomenes*, thou hadst brought Concubines and Bawdies: for these are the things wherein the King at this day takes his chiefe delight. Then *Nicagores* held his peace smiling. VVhen as within few dayes after he discovered by chance with *Sofibius* by reason of the Horses, he related vnto him that which *Cleomenes* had arrogantly spoken of the King. And seeing *Sofibius* to heare him willingly, he acquainted him with the cause of the spleene he bare him. VVhen as *Sofibius* knew him to be wonderfully incensed against *Cleomenes*, hee did

Nicagorus seen
with *Cleomenes*.

him great curtesies for the present, and promised him great fauours hereafter: Finally hee wrought so, that imbarquing he left Letters concerning *Cleomenes*, which a seruant of his brought after his departure, as sent from him. The which *Nicagorus* performing, the seruant vsed speed to go vnto the King, assuring him that *Nicagorus* had giuen him the Letters to carry to *Sesibius*. The Ienour whereof was, That if *Cleomenes* were not soone dispatcht with an Army at Sea and munition, he would raise some troubles within the Realme. *Sesibius* Imbracing this occasion, gaue the King and his Councell to vnderstand, that this must not be heard with a deafe eare, and that he must A seaze vpon *Cleomenes* and giue him a Guard. The which being put in execution, they gaue him a spacious House, where hee liued with Guards, differing therein from other Prisoners, for that hee had a larger Prison.

Cleomenes considering this, and hauing little hope for the future, resolved to hazard all, and yet without hope to effect any thing, and being in extreame despaire, but desiring to make an honourable Death, and not to suffer any thing that might seeme vsfitting for the greatnesse of his Courage. I imagine likewise that hee had an humour, and had propounded to himselfe that, which commonly great Spirits doe B in these Tearmes:

*That in dishonour I doe not basely fall,
Courage my heart, let's bravely venture all.*

When as hee had obserued the Voyage which the King made to the Towne of *Canope*, hee caused it to be bruied among his Guards, that hee should bee soone set at liberty. Wherefore he made a Banquet to his people, and sent offering and Garlands of Flowers to the Guards. And moreover store of Wine. Whilest they made good cheere, and were all drunke, hee goes out of the House with his Friends and Seruants, their Swords in their hands in the open day, the which the Guard neuer perceiued. And when as marching in this manner, they met with *Ptolemy* in the Market place, they ouer-threw him from his Chariot and slew him: Whereat all those that did accompany him were amazed at the greatnesse of the fact. Finally they beganne to cry Liberty vnto the people. But when as no man stirred, considering the greatnesse of the Crime, they turned head and assailed the Fortresse, as if the Gate had beene ouer-throwne by the Treason of the Souldiers, and that they should presently take it. But for that the Guards (fore-seeing the danger,) had Rampt vp the Gate: in the end they flew themselves being frustrated of their hope, and dyed an honourable Death, worthy of a *Spartaine* Courage. Behold the end of *Cleomenes* a man of great Eloquence in speaking, and of great Resolution in Warre: Who it seemes wanted nothing that did fauour of a King but a Realme.

After *Cleomenes*, *Theodote* borne in *Etolia*, and Gouvernour of base *Syria*, soone after resolved to haue intelligence with *Antiochus*, and

to

to deliuer him the Townes of his government: For that hee partly contemned the King for his negligence and idleness, and partly the Courtiers, growing distrustfull, for that a little before hee had propounded a good aduice vnto the King, aswell for other things as to resist *Antigonus*, seeking to make Warre against *Syria*: Wherein hee was not onely distrustfull, but they caused him to come to *Alexandria*, where he was in danger of his life. *Antiochus* accepting this offer gladly, the matter came to effect. But to the end we may with- all declare this Race, seeking our the Empire of *Antiochus*, let vs A make our entry summarily from those times, to come vnto the Warre whereof we meane to Treat.

You must vnderstand that *Antiochus* the younger was Sonne vnto *Seleucus* surnamed *Calinice*. Who after the death of his Father, when the Realme fell to *Seleucus* his elder Brother, liued in the beginning priuately in his House, in the high Countrey of the Realme: But his Brother being slaine in Treason (as wee haue sayd) after hee had past Mount *Taurus* with an Army, he tooke the Empire and Raigned, giuing the gouernement of all the Prouince, which lyes on this side *Taurus*, to *Achens* and *Molon*: And to his brother *Alexander*, the high B Countries of his Realme: So as *Molon* should haue *Media*, and his brother *Perfida*. These contemning the King for his Age (for he was scarce fiftene yeares old) and hoping to draw *Achens* to their Conspiracy, fearing moreover the cruelty and Treachery of *Hermes*, who then had the Government of the whole Realme, resolved to abandon the King, and to change the Estate of the Prouinces which they helde. *Hermes* was borne in *Caria*, to whom *Seleucus* the Kings brother had giuen the gouernment of the Realme, relying in him from the time they past Mount *Taurus*. Wherefore being advanced to this supream Authority, he enuied all those which had any power in Court, being out- C ragious and cruell by Nature, condemning innocents at his pleasure, and fauouring wicked men and Lyers.

Finally, he was cruell and rough in his iudgements. But among other things he watcht an opportunity to kill *Epigene*, who was Lieutenant Generall of *Seleucus* his Army: For that he found him a man of great Eloquence and great execution, hauing fauour and Authority in the Army. And although he plotted this in his minde continually, yet hee kept it secret, seeking some occasion to effect his enterprize. Finally when as the Councell was assembled to conferre vpon *Antiochus* Rebellion, and that the King had commaunded euery man to deliuer his opinion, and that *Epigene* beginning first had sayd, that this businesse D was not to be held of small importance, and that it was necessary the King should approach the Countrey, holding himselfe ready when time should require, and that by this means *Molon* would giue over his enterprize, the King being neere with a great Army, for if hee did persist in that which hee had begunne, the people would deliuer all the Traytors into the Kings hands. Then *Hermes* enraged, sayd vnto him *Epigene* hauing long concealed thy Treason, thy disloyalty hath in the end bene discovered in this Councell: Labouring to deliuer the Kings person

The Speech
of *Hermes* as
against *Epigene*

person

Cleomenes taken
Prisoner, and
put in Guard.

The bold enters
prize of *Cleo-*
menes.

Ptolemy slayne
by *Cleomenes*.

Theodote.

Antiochus Son
to *Seleucus*.

person into the hands of Traytors. Having spoken thus, and in some sort shewed his slander, hee left *Epigene*. Finally shewing a countenance rather of importune indignation, then of any manifest hatred, hee persisted in his opinion not to leade an Army against *Molon*, fearing the danger: For that the Souldiers were not invred to Warre, and that they should vse all diligence to make Warre against *Prolemy*, holding that sure by reason of the Kings negligence and idleness. By this meanes when hee had stoped the mouthes of all that were in the Assembly for feare, he sent *Xenon*, *Theodote*, and *Hermioly* with an Army against *Molon*: Giuing King *Antiochus* to vnderstand, that hee should presently vnderake the Warre of *Syria*: Thinking by this meanes, that if the King were roundly beset with Warre, hee should neuer be punished for the offences which hee had formerly committed: Neither should hee loose his Authority for the necessity and continuall dangers wherein the King should be daily.

Wherefore in the end hee brought a counterfeite Letter, as sent from *Carchus* to the King. The Tenour whereof was, that *Prolemy* had solicited him to enter into Warre, to get the Principallity, and that hee would furnish him with money and munition, if he would take the Crowne vpon him, and that it was apparent to all the World that hee pretended to be a King: The which in truth hee seemed to be, but he did not yet enioy the name of a King, nor weare a Crowne, for the enuy which Fortune procured him. *Antiochus* giuing credite to these Letters, resolved to make a descent into *Syria*: But whilst hee stayed in *Seleucia*, and was carefull to bring his enterprize vnto a good end, *Diognet* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, arriued from *Cappadocia*, which is neere vnto the *Euxine* Sea, bringing with him *Laodicea*, the Daughter of *Metridates*, who was promised to *Antiochus*. This is that *Metridates*, who bragged that hee was descended from one of the seauen Wise men of *Persia*. She was receiued with royall pompe, and *Antiochus* married her presently: From thence he went to *Antiochus*, leauing the Queene Regent of the Realme: and applied himselfe wholly to rayse his Army.

Antiochus marries Laodicea.

Molon goes to field with an Army.

At that time *Molon* seeing the people ready to doe what hee pleased, as well for the hope of the gaine which hee propounded vnto them, as for that their Commanders were terrified by the Kings false and counterfeite Letters: Having also his brother *Alexander* for a Companion in this Waire: After that hee had gotten all the neighbour Townes by the corruption of their Gouernours, hee goes to field with a great Army, and plants himselfe neere vnto the Campe of the Kings Lieutenants. At whose coming *Xenon*, and *Theodote* being terrified, they retired to the next Townes. *Molon* being Lord of all the plaine of *Appolonia*, and running where he pleased, the whole Prouince brought him great store of Victuals and munition. Hee was before terrible in regard of his great power: Neyther had he any will to loose the occasion, for that that all the Kings Races for Horses were in *Media*, with infinite store of Wheate and Cattle. In regard of the force, height, and Wealth of that Region, wee cannot speake sufficient. *Media* lies about

about the midst of a *Asia*: It excels in greatnesse and height all the other Regions about it. It is very powerfull in people, being discouered towards the East, by the Desart Countries, which lye betwixt *Persida* and *Parasia*. It ioynes and commands the Ports of the *Caspian* Sea: So doth it in the Mountaines called *Tapyreins*, which are not farre from the *Hyrcanian* Sea. But as for the Southerne Regions, it lookes to *Messopotamia*, and *Appolonia*, ioyning vnto *Persida*, which lyes before Mount *Sagre*, which hath a passage of a hundred Furlongs long: The which hauing many inclosures, is diuided by Vallies and certaine Plaines, with the *Cossees*, *Corbrenes*, *Carchins*, with diuers other Barbarous Nations inhabite, being excellent in matters of War. Finally it ioynes to the *Satrapies* vpon the West, who differ not much from those which inhabite *Pontus Euxinus*. And as for the part towards the North, it hath the *Elimees*, *Ariaraces*, then the *Caddusians* and *Mantianes*. Finally, it is situated about the Countries which neere vnto the Blacke Sea ioyne to *Pontus*. It is separated from *Asia* by a multitude of Mountaines vpon the West: and yet there is a playne well furnished with Townes and Burroughes.

The Situation of Media.

When as *Molon* was Lord of this Region, hauing a kinde of a Realme, and was terrible euen before this Rebellion, in regard of the great power of the Countrey, he shewed himselfe then more intolerable towards the *Asians*: For that at his arriuall the Kings Lieutenants had abandoned their Campe, and that matters did not succcede in the beginning according to their hopes. Wherefore in passing *Tygrus*, *Molon* incauoured to besiege *Seleucia*. But when as *Zenon* had stoped the Passage, by staying all the Boates, hee retired: The Army being at *Cesiphon*, hee made prouision of all things necessary to passe the winter. The King aduertised of *Molons* Army, and of the flight of his Lieutenants, resolved to lead his Army against him, leauing *Prolemy*. But *Hermes* remembering his enterprize, sent *Xenote* an *Achaian*, with an Army against *Molon*, saying that Lieutenants must fight with Rebels, and the King with Kings in person. Keeping the King thus in awe by reason of his Age, hee went to *Apamia*: where hee drew together an Army, and from thence marcht suddainly to *Laodicea*. From whence the King parting with all his Troupes, and hauing past a Desart, hee came into a place which the Inhabitants of the Countrey called *Marsia*, seated betwixt the two Promontories of *Liban* and *Antiliban*, which restrayne it, and in the narrowest streight is miry and moorish: where also grow the Aromaticall Canes.

Liban Antiliban

Moreover there ioynes to the one side of the sayd streights a Towne, which they call *Broches*, and on the other that of *Gerre*: Betwixt the which there is a rough and difficult way. The King marching for some dayes by these streights, came in the end to *Gerre*: Whereas when he saw that *Theodote* of *Erolia* had taken it, and *Broches*, and that hee had fortified all that part of the streights, which were neere vnto the Fens, with Ditches, and Pallisadoes, and men for the defence thereof, hee laboured at the first to assaile them. But when it seemed he lost more then hee got, by reason of the disadvantage of the place, and that

The Towne of Broches.

Theodote

Theodote made a shew to be of *Ptolomies* party, hee gaue over the enterprize. And when he had newes of the retreat of *Xenote*, and of the attempt of *Molon*, hee resolu'd to part from thence, and to giue order for his owne affaires.

Xenote being (as wee haue sayd) sent Generall against *Molon*, hee had a greater power then was imagin'd, and vs'd his friends with great arrogancy, and his enemies with too much cruelty. When hee tooke his way to *Seleucia* with his Army, calling vnto him *Diogene* Gouvernour of the Countrey of *Susan*, and *Pythias* of the red Sea, hee marcht against the enemies, and planted his Campe neere vnto theirs, A the Riuer of *Tygris* being betwixt them. During the which there were many came swimming from *Molons* Campe, aduertising him that the greatest part of his Army would yeild vnto him, if he past the Riuer, for that they hated him, and loued and affected the King. *Xenote* perswaded by their words, prepares himselfe to passe *Tygris*, and making shew that hee would make his passage at a certaine place, where as the Water makes an Iland, hee made no shewe of any preparation. Whereupon whilest that *Molon* made no account of his enterprize, hee prepared Boates speedily, and taking the best of his Horse-men, and the Chiefe of all the Foot-men of his Army, he left *Zeuxis* and *Pythias* B as for the Guard of the Campe; and past his Army safely in the night by Boate fourescore furlongs beneath *Molons* Campe: During the which hee seated his Campe in a safe place, which was inuironed by the Riuer for the greatest part, and the rest assured by Fens and Moores adioyning.

When as *Molon* was aduertised hereof, hee sent his Horse-men before to hinder their passage, or to defeat them that were past. Who approaching neere to *Xenote*, they annoy'd themselves more (for that they knew not the places) then they did the enemy: For entring into those Moorish Fens, they could doe no seruice, and many perished. *Xenote* hoping that if hee approached neere vnto *Molon*, hee should draw many of his men vnto him, marcht a slow pace a long the riuer side, setting downe neere vnto the enemy. At what time *Molon* leauing his Baggage in the Campe, retired by night, doing it eyther by policy or for some distrust hee had of his men: and takes his way towards *Media*. *Xenote* thinking the enemy had bene fled, terrified with his comming, and ill assured of his Souldiers, gaires first the enemies Campe, and calls vnto him all his Horse-men, and the rest which he had left with *Zeuxis*. Then calling them all together, hee perswades them to be of good hope for the future, considering the flight D and despaire of *Molon*.

This propos'd ended, hee commaunded them to go to their Repast, and to be ready in morning to pursue their enemies: But all the souldiers hearts puff'd vp with the present successe, and stuff'd with all sorts of Booty, betooke themselves wholly to gormundizing and drunkenness, and in the same sort of sloathfulness and negligence, that by custome begets such things, passed the night. Now as *Molon* had gayned an aduantagious place, and that he had refreshed his men also, hee aduanced

The Retreat
of *Molon*.

ced against the enemies, and finding them ouer come and seized on by sleepe and Wine, he assaulted their Campe with extreame fury, euen in the breake of day.

Xenote astonish'd with so grear and vnlookt for a businesse, could by no meanes awake his people for their drunkenness; but they were killed by the enemies resisting by small Companies; and so the greatest part were defeated within the Campe drowned in sleepe, the rest throwing themselves into the Riuer, struing to passe it by swimming: but the most of them perished for all that in the end. It was a pittifull thing to A see men so affrighted, for all without any regard or consideration throwing themselves into the mercy of the Waves, and to passe therein, and driue afore them the Carriages and Baggage, as if they thought by the ayde of the Water, they could gaine or saue their Campe, but it came to passe that in one selfe same time, Sumpter horses, Armes, and dead bodies were borne by the Riuer, as if also a Vanquisher, a thing both fearefull to relate, and also horrible to behold.

Xenote his Army
defeated
and spoiled.

After that *Molon* had thus suddainly gayned the Campe of the enemies, and had passed the Riuer without danger, because there was none to hinder his passage, and that *Zeuxis* had taken flight, as it were, B before the enemies approached, hee tooke also the Fort which was there on the Riuer. After this good fortune, hee came into *Seleucia* with his Army: the which hee tooke suddainly, in respect that those who were with *Zeuxis* were astonish'd at his comming, hauing abandoned the Towne with *Diomedon* Gouvernour of *Seleucia*: And after hauing ranne ouer all the Province, hee brought vnder his obedience all the Townes of the high Countrey without finding resistance: and from thence hauing Conquered the Empire of all the Countrey of *Babylon*, and all the Countrey about the Red Sea, hee arriued vnto *Susa*, taking C the Towne vpon his first arriual, and after he had giuen many assaults to the Fortresse because *Diogene* was there rettyred, and that hee could not force it, he desisted from his enterprize and rayled the siege, hee returned into *Seleucia* with his Army: and there, after he had Garrison'd his men of Warre for some time, and had encouraged them vnto the Warres, hee with a great heart undertooke to lead them out of the Countrey, and to Conquer in a small time all the Province that is from *Tygris* vnto the Towne of *Euphrate* and *Mesopotamia*, euen vnto *Dura*.

Antioch hauing (as wee haue heretofore sayd) these newes, were in fantasie to leaue the Warre in *Syria*, and to provide for this other Countrey with an extreame diligence: they Assembled therefore those D of their Counsell, and as they had commaunded that every one should freely giue his aduice touching the Warre of *Molon*, and that *Epigen* should be made fir, saying that long sithence things should haue bene considered and lookt vnto, because the enemies should not haue their courages so great to undertake such things, because of their good successe: To whom neuertheless they ought now to giue order with all their endcauour and study, for some speedy course to preuent all future danger.

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Then

Then *Hermes* incensed againe, began to vie proud and iniurious speeches without reason : Hee inuented false slanders against *Epigene*, beseeching the King not to leaue the Warre of *Syria* so inconsiderately. Finally he grew into such a rage, as hee offended many and discontented *Antiochus*. They could hardly pacifie his fury, although the King vsed what meanes hee could to reconcile them. In the end when the aduice of *Epigene* seemed the best vnto the assistants, it was resolved in Councell that the Army should march against *Molon*, and that there they should make the Warre.

Hermes seeming presently to haue altered his aduice, sayd that all the World must obserue that which the Councell had decreed, and performed his duty to make prouision of all necessary things for the managing of Warre. When the Troupes were assembled at *Apamia*, and that there was a munty and a great discord growne amongst the common Souldiers : *Hermes* finding the King amazed and much troubled, hee assured him to pacifie the rage and discontent of the Souldiers, and to diuide and share the Corne quietly among them, if hee would promise him neuer to carry *Epigene* with him in any exploits of Warre: For that they could not performe any thing of importance in an Army, being at so much difference and so incensed one against another. And B although the King disliked this, and was very much discontented at his motion, for that hee knew by experience that *Epigene* was a man of Councell, and aduise in Affaires of Warre, yet to preuent the present, he sent him suddainly away : doubting that being circumvented by the promises of *Hermes*, hee should not be master of himselfe. Which beeing done, all the rest of the Kings Councell grew into great feare. The Troupes also receiuing what Corne they desired, changed their affection, and followed *Hermes*, except the *Cyrrastres* : Who beeing fixe thousand men, mutined and abandoned the Kings seruice : Who afterwards did him many affronts in his Warre at severall times. Yet C in the end they were defeated by a certaine Capitaine of the Kings party, and the greatest part of them slaine : the rest yielded afterwards vnto the King.

Hermes hauing made the Kings friends his owne by feare, and the Souldiers by his bounty, hee marche with him and his Army. Hee layed a plot against *Epigene*, with the helpe and consent of *Alexis*, who at that time was Capitaine of *Apamia*, and writing letters, as if they had bin sent from *Molon* to *Epigene*, hee corrupted one of *Alexis* seruants with great promises : who went to *Epigene*, to thrust these Letters secretly among his other Writings. Which when he had done, *Alexis* D came suddainly to *Epigene*, demanding of him, if he had receiued any Letters from *Molon* : and when hee affirmed no, the other was content that hee would finde some. Wherefore entring into the House to search, he found the Letters, and taking this occasion slew him. These things happening thus, the King thought that hee was iustly slaine. And although the rest of the Court and of his friends were much grieved at this suddaine disaster, yet they dissembled their sorrow for feare.

When

A mutiny in
Antiochus his
Campe.

The pacific
of
Molon against
Epigene.

When as *Antiochus* was come vnto *Euphrate*, he marche with his army vnto *Antiochia*, and stayed at *Michdionia* about the midst of *December*, desiring to passe the roughnesse of the Winter there : where staying about forty dayes, hee went vnto *Liba*, where hee called a Councell. And when as they consulted of the way which they should hold to find *Molon*, and from whence and how they might recouer Victuals, (for at that time hee made his abode in *Babylon*) *Hermes* was of opinion that they should keepe their way vpon this side the River of *Tygris*, and along the Bankes ; doubting and not a little fearing the Riuer of *Luque* and *Capre*. *Zeuxis* was of another opinion ; but hee durst not A speake nor declare his minde plainly, remembering still the death of *Epigene*.

But when as the ignorance of *Hermes* seemed apparent to all the assistants, hee with some difficulty deliuered his aduice, that they must passe *Tygris*, as well for many other difficulties which are on this side, as for that they must of necessity, after they had past certaine places in marching fixe daies journey by a Desert Country, came vnto a Region which they call *Diorex*, where the passage was not safe, for that the enemy had seized thereon : And that moreouer the returne would be dangerous, especially for want of victuals. If the King likewise did passe *Tygris*, all the people of *Appolonia*, transported with ioy would come vnto him, who at this day obeyed *Molon*, not for any affection, but B through necessity and feare : And withall they should haue abundance of victuals, by reason of the fertility of the Countrey ; and the passage of *Media* would be shut vp for *Molon*, so as of necessity he should be forced to come and fight : Or if hee fled, his Troupes would soone yeild vnto the King. When the aduice of *Zeuxis* had bene allowed in Councell, they presently past the whole Army with the baggage in three places. And marching from thence vnto *Dure*, they raised the sieg, (for one of *Molons* Capitaines had some few dayes before besieged it) and afterwards continuing on their way, and hauing past the C Mountaines which they of the Countrey call *Orie*, in eight daies they came into *Apolonia*.

At the same time *Molon* hauing newes of the Kings comming, and not holding himselfe assured of the *Susians* and *Babylonians*, beeing lately made subiect vnto him and by surprize, fearing moreouer that the passage of *Media* was stoped, hee afterwards resolved to passe by the Riuer *Tygris* speedily with his whole Army, making haste to gaine the Woodes which bend towards the playnes of *Apolonia*, for that he had great confidence in his Slingers, whom they call *Cyrles*. When D hee approached neere these places, from the which the King parting with his Army from *Apolonia* was not farre, it happened that the fore-runners of eyther side, lightly armed, met vpon a Hill, where they skirmished. But vpon the approach of both Armies, they began to retire, and the two Campes lodged within forty furlongs one of another.

When night came, *Molon* considering that a battaile by day with the King would be dangerous for him, not relying much vpon his men,

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hee

he resolved to assaile *Antiochus* at mid-night. Wherefore hee made choise of the ablest men of his whole Army, and takes his way by unknowne places, resolving to charge the enemy from the higher part: But being aduertised vpon the way, that ten of his Souldiers had stollen away in the night, and retired vnto *Antiochus*, hee gaue over his enterprize. So as taking another way, hee returned to the Campe at the breake of day, the which was the chiefe cause of great trouble in his Army: For they awaking with this suddaine and short returne of their Companions, they were so terrified and amazed, as they were in a manner ready to flie and abandon their Campe. *Molon* A when the truth was knowne and well perceiued, pacified this terrour and amazement what hee could, in so short a space, although it in some part increased still.

Antiochus puts
his Army in
Battaile.

The King being ready to fight, drawes his Army to fiedle at the breake of day, and on the right Wing hee sets the Launces, vnder the Command of *Ardis*, a man of great experience in the Warre. To whom hee gaue for a supply the *Candyots* his Allies, and after them the *Gauls* and *Rhigosages*: who were followed by the Souldiers of *Greece*, and finally by a great battalion of Foote-men. In regard of the left Wing, he gaue it to the Allies, which were all on horse-backe. Hee likewise set the Elephants in Front betwixt the two Wings, beeing ten B in number. In regard of the supplies of Horse and Foote distributed on eyther Wing, hee giues them charge to wheele about, and to compass in the enemy, as soone as the Battaile should beginne to charge.

After all this hee encourageth the Souldiers, telling them in few words what was necessary for the present: And he giues to *Hermes* and *Zenxis* the leading of the left Wing, and takes the right vnto himselfe. On the other side *Molon* drawes his Army to Field with great difficulty; and puts it but ill in Battaile, by reason of the disorder which had happened in the night. Yet hee diuided his Horse-men in two wings, C thinking the enemy had done the like, placing the Targetteers and the *Gauls* with others that were of most apt courage, great experience and best Armed in the midst of the Horse-men: putting the Archers and Slingers vpon the two Wings, without the Troupe of Horse-men, and in Front were placed all the Carriages and Bill-men. He gaue the leading of the left Wing vnto his brother *Neolans*, and him selfe takes the right.

The order of
Molon's battaile.

This done, the two Armies marcht: *Molon*'s right Wing was loyall and faithfull vnto him, charging *Zenxis* with great Courage and fury. But when as the left Wing drew somewhat neere vnto the King, it retired to the enemy. This happening, *Molon*'s Troupes faintred suddenly: And the Kings Army grew more stout and courageous. But when as *Molon* saw and well perceiued himselfe thus betrayed, and inuironed by the enemy, thinking and imagining of the Torments which hee must indure, if hee fell aliue into their hands, hee slew himselfe. The like the rest did which had bene Traytors vnto the King, who recouering their Houses by flight, slew themselves. When

The death of
Molon.

When as *Neolans* had escaped from the Battaile, and was retired vnto *Alexander* Brother to *Molon* in *Perfis*, hee slew the mother of *Molon* and his Children: After whose death he slew himselfe, perswading *Alexander* to doe the like. When as the King had spoiled the enemies Campe, hee commanded that the body of *Molon* should be hanged vpon a Crosse, in the most eminent place of *Media*, the which was suddainly performed by them which had the Charge: who after they had carried it to *Callonite*, crucified it neere vnto the Towne of *Zagre*.

Molon crucified.

A When he had giuen great admonitions to *Molon*'s Army, and pardoned them, he sent men to Conduct them into *Media*, and to giue order for the affaires of that Prouince. As for himselfe, he retired to *Selencia*. *Hermes* continuing still in his resolution, condemned the *Selencenses* in sixe hundred thousand Crownes for that they had revolted, banishing the *Diganes*: and put many to death in Prison by the Sword. But the King pacifying his rage, intreated the Burgeses curiously, and drew from them for a punishment of their reuelite, onely fourscore and ten thousand Crownes. These things thus pacified, hee made *Diogenie* his Lieutenant Generall in *Media*, and *Apollodorus* in the Prouince of *Sufis*, and sent the Chancellour *Tychon* Lieutenant of his Army, into the several Countries of the Red Sea, there to lye in Garrison vpon any suddaine occasion which should happen. This was the end of *Molon*'s reuelite, and of the Warre which followed.

The King glorious of this good fortune, and desirous to terrifie the Barbarous Princes his Neighbours, to the end they should not presume hereafter to succour his Rebels with men and Victuals, marches against them with his Army: And first against *Artabazanes*, who was more powerfull then any of the other Princes, and neerer to his Citties. At the same time *Hermes* feared to enter into the high Country for the eminent danger, and desired (as he had from the beginning) to lead the Army against *Ptolomy*. But when as certaine newes came of the birth of the Kings sonne, hee found this Voyage profitable for him, if *Antiochus* should chance to be slaine by the *Barbarians*: For that being left Tutour vnto the soane, hee should bee Lord of the whole Realme. All being thus resolved, they past Mount *Zagre*, and ouer-ran the Prouince of *Artabazanes*, which ioynes to *Media*, being separated from it by a Mountaine, and on some parts comes to the Pontique Sea on that side of the Countrey which is about *Phasis*: ioyning also to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Moreouer it abounds in all things necessary for the Warre. It hapned that the *Persians* kept this Principality, when D in the time of King *Alexander*, they made no account or esteeme of it.

Antiochus goes
against *Artabazanes*.

Antiochus hath
a sonne.

Artabazanes being amazed at the Kings comming, and broken with Age, thought good to yeilde vnto Fortune, and to agree with the King, vpon such conditions as he pleased. When the accord was made, *Apollaphanes* the Physitian, whom the King loued much, seeing *Hermes* abuse his Authority too arrogantly, was very careful for the King, and in great feare for those which were about him.

Artabazanes
makes an accord with *Antiochus*.

Apollonius
adulce to An-
tiachus.

Wherefore after he had expected the opportunity of time, he comes to *Antiochus*, and intreats him to prevent the presumption and impudency of *Hermes*, and not to suffer it any longer, least hee fall into his brothers inconvenience: for it was not farre off. Finally, that he should speedily provide for his safety, and for that of his friends. *Antiochus* liked well of his Counsell, for that he hated and feared *Hermes*. The King thanked him, for that hee had not feared to speake vnto him of things which concerned his safety. *Apollonius* also seeing that hee had not beene deceived in the opinion which hee had conceived of the King, grew afterwards more bold and hardy. For the rest, *Antiochus* Counsell'd him to be aduised for his owne good, and his friends; not onely by words, but also by effect: And as he sayd, he was ready to do all they aduised to that end: He made shew that the King had a great disease in his eyes, and must indure the paine some daies: vntill that time he had gotten leasure to make ready their enterprize. They vsed also power to goe and aduise with their friends touching this Affaire, vnder the shaddow of visitation: During which time, they made ready the most apt for the execution, and were willingly obeyed for the hate they bare to *Hermes*, and were ready to execute the Massacre. The Physicians likewise put themselves forward, that it was behoouefull that *Antiochus* should goe take the Ayre in the morning to refresh himselfe.

Hermes came to the King in the meane time, as hath beene sayd, together with the Allies which were participant of the enterprize: the rest remayned in the Campe, as if they knew nothing of the Voyage. The others drawing then *Antigonus* out of the Campe, they led him into some by place, where at his onely signe they killed *Hermes*. Behold now how he dyed, of whom alwayes the punishment was neuer sufficient for his wickednesse. The King returned to his Lodging, deliuered from a great distresse and feare, with a prayse reaching to the Heauens by all the Prouince, of his Counsell and of his workes, especially when they heard newes of the death of *Hermes*. In the same time, the Women of *Apamia* killed his Wife, and the Children, his. After that *Antiochus* was arriu'd in his lodging, hee sent his Army to winter in the Garrisons, and an Embassadour to *Achens*, and first complaying of that, that he had taken the Crowne, and likewise durst accept the name of King: And that on the other side, hee durst openly declare himselfe to hold the party of *Ptolomy*. Now we must vnderstand, that in the time the King led the Warre to *Arabazanes*, *Achens* thinking that hee should dye in the Countrey there, or if he dyed not, that hee should without any hindrance draw the Warre into *Syria*, before his returne. Seeing and well perceiving the longnesse of the way, and the Conquering of the Kingdome, suddainly by the ayde of *Cyrrastes*, that not long since had abandoned the King, and parted from *Lydia* with a great Army.

And as he was arriu'd in *Laodicea*, which is in *Phrygia*; he seized on the Crowne, taking also the ambition to be called King, and to write to the Townes to doe so, being earnestly solicited by a Fugitiue, called *Synetes*.

Synetes. And as he then continued his voyage, and was not farre from *Lycania*, the Men of Warre began to mutiny against him, being sorry that they led an Army against the first King: Wherefore *Achens* seeing their fancies, turned him from the way he had begun, as if hee would make them vnderstand, that he drew not in the beginning to *Syria*; but turned his way to *Pisidique*, pillaging all the Countrey, and distributing to the Men of War a maruailous booty; so he gained them, and returned to his house: The King then well aduertised of all these things, sent (as we haue sayd) an Embassadour to *Achens*; making A ready in the meane while all that seemed to bee necessary, to bring the Warre vpon *Ptolomy*. And after that all the Army was nere to *Apamia*, in the beginning of the Spring, he called his Friends to Councell, requiring of euery one their aduice what they thought fit to be done for the Warre. When as many had counsell'd him diuers things concerning the places and preparation, and to make an Army by Sea; *Apollonius* (of whom we haue spoken) being borne in *Seleucia*, stood vp and ouerthrew all the Opinions which had beene formerly giuen, saying, that it was a folly to drawe the Warre into base *Syria*; and to suffer *Ptolomy* to hold *Seleucia*, for that it was the source and cause of their Principality: That besides the disgrace hee should doe vnto his Reigne, (considering that the force of the Kings of *Egypt* had alwaies kept it) it had moreouer great commodities for the manning of the Warre. For whilst the Enemies shall hold it, it would be very preiudiciall to all his Enterprizes. For there must be no lesse care vsed to defend himselfe from this City, then to assaile the Enemy. And if hee held it, he should not onely be able to preserue his owne with safety, but also to vndertake some good action both by Sea and Land, for the great opportunity of the place.

The whole Assembly allowed of *Apollonius* aduice, and resolved C to take the City first, for then *Seleucia* was held by the Kings of *Egypt*, from the time that *Ptolomy* reigned, who was iurnamed the Benefactor. Hee conquered it at such time, that for the ruine of *Veronice*, Benefactor. and the rage he had conceived in his heart, hee made a descent into base *Syria* with an Army. *Antiochus* after *Apollonius* aduice was approued, hee commanded *Diogenes* Generall of the Army at Sea, to sayle speedily to *Seleucia*. And in the meane time parting from *Apamia* with his Army, he lodgeth within fure Furlongs of *Hippodrome*. Hee likewise sends away *Theodote Hermisly* with a sufficient Army for *Syria*, to the end he might gaine the streights, and provide for the affaires of that Prouince.

D This is the situation of *Seleucia*, and the places about it; that as the City is seated vpon the Sea shoare, betwix *Cilicia* and *Phenicia*, so it hath vnder it a wonderful great Mountaine, which they call *Corymbes*, whose side towards the West, is washed with the Sea, which is betwix *Cyprus* and *Phenicia*, and the other which looks to the East, ioynes to the Regions of the *Antiochiens* and *Seleucens*. *Seleucia* situated on the South, and seperated by a deepe and inaccessible Valley, which extends to the Sea, being enuironed with great Rockes and Caues: And

Apollonius the
aduice to Anti-
ochus.

The situation
of Seleucia.

on that side which lookes to the Sea, it hath steps and Suburbs inclosed with walls. The City also is fortified with a good wall, and beautified with Temples, and faire buildings. It hath but one approach towards the sea, the which is difficult, and made by hand: for they must ascend vnto it by Ladders: The riuer of *Orome* enters into the Sea neere vnto it, taking its course and beginning at *Liban* and *Antiliban*, and passeth by *Antiochia*: whereas running continually, it carries away by its swift course all the filth of the people. Finally, it enters into the Sea neere vnto *Seleucia*. *Antiochus* in the beginning sent to the Gouernours of the City, offering them money with great hopes, if without fighting they would deliuer it vnto him. But when he could not winne them, he corrupts some of the inferior Captaines: with whom having agreed, he puts his men in Battaille, as if he meant to assaile the Towne with his Army at Sea, and at Land on that side which lookes towards *Epirus*. Diuiding then his Army in three, after that hee had inflamed the hearts of the Souldiers, promising them great rewards, hee appointed *Zeuxis* with his Company to bee at the Gate which goes to *Antiochia*, and he gaue to *Hermogenes* the places by which they goe to *Disforia*, and gives charge to *Arda* and *Diogene* to assaile the Suburbs and Arsenall: for it had beene so agreed with the Traytors, that as soone as the Suburbs were taken, they should deliuer him the City. When as the King had giuen the signe for an assault, they all did their indeauours. But among the rest they which were with *Arda* and *Diogene*, carried themselves valiantly: For they could not assault nor scale the other places. But in regard of the Arsenall and Suburbs, they might assault and scale them.

Wherefore whilest that the Army at Sea fell vpon the Arsenall, and *Arda* Troupes vpon the Suburbs, (scaling the Walls, and that they of the Towne could not succour them, for that they were enuironed on all sides by the Enemy, it fell out that the Suburbs was suddainly taken. Which done, the petty Captaines corrupted by the King, ran to *Leonce*, who at that time was Gouernour of the City, perswading him to send to *Antiochus* before the City were forced. And although that *Leonce* were ignorant of the Treason, he sent presently to *Antiochus*, (being troubled with the amazement of his people) to yeeld them the City vpon condition to haue the liues of all the Inhabitants saued. The King accepting the condition, promised to saue the liues of all Freemen, which were about sixe thousand: But when hee was entred, he not only pardoned the Burgeses, but also called home the banished men of *Seleucia*, and restored vnto them the government of their publique affaires, and all their goods, and put a good Garrison into the Hauens and Port.

Whilest *Antiochus* stayed at *Seleucia*, hee receiued Letters from *Theodote*, by the which he solicited him to goe speedily into base *Syria*. The King was long in suspence what counsell he should take, and was pensive and troubled with the course he should take in this action. you must vnderstand, that *Theodote* borne in *Etolia*, had done great seruices for the Realme of *Ptolomy*, (whereof wee haue formerly made

mention)

mention) and many times put his life in danger. At such time as *Antiochus* made Warre against *Molon*, hee tooke in person (disdaining the King, and distrusting his Courtiers) *Ptolemais* and *Tyrrus* by *Paniscote*, and suddainly called in *Antiochus*. The King hauing taken *Achus* to heart, and laying aside all other affaires, he returns with his Army the same way he came. When he was come to a place which the Countrey people call *Marisa*, hee camped neere the streights which are about *Gerre*, which is not farre from the Fens, lying in the midst of that Countrey. There being aduertised that *Nicholas* Lieutenant Generall A to *Ptolomy*, held *Ptolemais* besieged, in the which *Theodote* was, hee left those that were best armed, and gaue charge to besiege the Towne of *Broches*, lying vpon the Fens, making haste to goe and raise the Siege.

Nicholas aduertised by his Spies of the Kings comming, retired, and sent *Lagore* of *Candy*, and *Dorimene* of *Etolia*, to gaine the streights which are neere vnto *Heryta*: Where the King planted his Campe, after that he had fought with them, and put them to flight. And when hee had drawne together the rest of his Army in the same place, he makes an Oration to his Souldiers, and marcheth away with great courage. B There *Theodote* and *Paniscote* met with him with their Friends, to whom he gaue a good and gracious reception, and he tooke *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemais* with all their preparation of Warre. There were in these Townes forty ships, whereof twenty were for the Warre, well armed and furnished with all things necessary, all which were Quinquemes or Quadrimes: the rest were Triremes, Biremes, and of one banke. All which hee gaue to *Diogene*, Captaine of the Sea-army. When as newes came vnto him of the secret flight of *Ptolomy* to *Caire*, and that his whole Army assembled together at *Damiette*, and that they sought to cut off the waters from him, hee gaue ouer his enterprize to assaile C *Damiette*: and over-running the Countrey, hee laboured to winne the Townes partly by force, partly by loue. Whereof some being destitute of Garrisons, and fearing the Kings power, yeelded suddainly to the Enemy: Others relying vpon their strength or their situation, maintained his assaults.

As for *Ptolomy* being so apparently betraide, hee did not indeauour by reason of his weaknesse, to giue that speedy order to his affaires that was fitting, so little accompt he had made of that which concernes the preparations of Warre. Wherefore *Agabacles* and *Sosibius* (who at that time gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome) bethought themselves (as much as possibly they might) of that which was most necessary. They resolved to prepare for the Warre, sending in the meane time an Embassie to intreate *Antiochus*, by way of dissembling, to debate *Ptolomy's* right: who as not daring to make Warre, and having aduertised and perswaded his Friends, was retired into base *Syria*. When as *Agabacles* and *Sosibius* had thus resolved, and giuen order according to their power, they speedily sent Embassadors to *Antiochus*, and likewise to the *Rhodiens*, *Constantinopolitains*, *Cyrcians*, and *Etolians*, to perswade them to send Embassies to *Antiochus* to mediate a peace.

When

Antiochus corrupts the Captaines of *Seleucia*.

Seleucia assaulted.

The Towne of *Broches* besieged.

Tyrrus and *Ptolemais* taken.

The policy of *Agabacles* and *Sosibius*.

When as these had sent to both the Kings, they gaue them great meanes to provide in the meane time things necessary for the Warre, for *Ptolemy* receiuing the Embassadours graciously, with those of *Antiochus*, in the meane time he drew together the Mercenary Souldiers to *Alexandria*, which lay dispersed in other Townes, and sent others to leuie men without the Prouince, making prouision of victuals. Finally, he was carefull day and night to prepare for the Warre. For the which he sent continually men to *Alexandria*, to giue order there should not be any thing wanting that was necessary. Hee had also giuen charge to *Echecrate* of *Thessaly*, and to *Phoxide* of *Mil*, to make prouision of Armes, and to choose men, and to muster them: The like he did to *Eurilochus* Magnes, and to *Socrates* of *Beotia*: with whom also was *Cnopyas* Alorite. For hee held them for men of iudgement in such affaires: For that he esteemed them of great experience in the Warre, hauing serued long vnder *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*.

These drew many souldiers together, prouiding wisely, and like honest men for all things. First they deliuered Armes to the Companions according to their fashion and age, distributing to every one those which hee could best mannage, and disliking those which they had formerly vsed. Then they instructed them in particular for the future, and trained them continually, not by words onely, but accustoming them to Combats made for pleasure. After that they drew them together, and by remonstrances and perswasions put courage into them for the War to come. Wherein *Andromachus* *Aspandian* and *Polycrates* the *Argiue*, who were lately come from *Argos*, were very powerfull. These were men accustomed to the Warre, and much esteemed by reason of their Countrey, and the excellency of their liues: especially *Polycrates*, for the antiquity of his race, and the glory of his Father *Mnasias*. These instructing the Bands publicly and in priuate, gaue courage to the Souldiers for the future War. Moreover, every one had his particular charge in the Army according to their experience. *Eurilochus* Magnes had the command of three thousand men, which the Kings call the furious Troupe. *Socrates* of *Beotia*, was Chiefe of two thousand armed with Targets. *Phoxide* the *Achaian*, and *Ptolemy* of *Thraex*, and with them *Andromachus* *Aspandian*, led the great Battailion, and the Mercenaries: So as *Andromachus* and *Ptolemy* were Captaines of the great Battailion, and *Phoxide* of the Mercenaries. The *Phalange* or great Battailion contained about fife and twenty thousand men. The Mercenaries were eight thousand. *Polycrates* had trained and instructed the Gentlemen of the Kings house, being seven hundred Horse, ouer whom hee was Captaine, and likewise of those which were come for *Lybia*, and had bene leuied in the Prouince. All which made the number of three thousand men.

In regard of the *Grecian* Caullery, and those which were in pay, *Echecrates* of *Thessaly*, a man of seruice, instructed them carefully, to the number of two thousand: being as diligent as any other to haue a care of the Souldiers. *Cnopy* had the command of all the *Candians*, being threethousand in number: Among the which there was a thousand Souldiers

An Army raised by *Ptolemy*.

The distribution of *Ptolemy*'s Army to his Captaines.

Souldiers newly leuied, of which he gaue the charge to *Philon* of *Gnosia*. There were moreover three thousand *Affricans*, armed after the the *Macedonian* manner, ouer whom *Ammonius* Barce was Captaine. There were also about two thousand *Egyptians* vnder the command of *Sosibius*. Finally, foure thousand *Thracians* and *Gauls*, which had long serued in the Warre: and two thousand newly leuied, whereof *Demis* of *Thrace* had the charge. This was *Ptolemy*'s Army at that same time.

When as *Antiochus* had besieged the Towne of *Dure*, and saw that hee could not preuaile, as well for its fortification, as for the defence of *Nicholas*: in the beginning of Winter hee concluded a truce with *Ptolemy*'s Embassadour, and promised him willingly and freely, to goe out of the Prouince, and to doe him all the pleasure hee could, although he had another intent: for hee made haste to leade his Army to winter in *Seleucia*: for that *Achens* made shew to bee of his side, although in truth he held *Ptolemy*'s party. After the truce concluded, *Antiochus* sent presently an Embassadour, giuing him charge to aduertise him speedily of *Ptolemy*'s intention: and that hee should come vnto him to *Seleucia*. Then leauing sufficient Garrison in necessary places, and the charge of all to *Theodore*, hee led his Army to *Seleucia*: from whence he sent them to winter in Garrisons, and from that time hee began to neglect all care in exercising his Souldiers, thinking hee should haue no more occasion of fighting: For that hee held many places in base *Syria* and *Phenicia*, hoping that the rest would be soone reduced to his obedience: considering that *Ptolemy* durst not come to fight. His Embassadours thought no lesse, for that *Sosibius* had giuen them faire and courteous words at *Caire*: And not any one of those which had bene sent to *Antiochus*, knew the preparation of Warre which was made in *Alexandria*: so as *Sosibius* dismissing the Embassadours, was continually carefull of the Warre. It is true, that *Antiochus* vsed great care to make his iust quarrell knowne to the Embassadours, when they should enter into discourse.

Finally; being come to *Seleucia*, and falling into priuate speech of the peace, according vnto that which *Sosibius* had giuen them in charge, the King did not hold the outrage which hee had done by open Warre, in seizing vpon the places of base *Syria* to bee vnjust or vnreasonable: and that hee had done nothing but by a iust title. For hee sayd, that *Antigonus* with one eye, and *Seleucus*, who first had conquered those places, were the true and lawfull Lords. Wherefore the Realme of base *Syria* belonged vnto him, as it were by right of inheritance, and not to *Ptolemy*: For that *Ptolemy* had fought against *Antigonus*, not for his owne right, but to conquer those Countreies for *Seleucus*. Moreover, he propounded the mutuall accord betwixt the Kings, for as much time as *Antigonus* was defeated; when as *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus* would diuide the Realme betwixt them, they adiudged all *Syria* to *Seleucus*. This was all that *Antiochus* alledged. Contrariwise *Ptolemy*'s Embassadours laboured to produce their reasons, making this present outrage far greater then it had bin: saying that the accord had bin broken as wel by

An Embassie sent from *Antiochus* to *Ptolemy*.

Reasons of the warre propounded by *Antiochus*.

The answer of *Ptolemy*'s Embassadours to *Antiochus*.

the

the treason of *Theodote*, as by the descent which *Antiochus* had made with an Army into *Syria*. Moreouer, they pretended *Ptolomes* possession, saying, that he had made Warre with *Seleucus* against *Antigonus*, to the end he might conquer all the Empire of *Asia* for *Seleucus*, and make *Syria* and *Phenicia* his owne. These difficulties with diuers others, were many times debated betwixt them: but they could not conclude any thing, although matters were solicited by their common Friends: for that the party of *Achus* bred a great controuersie and debate betwixt them: For that *Ptolomy* sought to comprehend him in the accord, and *Antiochus* would not heare him spoken of: holding it a strange thing, that *Ptolomy* should presume to make mention of those who through Treason abandoned their King. Finally, the Embassadors departed without any effect.

A leuie of Armies by *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*.

In the Spring *Antiochus* vlieth all diligence to leuie men, with an intent to assaile *Syria* both by Sea and Land, and to make subiect all the other Countries of that Province. But *Ptolomy* did no lesse to re-enforce the Army of *Nicholas*: so as hee sent him store of victuals out of the Countries neere vnto *Gaza*, furnishing him moreouer with Souldiers both by Sea and Land, with other things necessary. By means whereof *Nicholas* refusing courage, went boldly to Field with the helpe of *Perigene*, Commander of the Army at Sea, being sent by *Ptolomy* with thirty ships of Warre, and about foure hundred Merchants Vessels. This *Nicholas* was borne in *Etolia*, as able and resolute a Souldier as any that serued *Ptolomy*: who after he had formerly gotten with a part of his Army, the streights which lie neere vnto *Platane*, and marching with the rest to *Porphyriion*, he shut vp the passage of the Province from the King with the helpe of the Sea-army. *Antiochus* being come to *Marache*, and Embassadors arriuing from the *Arcadians*, to conferre of the conditions of their Alliance, he not onely receiued them courteously, but freed the discord which had bene long betwixt them, in reconciling the *Arcadians* which dwelt in the Island, with those that liued in *Epirus*. This done hee comes to *Berite*, entering into the Province by a place which the Countrey-men call, the Face of God: in passing hee tooke the Towne of *Botre*, setting fire vpon *Treire* and *Calame*. From thence he sent *Nicarche* and *Theodote* before, giuing them charge to gaine the streights which are neere vnto the Riuer of *Dyce*: And with the rest of his Army he plants himselfe neere vnto the Riuer of *Pamure*, from whence *Diogene* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, was not farre.

Embassadors from the *Arcadians* to *Antiochus*.

Then againe he takes those that were lightly armed, whom hee had sent before with *Nicarche* and *Theodote*, and goes to discouer the streights which *Nicholas* had formerly taken: so as after hee had well viewed the places, hee returned to his Campe. Where the next day hee left those that were best armed, vnder the charge of *Nicarche*, and marched with the rest against the Enemy. And for that Mount *Liban* doth much restrain those places towards the Sea-shoare, the way must of necessity be narrow, difficult, and almost inaccessible: leaving a streight and short passage towards the Sea. Whereas *Nicholas* hauing then

then built his Fort, hee did hope he should be well able to repulse *Antiochus*: For that he had put him selfe into it with a good number of Souldiers: and had also fortified it with Engines and other defences.

The King diuided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue the leading of the one to *Theodote*, giuing him charge to fall vpon the Enemies which defended the way of the Mountaine. Hee gaue another to *Menedemus*, whom hee commanded to striue to get vp the Mountaine: And the third he placed on the Sea-shoare, vnder the leading of *Diocles*. Hee put himselfe among the Baggage to see all, and to succour where neede should require. At the same time *Diogenes* and *Perigene* began to fight at Sea, approaching as neere to Land as possibly they could: so as they might see the Combats by Land and Sea with one view. The Trumpets sounding to the charge, the fight was long equal at Sea: so as the Victory inclined to neither side: for that the two Armies were equall in number of men and preparation of Warre. In regard of the fight at Land, *Nicholas* had the better in the beginning, for that hee had the aduantage of the place. But when as they which were with *Theodote*, came vpon them from the top of the Mountaine, and charged them with great fury, *Nicholas* and his men fled shamefully. There were two thousand slaine in the chafe: the rest saved themselves

Antiochus his Army diuided into three.

A Combat at Sea and Land.

B In *Sydon*. And although that *Perigene* in shew had good hope of the fight at Sea, yet seeing the defeat of the Army at Land, he retired. *Antiochus* drew his men together, and went and planted his Campe neere vnto *Sydon*: yet hee did not hold it fit to attempt the taking thereof at that time, as well for the abundance of munition and victuals that were in it, as for the multitude of men, as well Inhabitants, as such as were retired into it after the Battaille. Wherefore hee dislodged, and went to *Philotere*, sending word to *Diogenes*, Chiefe of the Army at Sea, to sayle to *Tyre*. You must vnderstand, that *Philotere* is seated neere vnto a Fenne, into the which the Riuer which they call *Iordan*, passeth: then takes its

C course by the Countrey of that Towne which is called *Seithers*. After the suddaine taking of these two Townes, he enters into great hope for the future, for that their Fields were sufficient to furnish his Army with all kind of victuals, and other munitions for the war. There hee placed sufficient Garrisons, and passing the Mountaines, he came to the Towne of *Atabyre*, situated vpon the Mountaine of *Mastodia*, which hath fiftene Furlongs in ascent. There laying an Ambush neere the Towne, he began to draw the Inhabitants forth to fight, who following his men who seemed to retire, were in a manner all slaine, they turning head: And for that the Ambush charged them in the Reare, he pursued the rest, and tooke them and their Towne. At the same time *Ceree* being one of *Ptolomes* Commander, left it. By the means whereof *Antiochus* gained many other Captaines. For soone after *Hippolochus* of *Thebassy* came to yeeld himselfe to him with three hundred horse. And when he had put a Garrison into *Atabyre*, he proceeded in his iourney, pursuing his enterprize, and in passing the Countrey, tooke *Pelle*, *Came*, & *Gepre*. In the meantime the people of *Arabia* agreeing together, followed his party. *Antiochus* growing into greater hope, & drawing victuals from them, went farther

Diuerse Townes taken by *Antiochus*.

H h into

into the Country : and presently tooke *Gallate* with the Garrison of the *Abillatins*, of whom *Nisie* a Kinman and Allie to *Nempe*, was Commander. And although that *Gadare*, which at that time seemed impregnable for its situation, held out, yet hee tooke it suddainly in besieging it, and setting vp his Engines. And hauing newes afterwards that a good number of Enemies were drawne together into *Rabatamassane* a Towne of *Arabia*, and spoyled all the *Arabians* Country which held his party, he went suddainly thither with his Army, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Mountaines among the which the Towne is situated. And when vpon a view he had discovered that it was not to be forced but in two places, he set vp his Engines, and other things necessary to force a Towne, whereof he gaue the charge to *Nicarchus* and *Theodote* : and in the meane time attends his other affaires.

These men carefull of the Battery, strived with emulation who should first overthrow the Wall, whereupon a great part fell sooner then they could imagine. This done, they fought continually day and night, striving to lose no time. And although the Siege continued long, yet they could not preuaile, in regard of the multitude of men which defended it : vntill that a Prisoner shewed them a little Riuer, where the besieged fetch their water, the which they stopp vp with Pallisadoes, stones, and such like things. By this means the King hauing it in his hands, he gaue it in guard to *Nicarchus* with a sufficient strength : and he sent *Hippolichus* and *Ceræet* who as we haue sayd, had abandoned *Ptolemy* into the Country of *Samaria*, with five thousand Foote : giuing them charge to continue there for the defence thereof, and to preferue all the people which were vnder his obedience. From thence he parts with his whole Army, and comes to *Ptolemais* to passe the Winter there.

When the *Pednelissenses* had bene the same Summer besieged by the *Selgenes*, and were in great danger, they sent to demand succours from *Achens*. When he had heard them willingly, and promised to doe it, they endured the Siege with great courage, growing more resolute by the hope of succours. Finally, *Achens* sent *Garsiere* with sixe thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse: giuing him charge to vse all diligence to succour the *Pednelissenses*. The *Selgenes* aduertised by the Spies of his coming, recovered the streights which are about a place which they call, *Eschelle*, with the greatest part of their Army, and stop vp all the passages. *Garsiere* entring by force into *Myliade*, and planting his Campe neare vnto a Towne called *Candou*, he vsed this stratagem, seeing that he could not passe, for that the *Selgenes* kept all the passages. He began to raise his Campe, and to retire, making shew that it was impossible for him to succour the *Pednelissenses*: for that the streights of the Country were held by the Enemy.

The *Selgenes* thinking they had bene gone, as men despairing to be able to succour them, retired, some to the Campe, the rest returned to the City to recouer Victuals. But *Garsiere* comes suddainly backe to the streights, whereas finding them abandoned, he set men to guard them vnder the command of Capitaine *Phayle* : and from thence hee comes

Rabatamassana
yeelded to *An-
tiocbus*.

The *Pednelissenses*
besieged.

The policy of
Garsiere.

comes with his forces to *Perge*, whereas staying some time, hee sent Embassadours to *Pamphilia*, and the other Townes, to acquaint them with the insolvency of the *Selgenes*, and to sollicite them to enter into league with *Achens*, and to succour the *Pednelissenses*. The *Selgenes* at the same time sent a Capitaine with an Army, hoping to chase *Phayle* from the streights. But for that matters succeeded otherwise then they expected, and lost many of their men in fighting, they gaue ouer their Enterprize : yet for all this they did not raise their Siege, but were more attentue then before, to set vp their Engines.

A In the meane time the *Estrenes* which inhabite the Mountaines about *Syde*, feat eight thousand men armed to *Garsiere* : and the *Aspendiens* foure thousand. The *Sydes* made no shew to send any succours : for that they were Friends to *Antiochus*, and hated the *Aspendiens*. *Garsiere* came to *ednelisse*, accompanied with the Troupes of the Allies, thinking at his coming to raise the Siege. But when he saw that the *Selgenes* were nothing amazed, he set himselfe downe neere vnto them. The *Pednelissenses* were so oppressed with want of Victuals, as they could no longer endure the hunger, wherefore *Garsiere* seeing it necessary to vse diligence, prepared two thousand men, euery one laden with a Mine of Wheat, and sent them by night to the Towne. The

B *Selgenes* aduertised hereof, charged them presently, and slew the greater part of them, and tooke all the Wheate. Wherewith they grew so glorious, as they not onely besieged the Towne, but they attempted the Enemies Campe. It is the custome of the *Selgenes* to bee alwaies bold and audacious. Wherefore in leauing sufficient forces in their Campe, they suddainly assailed the Enemy in diuers place. And when the Alarm grew hot, so as the Campe was forced in some places, *Garsiere* amazed at this great and suddaine accident, and hauing no great hope, hee caused the Horse-men to goe forth by a certaine place which was not guarded : whom the *Selgenes* (thinking they had fled for feare of being defeated) did not pursue, nor made any accompt of them. These Horse-men turning a little about, charged the Enemy suddainly in the Reare, fighting with great fury. Then *Garsiere*s Foot-men, who seemed to wauer, turned head, being re-united, and fell vpon the Enemy. By this means the *Selgenes* being thus enuironed, in the end fled. The *Pednelissenses* taking courage hereat, made a sally, and beate them out of the Campe which had the guard. In the chase *Garsiere* made a great slaughter : for there were about ten thousand men slaine: of those which remained, the Allies retired to their houses, and the *Selgenes* to their Country, taking their way by the Mountaines.

D The next day *Garsiere* parts with his Army, and makes haste to passe the Mountaines, and to approach the Towne, before that the *Selgenes* (being amazed with this fresh flight) should prouide for any thing. Who being full of heauinesse and feare, as well for the little hope they had of succours from their Allies, considering the losse they had made with them, & amazed with this fresh misfortune, were in great doubt of safety, either for themselves or their Country. Wherefore they assembled the Counsell, to resolute to send one of their Citizens called *Logbaser*, to

The *Mis* is a
about two of
our Bushels,
weighing an
hundred and
seuen pounds.

The Victory of
Garsiere a-
gainst the *Sel-
genes*.

Logbaser sent
Embassadour
by the *Selgenes*.

in Embasie: who had had great Friendship and familiarity with *Antiochus*, which died in *Thrace*: And moreover he had bred up *Laodice* the wife of *Achens*, and his owne Daughter, whom they had giuen him in her infancy to instruct. They sent him therefore as their Embassadour, thinking him sufficient for that businesse. But being come to *Garfere*, he was so farre from doing that which hee had in charge, and which the duty of a good Citizzen required, that contrariwise he solicited him to write to *Achens*, that he promised to deliuer him the Towne.

Garfere giuing a willing eare vpon hope of taking it, sent men to *Achens* to sollicite him, and to let him vnderstand how matters had past. A

A truce made with the *Selgenfes*.

Communication with an Enemy is dangerous.

Finally hee makes a truce with the *Selgenfes*, delaying still to make an absolute accord with him, vnder colour that he would consider better thereon, to the end that in the meane time hee might expect *Achens*, and giue *Logbafes* opportunity to finish the Enterprize. But whilest they in the meane time conferred together, the Souldiers by a kind of familiarity, went freely into the Towne to fetch Victuals, which is many times the cause of a great Defeate. So as in my opinion there is not any Creature amongst all the rest, more simple then man, or that hath lesse sense and iudgement: whom notwithstanding the greatest part of the World hold for the wisest. But how many Armies? How many Forts? How many and what Citties haue fallen into the Enemies hands thereby? And although these be things which daily happen, and that all the world sees, yet wee shew our selues (I know not how) new and Apprentizes. This happens, for that wee doe not consider the fortunes which haue happened to our Ancestors in former times: and that we busie ourselues with toile and charge, to make prouision of Corne, Siluer, Fortifications, and Armes. Moreouer, wee make no esteeme of that which is of great profit in great dangers, but disdain it, although it be in our power to leame it in the time of peace, by the Histories and Commentaries of former actions, and as it were to practise them. But to the end we may returne to the discourse from whence we parted, *Achens* came at the day appointed. The *Selgenfes* going to meet him, had great hope and confidence in his bounty.

In the meane time *Logbafes* hauing drawne into his house a good number of those which came into the City for Victuals, hee began to perswade the Cittizens, not to lose any time: and that considering the good-will which *Achens* bare them, they should thinke of their affaires, and that in assembling the people, they should consider of the conditions of peace. These things being propounded, they presently assembled, to conferre of their present affaires, calling those which were deputed for the guard of the City. *Logbafes* making a signe vnto the Enemy, as he had promised, suddainly armes all those which were in his house, doing the like himselfe with his Children, to vndergoe the danger. On the other side *Achens* came to the Towne with halfe the army. *Garfere* marcht with the rest to *Cesbedia*. This is a Temple of *Isis*, so well situated about the Towne, as it seemes like a Fort.

When as by chance some one saw the Enemy approach, hee ran suddainly to acquaint the Assembly, whereupon there was so great an

amazement among the people, as leauing the Company, some ran to *Cesbedia*, others to the places where they were set in Guard, and the Commons ran to the house of *Logbafes*: where discovering the treason, some it fury got to the house-top, others forced the Gate, and slew *Logbafes*, his Children, and all the partners of the Conspiracy. This done, they proclaimed liberty to all Bondmen by the sound of the Trumpet, and encouraged one another to succour and defend the City, running to all places necessary. When *Garfere* saw *Cesbedia* seized on by the Burgeses, he changed his resolution, and *Achens* seeking to force

Logbafes and his Children slain.

A the Gates, the *Selgenfes* made a sally, killing seauen hundred of his men, and repulsed the rest from the Towne. This done, *Achens* and *Garfere* returned to their Campe with shame and disgrace. The *Selgenfes* afterwards fearing the sedition of the Towne, and the presence of the Enemy, they sent their most ancient Cittizens to demand a peace. Who being come to *Achens*, they agreed vpon these conditions: that *Achens* and the *Selgenfes* should liue in peace, and that they should pay vnto him presently two hundred and forty thousand Crownes. That they should restore the Prisoners of the *Pednelissenfes*, and that at a certaine time prefixt, they should pay moreouer nine score thousand. Thus the *Selgenfes* (who by the Treason of *Logbafes* were in danger of their Country and

A peace concluded betwixt *Achens* and the *Selgenfes*.

B Liberties) defended themselves valiantly and with great courage: and neither lost their Liberties, nor that honour which they deriued from the *Lacedemonians*.

When as *Achens* had reduced vnder his obedience the *Atliades*, and the greatest part of *Pamphilia*, and had brought his Army to *Sardis*, hee made Warre against *Attalus*. All the Inhabitants on this side *Tamris*, feared him wonderfully: At the same time when he made War against the *Selgenfes*, *Attalus* accompanied with the *Egofages*, *Galates*, ouer-ran *Eolia*, and the neighbour Townes, who for feare had yielded to *Achens*. Whereof the greatest part submitted themselves willingly vnder his

C obedience: the rest were forced. *Cyme*, *Smirne*, and *Phocæa*, were the first that yielded vnto him. Afterwards the *Egefses* and *Lemnites* fearing a Siege, yielded in like manner. There came likewise Embassadours from *Thia* and *Colophon*, submitting themselves and their Townes vnto him. Which being receiued according to the ancient accord, and hostages taken, he made great accompt of the *Smirniens*, for that they had kept their faith best. Afterwards continuing his course, he past the Riuer of *Lyce*, and went first to the *Myssens*, and then to the *Carsses*, whom he terrified: The like he did to the Guards of the double walls, and tooke them and their Garrisons, for that *Themistocles* (whom *Achens* had left there for Gouvernour) deliuered them vnto him. And parting presently,

D ruining the Countrey of *Apia*, he past the Mountaine of *Pelecas*, and planted himselfe neere vnto a great Riuer: where the Moone falling into an Eclipse, and the *Galates* discontented with the tediousness of the way, hauing a traine of women and children in their Wagons, observing the Eclipse, protested that they would passe no farther. And although that King *Attalus* drew no seruice from them, yet fearing that if he left them, as it were in disdain, they would retire to *Achens*, and that thereby hee

should purchase an ill fame, as if through ingratitude he had abandoned those who with great affection had followed him into *Alexandria*; he intended them to endure a little toile of the way, and that he would soon bring them to a good place, where they should rest: And withall hee would doe for them whatsoever they should desire according to his power, and as reason should require. *Antiochus* therefore gave *Heliopolis* to the *Gesages* for their abode: and after he had intreated the *Lampyrænes*, the *Alexandrians*, and *Ilenses* courteously for that they had kept their faith, he went to *Pergamo* with his Army.

The Army of
Ptolemy.

In the beginning of the Spring; when *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* had made their preparations for the Warre, they made haste to draw their Armies to Field. *Ptolemy* parts from *Alexandria* with about three score and ten thousand Foote, and five thousand Horse, with three score and thirteene Elephants. *Antiochus* having newes of their coming, hee suddenly drawes his men together. His Army consisted of five thousand *Darus*, *Carmanians*, and *Cilicians* lightly armed, under the leading of *Bithax* a *Macedonian*: and of twenty thousand men after the *Macedonian* manner, whereof the greatest part were *Argynaspides*, who were leuied throughout the Realme, vnder the command of *Theodote* of *Etolia*, who committed the Treason. The number of the great Battailion was about twenty thousand, of whom *Nicarchus* and *Theodote* be surnamed *Hemilia*, had the leading. Moreover there were two thousand *Agreens* and *Perfians*, Archers and Slingers: with whom were a thousand *Thracians*, ouer whom *Menedemus* *Alabandens* was Captaine. Moreover, five thousand *Medians*, *Cissiens*, *Cadyssens*, and *Carmains*: which *Acus* the Sonne of *Aspasian* of *Media* had vnder his charge.

In regard of the *Arabians*, and their neighbours, they were vnder the command of *Zabdiel*, to the number of ten thousand men or more. On the other side *Hippolochus* of *Thessaly*, had the leading of five thousand *Grecians* Mercenaries: and *Enriochus* of fiftene hundred *Candyots*. *Zelysgeorgyne* had a thousand *Candyots* newly leuied, to the which were ioyned five hundred *Lydiens* with Slings. *Lyfmarthus* the Gaul, had a thousand *Cardaces*. Finally, the whole Cavallery amounted to five thousand Horse, of which *Antipater* the Kings Nephew, had the charge of foure thousand, and *Themison* of the rest. By this means *Antiochus* his Army consisted of three score and two thousand Foote, sixe thousand Horse, and a hundred and two Elephants. *Ptolemy* taking his way by *Damietta*, hee made that Towne subiect vnto him at his entrance: From whence after a plentifull distribution of Come among the Souldiers, hee parted, and passeth *Cassia* and *Babtra*, coming by the desert Countreies. Being come to *Gaza*, and hauing assembled his Army, he marcht slowly in the Countrey: planting himselfe on the fift day, within fifty Furlongs of *Raphia*, which is a Towne situated behind *Rhinococure*, and first of those of *Syria* which looks towards *Egypt*.

At the same time *Antiochus* armed with his Army, and passing that Towne by night, hee planted his Army within ten furlongs of his Enemy. In the beginning they kept themselves distant so far one from another.

But

But some few daies after, *Antiochus* desiring to get some piece of advantage, and to giue courage to his men, hee lodged his Army vnto the enemy, as there were but five Furlongs betwixt the two Camps. So as going to foregeard to *Waters*, there were many encounters: on the other side, sometimes the Foote gain; and sometimes the Horse men skirmished betwixt the two Camps, trying the Fortitude of the Warre. At the same time *Antiochus* shewed the great courage of a true King: For being by long experience acquainted with the Kings manner of living, hee entered at the break of day into the enemies Camp, and could not be discovered by his Countenance: for that it was yet darke. Neither did hee differ much from them in his Apparell, for that they used diuers fashions of habill: Having formerly obserued the place where the Kings Tent was placed, for that they had fought often neere vnto the *Gardens*, hee went directly to it. When hee had past vnknewen, and was come secretly to the Tent, in the which the King did usually eate and drinke: Where entering hee looked carefully about him, he saw him doo: For he was lodged in a place retired behind

The hardy
campa of Theodor.

As hee was wounded in the backe, and killing *Antiochus* the Kings Blisition, hee retired without danger to his Campe, bringing his enterprize to an end by his hardy courage: But deceived in his fore-sight, for that hee had not well obserued the place where as *Ptolemy* did usually lye, hee was wounded in the backe.

Andrew the
Kings hytitan
saine.

When the Kings had continued in Campe five daies together, one before the other, they resolved in the end to giue Battaille. *Ptolemy* beginning to draw his Army out of his Fort, *Antiochus* suddenly did the like. And they planted their two chiefe Battalions in Front one against the other, armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Behold the order which *Ptolemy* held for the two Wings: *Polynerus* was in the right Wing, with the Horse-men that were vnder his charge: Betwixt the which and the great Battalions, were the *Candyots* placed neere vnto the Horse-men. After which was the Kings Battalions, and subse- quently those that were armed with Targets, whereof *Sicratus* had the Command. And finally the *Lybiens* armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Vpon the right Wing was *Antiochus* of *Thessaly*, hauing with him his Troupe of Horse. After which were appointed the *Gallies* and *Thracians*; and then *Pholids* with the Mercenaries of *Greece*: being followed by the great Battalions of the *Egyptians*. Hee had also placed forty Elephants on the left Wing, with the which *Ptolemy* was before the right Wing, neere vnto the horse-men that were hired.

The order of
Ptolemy Army
in Battaille.

Antiochus on the other side, placed on the right Wing (with the which hee was resolved to fight in Battaille against *Ptolemy*) three score Elephants: Of which his companion *Philby* had the Charge. After these hee orders two thousand Horse vnder the leading of *Antipater*, and sets the *Candyots* in Front, neere vnto the Horse-men: Then hee appoints the Mercenaries of *Greece*, and after them were five thousand men, who armed after the *Macedonian* manner, had *Bythie* for their Captaine. As for the left Wing, hee placed two thousand horse in Front, vnder the Command of *Tamison*. Neere vnto which hee sets

The order of
Antiochus his
Battaille.

H h 4

the

the *Cardaces* and *Lydies* Horse-men, and after them three Thousand men lightly armed, under the charge of *Menelemon*: in whose Reare were the *Cissians*, *Medians*, and *Armenians*: And after them the *A. raphians* were joyned to the great Battallion. Finally, hee sets before the left Wing the rest of the Elephants; giving them for their Guide one *Mysice* a Household servant to the King.

The two Armies being thus in battaile, the Kings beganne to encourage their Troupes, being accompanied with their Captaines and friends, commending the valour of the Souldiers both in generall and particular: And having great hope of their Battalions, they propounded great benefites which would redound by the Victory. *Ptolomy* had with him his sister *Arpinoe*, with *Andromachus* and *Sofibius*, who encouraged the Souldiers: And *Theodote* and *Micarchus* were with *Antiochus*, for that of either side they were the Commanders of the two great Battalions. They were both of one humour to make Speeches vnto their men, and yet neither of them had done any thing worthy of fame or praise to be propounded, for that they were newly come vnto their Principallities. Wherefore they laboured to encourage their Troupes, in reducing to their memory the glory and prowess of their Ancestors: And propounding moreover a hope of themselves for the future, they intreated and solicited the Captaines to fight, and to vndergoe the danger resolutely and with courage. These were the speeches or such like, which they vsed in person, or by their Interpreters.

This done, the two Kings marcht one against the other, a slow pace. *Ptolomy* was in the left Wing, and *Antiochus* in the right with his royal Battallion. Then the Trumpets sounded to Battaille, whereof the first Charge was made by the Elephants. Few of *Ptolomes* held good against those of the Enemy, whose Souldiers fought valliantly, casting of Darts, Pertwisans, and plummetts of lead, wounding one another. But the Elephants made a stronger Warre, beating their Heads furiously together: For such is the manner of their fight, assailing one another with their teeth, and standing firme they repulse one another with great Violence: But if they once turne their sides they wound with their Teeth, as Bulls do with their Hornes. But the greatest part of *Ptolomes* feared the Combate: the which doth vsually happen to the Elephants of *Libia*: For they cannot indure the heat, nor heare the crye of those of *India*. So as fearing (as it seemes) their greatnesse and force, they flye them, as it happened at that time, for that flying suddenly they brake the ranks of their owne men, and made a great slaughter in *Ptolomes* great Battallion.

The which *Antiochus* perceiuing, hee presently chargeth *Polycrates* Horse-men with the Elephants. The *Grecians* about his great Battallion fell vpon *Ptolomes* Targetteers. Wherefore when the Elephants had broken them, his left Wing beganne to turne head. When *Echebrates* Commander of the right Wing, (expecting still the Combate of the sayd Wings) saw the Dust rise in the Ayre, and that his Elephants durst not charge the Enemies, he sends to *Phoxide* Captaine of the

A Battaille betwixt *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*.

The Combate of the Elephants.

The Elephants of *Libia* feare them of *India*.

the Merbenaries to charge those which he had in Front: The which he did likewise, marching a slow pace with the Horse-men and the Elephants. There the Combate was long and furious: yet *Echebrates* being freed from the danger of the Elephants; and making a great slaughter of the Horse-men, and withall *Phoxide* pressing the *Arabians* and *Medes*. In the end *Antiochus* his left wing was put to flight. By this means *Antiochus* right wing vanquished, and the left fled. The two great Battalions stood firme and vntoucht, being in doubt of the end. And when as *Ptolomy* in the meane time had recovered his great A Troupe by his speedy running, and was in the midst of them, hee amazed his Enemies, and gaue great courage vnto his owne Captaines and Souldiers.

In the meane time King *Antiochus* being young and of small experience in the Warre, seeing himselfe Victorious of the one side, thought the like of the rest, and pursued the Chase of the Enemy with great eagernesse. But when as one of his old Souldiers cald him backe, and shewed him the Dust which a great Troupe had raise in his Fort, hee then knew what it meant: and turning head he laboured to recouer his Campe. But when hee found that all his Army was in Rout, then B wanting good Counsell he fled to *Raphia*, intriaguining that it was not his fault hee had not obtained a glorious and Triumphant Victory, and that the basenesse and sloath of his men had bene the cause of his defeat. *Ptolomy* hauing the Victory by the means of his chiefe Battallion; and having lost many of his Horse-men and Souldiers of the right Wing, hee returned to his Campe, and refreshed his Army. The next day, he caused his men to be sought out among the Dead, and buried.

From thence (after they had stript the Enemies that were slaine) hee marcht with his Army to *Raphia*. And although that *Antiochus* (gathering together his men that fled) had a desire to keepe his Campe, and to leaue the Towne, yet hee was forced to goe to *Raphia*: For that the greatest part of his Souldiers were retired thither. The next day early in the morning, hee parts with that small Army, which he had remaining after so great a defeat, and went to *Gaza*: Where planting his Campe, he sent men to demand the dead bodies, and to interre them. *Antiochus* lost aboue ten Thousand foote, and three hundred Horse. There were about foure thousand foote-men taken aliue. In regard of the Elephants, there were three slaine vpon the field, and two wounded which dyed afterwards: most of the rest were taken. This was the end of that famous battaille, where as two powerfull D and mighty Kings fought for the Empire of *Syria*, neere vnto *Raphia*.

When as *Antiochus* had buried the dead, hee returned into his Countrey with his Army. As for *Ptolomy*, hee presently recovered *Raphia*, with the other Citties, so as the people contended who should preuent his neighbour, in yeilding first vnto the King. In such euents euery man strues to apply himselfe vnto the time. It is true, that the people of that Countrey are borne and inclined to imbrace the fauour

Ptolomes Victory gaind *Antiochus*.

the present time. But forasmuch as the people had a speciall devotion to the Kings of *Alexandria*, what they then did was held iust and reasonable. The people of base *Syria* have alwaies affected this royall House. And therefore they honoured *Ptolemy*, with Flowers, Sacrifices, Altars, and such like things. When as *Antiochus* was come to the City, which is called by his owne name, he presently sent his Nephew *Antipater* with *Theodore Hermioly* in Embassage to *Ptolemy*, to demaund a peace of him. For without doubt hee feared his forces, neither did hee much relie upon his owne souldiers, considering the losse which hee had lately made. Hee likewise doubted that *Achens* might moue Warre against him, considering the opportunity of the time and occasion.

As for *Ptolemy*, hee thought not of all this: But being ioyfull of so great a Fortune, which hee expected not, holding himselfe happy to enioy all *Syria*, hee refused not the conditions of peace. So as being lul'd a sleepe with this base kinde of life, which hee had alwaies vied, his heart was much inclined thereunto. When the Embassadors presented themselves vnto him, he granted them a peace for a yeare, after that hee vied some proud speeches against *Antiochus*. To whom he sent *Sosibius* with them to confirme the Accord. And after hee had staid about some three moneths in *Syria* and *Phenicia*, and had given order for the Cities, leauing the charge of all those places to *Andromachus Aspendius*, he returned with his sister and Friends to *Alexandria*. On the other side *Antiochus* (after hee had confirmed the Accord with *Sosibius*, and pacified all things to his liking) beganne to make preparation for Warre against *Achens*, according to his first Resolution and determination. This was the estate of *Asia* at that same present.

At the sametime the *Rhodiens* taking their occasion from an Earthquake, which a little before had befallen them, in the which the great *Colossus*, with a great part of the Pipes and Arsenals were ruined, they carried themselves so discreetly and wisely, as this ruine did not seeme preiudiciall vnto them, but very profitable. Ignorance and simplicity differs so much from Prudence and Industry, not only in a priuate life, but also in publique Affaires, that ease and plenty seeme to procure losse and preiudice to the one, and aduersities excuse the faults and errors of the other. The *Rhodiens* made these things great and ruinous, and labouring to sent Embassadors to all places, they did so moue the Cities and likewise Kings, as they not onely drew great gifts from them, but they had them in such sort, as they which gaue them held themselves beholding vnto them.

Hieron and *Gelon* did not onely giue them sixe and forty Thousand Crownes, to repaire the place ordaind for all Exercises (one part to be payed presently and the rest soone after:) but they also gaue them Caldrons of silver, with their Treuets, and pots for water. Moreover sixethousand Crownes to performe the Sacrifices: And others sixe thousand to relieue the Burgeses: So as the whole present amounted to threescore thousand Crownes. Moreover all that sail'd to *Rhodes* were,

Antiochus sends
Embassadors
to *Ptolemy*.

An Accord
made betwixt
Ptolemy and
Antiochus.

An Earthquake
at *Rhodes*.

Presents made
to the *Rhodiens*
by many Cities.

were free from Tribute. They gaue them likewise fifty Slings or Warlike Engines: Finally they advanced Images in the most eminent places of *Rhodes*, as if they were beholding vnto them; where the people of *Rhodes* were. Crowned with that of *Sarragossa*. *Ptolemy* promised them nine score thousand Crownes: A million of Artabes of Wheate, which is a measure of *Media*: Timber to make sixe Quinquernies, and ten Triremes, and about forty thousand Fathomes of Rope, and three thousand Masts and Sailes, and to repaire the *Colossus* nine score thousand Crownes, a hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty workemen, and for their Victuals seauen Thousand and four hundred Crownes by the yeare. Twelue thousand Artabes of Wheate, for those which should make the Combats in their Games and Sacrifices: And twenty Thousand Artabes for the victualling of ten Triremes. Of which things he deliuered the greatest part of them presently, with the third part of the money.

Moreover *Antigonus* gaue them Timber from eight vnto fifteene Fathome, with sixe thousand planks about twelue foote long, and two hundred three score and ten thousand weight of Iron, foure score and ten thousand pound weight of Rosine, and a thousand bushels of pitch: And withall hee promised them three score thousand Crownes overplus. *Chrysea* (who was a woman) gaue them a hundred Thousand Bushels of Wheate, with two hundred three score and ten Thousand pound weight of Lead. *Selenus* father to *Antiochus*, sent them ten Quinquernies Armed and furnished, and that they which sail'd to *Rhodes* should be free: Hee gaue them likewise two hundred Bushels of Corne with Timber and Pitch, and ten thousand Fathomes of Cord made with haire, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes. *Prusias* and *Mithridates* did the like: So did all the Princes of *Asia*, as *Lysannius*, *Olympicus*, *Lymnius* and others. Finally wee cannot number the Townes which gaue presents to the *Rhodiens*, euery one according to their power. And if any man will obserue the time and the beginning, when as this City was first Inhabited, he will wonder much, that in so short a time it is so much augmented both in priuate and Publique. But when we consider the Commodity of the place, and the great felicity which doth grow from Forreiners, and their plentifull reuenuew; there is no more any cause of admiration: Being certaine that this getting of Wealth is made with reason and iudgement. We haue thought it fit to relate these things.

First, for the loue of the *Rhodiens*, to the end that their industry and care for the Affaires of their Common-wealth might bee knowne to all the World, for in truth they are worthy of commendation and loue. Secondly, for the auarice of our Kings at this day, and the wretchednesse of people and Townes: Who when they haue giuen two or three thousand Crownes, imagine they haue made a great stately Present, and looke for such thanks and honours as were giuen to the Ancient Kings of *Greece*: Or let the Townes remember the great bounty of the ancient presents, least they loofe those great honours in making such petty gifts, and let them strue to preserve their dignity:

Ptolemy his present to the *Rhodiens*.

The gift of *Antigonus* to the *Rhodiens*.

Chrysea gift.

Selenus his present.

nity : To the end that the people and inhabitants of Greece may differ from other men.

When in the beginning of Summer, *Agate* being then Chiefe of the *Etolians*, and the time of *Epirates* Government over the *Acheins* being expired, (in my opinion this is the passage, where we last turn'd from the Warre of the Allies) *Lycorgus* the *Lacedemonian* returned from *Etolia* : For the Magistrates called him home as soone as they found the accusation, for the which he was banished to be false. Hee was then sent to *Pyrrie* the *Etolian*, who at that time was Captaine of the *Aliences*, against the *Messenians*. *Arate* found the trained men of *Acheia* ill disciplined, and the Townes carelesse of the duties of War : For that *Epirate*, who before him had the Government, had (as we have sayd) carried himselfe idly and carelesly in all things. But when he had acquainted the *Acheins* therewith, and received their order, he applied himselfe wholly to the preparation of the Warre. Their Decree was, that they should not leuy lesse then eight thousand Adventurers, and five hundred Horse : They should also make three thousand Foote *Acheins*, and three hundred Horse : Among the which the *Megalopolitains* should march, armed with Targets of Copper, to the number of five hundred foote and fifty Horse, and as many Argiues. It was also ordered that they should prepare three Shippes in the Gulfe of *Argos*, and as many decre vnto *Patres* and *Dyme*. *Arate* was then carefull to leuy men, and to make ready the Army. *Lycorgus* and *Pyrrie* after they had appointed a day for their departure, tooke their way to *Messene* : Whereof the Chiefe of the *Acheins* being aduertised, hee came to *Megalopolis* with the Adventurers, and some of those of the Election, to succour the *Messenians*.

Lycorgus on the other side entring the *Messenians* Country, tooke the Towne of *Calameis* by Treason : And from thence going on his course, hee made hast to ioyne with the *Etolians*. When as *Pyrrie* came to *Elis* accompanied, to assaile the *Messenians*, he returned head presently, being repul'd by the *Cyparissians*. Wherefore *Lycorgus* tooke his way to *Sparta*, having done nothing worthy of memory, for that hee could not ioyne with *Pyrrie*, neyther was hee strong enough to mannage the Warre alone. *Arate* seeing the Enemies frustrated of their hope, and thereby fore-seeing the future, hee commaunded *Taurinus* to prepare fifty Horse, and five hundred foote, and that the *Messenians* should send as many, meaning with this force to defend the *Megalopolitains*, *Tegaeas*, and *Argiues*, from the incursions of their Enemies : For that those Countries lye more in danger of the *Lacedemonians* during the Warre, ioyning vpon the *Spartans* Country. Finally, hee resolued to Guard *Acheia*, with the *Acheins* and Mercenaries, from the danger of the *Elyciens* and *Etolians*. This done, hee pacified the Discord, which was growne among the *Megalopolitains*, according vnto that which the *Acheins* had ordered.

For you must vnderstand that the *Megalopolitains*, being a little before chased out of their owne Country by *Cleomenes*, had neede of many things which were wanting : And although they still maintained their

Lycorgus cal-
leth *Arate*.

Arate prepares
for the Warre.

Calameis taken
in Treason by
Lycorgus.

their authority, yet they had neither victuals nor necessary expences, either for the publicke or private : So as all was full of mutiny, rage, and malice. The which doth vsuall fall out in Common-weales, and among private persons, when as victuals faile. First they were in debate among themselves concerning the walls of the City, some being of opinion that they should not make the inclosure greater, then their power would then beare, and keepe it with so small a number of men, considering it had bin the cause of their former danger, for that it was greater and more spacious then the power of the Inhabitants was able to defend. Morco-

uer, they were of aduice, that such as had Lands, should contribute the third part, to the end they might people the City : Others said, that they must not giue a lesse circuit to the City, nor contribute the third part of their possession : But their chiefest contention was concerning the Laws written by *Pritanides*, an excellent man among the *Peripatetiques*, whom *Antigonus* had given them for a Law-giuer. The City being in these combustions, *Arate* pacified them, and quencht the quarrels which were inflamed among the *Megalopolitains*, as well publique as private. Finally they haue grauen the Articles agreed vpon on a Pillar seated in the *Omarie*, at the Altar of *Vesta*. After the reconciliation of the *Megalopolitains*, *Arate* parting from thence, retired presently to an Assembly of the *Acheins*, leauing the Adventurers with *Selcunus* of *Phare*.

The *Elienses* incensed against *Pyrrie*, as if he had not discharged his duty, they called *Euripides* from *Etolia* to be their Captaine. Who considering that the *Acheins* held their Diet, tooke sixe hundred Horse, and two thousand Foote, and went suddainly to Field, where he spoild the whole Country vnto *Egia* : And when he had taken a great booty, hee made haste to returne to *Leonce*. *Lyce* hearing this, went to meete them, and encountered them suddainly : when they came to fight, hee slew foure hundred, and tooke two hundred Prisoners : Among the which were found *Phisbas*, *Antenor*, *Glearcus*, *Euanorides*, *Aristogites*, *Nicasippus*, and *Aspasius*, men of note : and withall he had all their Armes and Baggage.

At the same time the Captaine of the Sea-army for the *Acheins* came to *Molieria*, and parting thence suddainly, he turned his way to *Calcea* : where when as the Townes-men came out against him, he tooke two Gallies armed, and furnished with all things necessary, with many other smaller vessels. Moreouer, hee tooke great spoiles both by Sea and Land, and drew victuals from thence, with other munition : wherewith hee made the Souldiers more hardy and resolute for the future. On the other side the Cities were in better hope, for that they were not forced to furnish victuals for the Souldiers. In the meane time *Scerdilaide* holding himselfe wrong'd by the King, for that he had not giuen him his full pay, as hee had articulated with *Philip*, sent fiftene Vessels vnder a counterfeit shew of carrying Merchandizes, the which at their first arrival to *Leuceade*, were kindly entertained, as Friends in regard of the League with the King. And when they could doe no worse, they tooke *Agatin* and *Cassander* of *Corinthe*, who as Friends were entred into the same Port with foure ships : Being thus taken with their Vessels, they sent

A Mutiny a-
mong the *Stes*
galopolitains.

Lyce defeats
Euripides.

Calcea spoild
by the *Acheins*
Fleete.

Agatin and
Cassander taken
by *Scerdilaide*.

them presently to *Sperdiade*. This done, they weighed Anchor from *Leucade*, bending their course towards *Malta*, spoiling all the Merchants. In the beginning of Summer, when the Souldiers of *Tarvion* were negligent in the guard of the said Cities, *Arate* having with him the choise of the Army, came into the Country of *Argos* to get victuals. On the other side *Enripides* going to Field with a good number of *Etolians*, wasted the Country of the *Tristes*. *Lycus* and *Demodochus* particular Capitaines of the *Acheins*, advertised of the descent of the *Etolians*, drew together the *Dimenses*, *Parenses* and *Pharenses*, with the Adventurers, and over-ran the Country of the *Etolians*. Being come to a place which they call *Phixia*, they sent their Foot-men that were lightly armed, with their Horse-men to over-run the Champaign Country, and log'd their men that were best armed in Ambush thereabouts. When the *Elienses* came to charge them without order to succour their people, passing the Ambush, *Lycus* Company fell vpon them: whose fury they being vnable to resist, fled, so as there were about two hundred slaine, and foure score taken Prisoners with all the Booty.

A defeat of
the Elienses by
Lycus.

At the same time the Commander of the *Acheins* Sea-army, having sailed often to *Calidon* and *Naupacte*, spoiled the whole Countrey, and chased the Enemy twice. He also tooke *Cleonice* of *Naupacte*, who for that he was a friend to the *Acheins*, had no harme: but within few daies after was freed without ranfome. At the same time *Agate* Chiefe of the *Etolians*, assembled a Troupe of them, putting the Country of the *Acar-nanians* to fire and sword, and spoiled the Country of *Epirus*. This done, he returnes home, giving leaue to the Souldiers to retire to their houses. Afterwards the *Acar-nanians* made a descent into the Country of *Strate*: where being repuls'd by the Enemy, they made a shamefull retreat, yet without any losse; for that the *Stratenes* durst not pursue them, fearing an Ambush. At the same time there was a Treason practised in the Country of the *Phanotenses* after this manner. *Alexander* Gouvernour of *Phosis* for *Philip*, laide a plot for the *Etolians* by a certaine man called *Iason*, to whom he had giuen the gouernment of the *Phanotenses*. He was sent to *Agate* Chiefe of the *Etolians*, promising to deliuer the Fortresse of *Phanotensis* vnto him: whereupon they agree and sweare together.

The Etolians
circumvented
by a Stragenes

When the day appointed was come, *Agate* comes in the Night with the *Etolians*: when he had laid his Troupe in Ambush, he made choise of a hundred men, whom he sent to the Fort. *Iason* having *Alexander* ready with him, with a sufficient number of Souldiers, receiues the companions into the Fortresse, according to the accord: whom *Alexander* charged with his Company, and tooke all the *Etolians*. But when day was come, *Agate* assured of the fact, carried backe his Army into his Country, hauing worthily defused this deceit, for that he had many times practised the like. At the same time *Philip* tooke *Bylazon*, which is a great Towne in *Peonia*, and in a good situation for the entry from *Dardania* into *Macedony*.

Bylazon taken.

By this meanes he freed them from all feare of the *Dardaniens*, who could not make any incursions into *Macedony*, the entry being stopp'd by

by the taking of the said Towne: whereas placing a good Garrison, he sent *Chrysgonus* with great speed into high *Macedony*, to make a new leuie of men. As for himselfe he tooke some men and went into *Beotia*, and *Amphaxate*, and came to *Edeffa*: where expecting *Chrysgonus* with the *Macedonians*, he parted presently after with the whole Army, and came to *Larissa* on the sixth day: And pursuing his course from thence all night, he arrived at *Melita*, the which he intended to take by *Scalado*, and if the Ladders had not bene something too short, without doubt he had preuailed in his Enterprize: wherein the Commanders are chiefly to

be blamed. For when some of them make haste rashly and inconsiderately to take Townes, without any fore-sight or consideration of the walls, vallies and such like, by the which they attempt the taking by an assault, who will not blame them? And although they haue duly considered of all things, yet who will not taxe them to giue the charge to the first man they meet, to prepare ladders, & such like instruments, as a thing of small consequence: Finally, in such actions they must doe that which is necessary, or else fall into danger. For the losse doth often follow the despair, and in many kinds: First the ablest men are in danger of the attempt, especially vpon the retreat, when they begin to disdain them. Whereof there are many examples. And you shall find in such attempts many frui-

The indifferen-
on of Coman-
ders blamed.

strated, some defeated, others to haue bin in extreame danger: And they which haue saued themselves, haue bin subiect for the future to distrust and hatred: and some haue serued for an example, to all others to be vigilant, giuing not only to such as were present at the danger, but also to them that heare of it, some kind of admonishment to be careful of themselves. Wherefore they must neuer make vse of such aduice rashly: In regard of the meanes to vse it well, it is secure if they follow reason.

We must now returne to our discourse, and speake thereon hereafter, when occasion shall be offered, and that it is not possible to faile in such enterprizes. *Philip* preuented in his enterprizes, plants his Campe neare vnto the Riner of *Empe*, and sent his men to *Larissa*, and other Townes, whom he had leui'd in the winter for the Siege: For all his designe was to take *Thibes*. It is a Towne situated neare to the Sea, and about 300. Furlongs from *Larissa*. It confines fitly with *Magnefia* and *Thesaly*: To the one side called *Demetriade*: And to *Thesaly* on that part where the *Pharsaliens* and *Phereuses* dwell. This City doth much annoy the *Pharsaliens* and *Demetriens*: For that the *Etolians* held it at that time: The like they did to them of *Larissa*: for the *Etolians* made many incursions into the Country which the Inhabitants call *Namirize*. Wherefore *Philip* considering that such things ought not to be neglected, and left behind,

The situation
of Thibes.

he sought all meanes to take it. Wherefore he provided a hundred slings and five and twenty great Crof-bowes, and approached the City of *Thibes* with his Army, the which he diuided into three Troups, and besieged it on three sides: whereof he placed the one neere vnto *Scopia*, the other at *Helotropia*, and the third neare vnto the Mountaine which looks into the City: Fortifying the spaces in the Field with Ditches and double Pallisadoes. Moreover he built Towers of wood in euery space of two Acres of ground with sufficient guards.

Thibes besieged
by Philip.

Then he drawes together all the preparation for the War, and begins to plant his Engines of Battery against the Fort. Yet the three first dayes he could not make his approaches to set vp his Engines, so great was the courage and resolution of those which fought vpon the walls. But after that by the combat, and by the multitude of Darts, part of the Burgeses were slain, and others wounded, and that the besieged ceased for a time, the *Macedonians* began to mine: where working continually, although the ground were bad, they approached vnto the wall on the ninth day.

From that time they were continually employed in battering the City: so as the Slings and great Crof-bowes neuer ceased day nor night: And within three daies they made a breach of foure score Fathomes in the wall. And when the supporters made vnto the wall, were not able to beare the burthen, they fell, and brought the wall downe with them, before the *Macedonians* had set them on fire. This being done, when as their courages encreased, and that they made shew to enter, and begin an assault, the *Thebians* being amazed, yielded themselves and their City. When as *Philip* had by this meanes assured the Countreies of *Magnesia* and *Theffaly*, he tooke the best of the *Etolians* goods, and thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of the towne, re-peopling it with *Macedonians*, and changing its name of *Thebes*, he called it *Philippolis*. Whilist that *Philip* stayed in this City, there came Embassadours from *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Constantinople*, and from King *Ptolomy*. Whom when he had answered, as he had formerly done, (that he had beene alwaies willing to hearken to a peace) he sent them away, giuing them charge to vnderstand the will of the *Etolians*. For his part he made no reckoning of peace, being resolved to continue his attempts. Wherefore being aduertised, that the Vessels of *Scedilaide* spoild all the Coast of *Malea*, and that hee intreated the Merchants as Enemies, and that moreover he had taken (breaking the accord) some ships at *Leucade*, he armed twelue Vessels covered, and eight open, and sailes by the *Eurypus*, hauing likewise thirty Merchants Vessels, hoping to take the *Sciaenians*: neither did he neglect the *Etolian* War, for that he was not yet aduertised of the actions which had past in *Italy*. For at such time as *Philip* held *Thebes* besieged, the *Romans* had beene vanquished by *Hannibal* in *Tuscany*: But the newes were not yet come into *Greece*.

When *Philip* had taken the *Sciaenian* Vessels, and for this cause had sailed into *Cenchrea*, he caused the ships that were covered to run along the Coasts of *Malea* towards *Egia* and *Patras*, and staves the rest of the Vessels in the Port of *Leche*. Then he makes haste to goe to the *Nemeton* Game, and arrived at *Argos*. Being at the sight, he had letters from *Macedony* to aduertise him that the *Romans* had bin vanquished by *Hannibal* with a wonderfull defeat, and that they were masters of their Campe. He presently shews it only to *Demetrius*, charging him to keepe it secret. Who taking his occasion thereby, began to intreate the King that in dispatching the *Etolian* War speedily, he would attend that of the *Sciaenians*, for that al *Greece* then obeyed him: The which they would do hereafter: For that the *Acheins* affected him, and the *Etolians* feared his forces, considering the losses they had made during this War: and that

for

for *Italy*, the voyage which he should make, would be a beginning to conquer the Monarchy, the which did more iustly belong to him then to any other, and that moreover the opportunity was great for the present, considering the great defeat of the *Romans* which *Hannibal* had made. *Demetrius* vsing these meanes, perswaded the King, who was but young, and of a high spirit, and too desirous of rule.

Afterwards *Philip* called his Councell, and began to aduise touching a peace with the *Etolians*. To the which *Arate* would willingly haue assisted: the King presently sent *Cleomice* from *Naupacte* to the *Etolians*, A not expecting the Embassadours, to propound publicly the Conditions of a Peace: For he found *Arate* after the taking of *Thebes*, attending the Diet of the *Acheins*. In the meane time he tooke ships at *Corinthe*, with the Bands of Foot-men, and came to *Egia*, and from thence to *Lafsson*, where after he had taken a Tower in the *Peripes*, hee made shew to enter into the *Elien* Country: to the end they should not thinke that he much affected a peace. And when as *Cleomice* had returned twice or thrice, and that the *Etolians* intreated the King to goe vnto them, he willingly yielded thereunto. Then sending Letters speedily to all the Townes of the Allies, the great fire of the Warre being now quenched, he aduertised them to send Embassadours to compound and

B make a peace with the *Etolians*. And in the interim he transports his Army, and planted his Campe neare vnto *Panormus*, which is a Port of *Morea* right against *Naupacte*, expecting the Embassadours of the Allies. Whilist they assembled, he went to *Zacynthe*, and pacified the differences of that Island, then suddenly he returned to the same place. When the Embassadours were met, he sent *Arate* and *Taurion* with some others to the *Etolians*, who being come vnto them (for they were assembled at *Naupacte*) they had some conference: where vnderstanding the desire they had of peace, they returned speedily to *Philip*, and aduertised him thereof. The *Etolians* desiring it wonderfully, sent an Embassie with C them vnto the King, intreating him to come vnto them with his Army, to the end their differences might be the better and sooner decided. *Philip* wone by their intreaties, sailed with his forces to a place twenty furlongs from *Naupacte*. There landing with his men, after he had fortified his Campe and ships with Ditches and Pallisadoes, hee stayed the coming of the *Etolians*. Who came vnto the King without Armes: And making a stand two furlongs from his Campe, they presently sent men to conferre of the differences which they had at that time. The King sent first vnto them all those which were there present for the allied Cities, giuing them charge to conclude a peace with them, vpon condition, that hereafter euery man should keepe that which he presently held. And when they had so concluded, they afterwards sent many Messages for the particular actions of either side. Of which things we haue willingly omitted the greatest part, for that there is nothing seems worthy of memory yet I haue thought good to relate in few words the remonstrances which *Agelaus* of *Naupacte* made to the King & the Allies.

When he was allowed to speake, and that all men were attentive to heare him: It is needfull (saith he) the *Grecians* should haue no Warre

The Speech of Agelaus.

Ii 3

among

Thebes yielded to Philip.

Embassadours come to Philip.

A peace between Philip and the Etolians.

among themselves, and they should give thanks vnto the Gods, if all with one accord (like vnto those which passe the Rivers holding hands) may be able to repulse the attempts of the *Barbarians*, and defend themselves and their Cities: and it this cannot be continually entertained, yet at the least they should at this day apply themselves vnto it, for that *Greece* was neuer in great danger: saying that he considered the great Armies, and the great Warre which would soone follow: making no doubt, that if the *Carthaginians* did vanquish the *Romans* in *Italy*, or the *Romans* them, neither the one nor the other would content themselves with the Empire of *Sicily* or *Italy*: But the Victors would presently extend themselves farther then were fit, and would passe towards the East.

Wherefore they must all provide for it, and especially *Philip*. The which he can no otherwise doe, but in quenching this present War, and cease to torment the Cities of *Greece*: And that contrariwise he haue a care of all, as of one Body, and study for the safety thereof in generall as his owne, and subiect vnto him. Doing which all the *Grecians* will loue him, and fight with him like good men in his future Warres: And finally the *Barbarians* fearing the loyalty of the *Grecians* towards him, will not attempt any thing against his Empire. The which if hee had a desire to enlarge, he must attempt against the Westerne Countries, and consider in what estate the affaires of *Italy* now stand, and that moreover the time was come, when he might easily hope for the Empire of all the world. To eff. & the which he should be the lesse troubled, for that the *Romans* had bene defeated by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Perousa*. Finally, he perswades the King to exchange the Warre and Discords of *Greece* into Peace and Concord, and that he should strue with all his power to keepe himselfe at liberty for the future, that he might be able to make Peace and Warre when he pleased. Moreover, he sayd, that if he suffred this Cloud which they saw arising towards the West, of a cruell and mortall Warre once to approach neere the Countries of *Greece*, he feared much that these Quarrels and Contentions which were amongst them, would be found so farre out of their power, as they would not be able to pray vnto the Gods to haue meanes to make War or Peace at their pleasure.

When as *Agelaus* had ended his Speech, he inflamed the hearts of the Allies to peace, and especially *Philip*: for that moued by the words of *Demetrius*, he had fixt his minde vpon it. Wherefore they all with one accord made a peace with the *Etolians*. The which being confirmed, they retired all into their Countries. These things were done in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade: I meane that Bar-taile which the *Romans* gaue in *Tuscany*, with the warre of *Antiochus* in *Syria*, and the peace made betwixt the *Etolians*, *Philip* and the *Acheins*. Behold the time wherein the Warres of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia* were first intermixt. For after that day neither *Philip*, nor the other Princes of *Greece* attempted any thing either for Warre or Peace, but had their eyes wholly fixed vpon *Italy*. Soone after the Ilands of *Asia* did the like, and all they which were either Enemies vnto

Philip,

Philip, or any way opposite vnto *Asialus*, retired not to *Antiochus*, nor vnto *Epiphanes*, nor to the Southerne or Easterne parts, but all vnto the West. Some solicited the *Carthaginians*, other did the like to the *Romans* by continuall Embassies. The *Romans* likewise fearing the power and courage of *Philip*, sent Embassadors into *Greece*. And as we haue according to our first resolution, plainly set down, as I conceiue, when and how, and for what causes the Affaires of *Greece* are intermixt with the *Italians* and *Lybians*, as it were in one body: we must now pursue the Actions of *Greece*, vntil we come to the time when as the *Romans* were vanquished and defeated neere vnto *Cannes* by the *Carthaginians*: For there wee haue left the actions of *Italy*, and haue written in this Booke and the precedent, the proceeding of the same time in *Greece* and *Asia*.

The Warre being ended, when the *Acheins* had made choice of *Tyr-moxines* for their head and Gouvernour, resuming their ancient kind of living, they gaue order by little and little for their Common-wealth: The like did the other Cities of *Morea*: So as they laboured their lands and restored their Games and Sacrifices to the Gods: All which things were in a manner forgotten by reason of the continuall warre. It is certaine that as they of *Morea* among all other men are inclined to a milde and curteous kind of life, the which in precedent times they did not enioy: Being as *Euripides* saith, alwaies tormented by their neighbours, and without rest. Yet it seemeth reasonable for, for all they which tend to a Principallity, and haue their liberty in recommendation, haue continuall quarrels amongst them, they tending to a superintendency. The *Athenians* freed from the feare of the *Macedonians*, seemed to liue in great Liberty: but following the baseness of their Commanders *Eur-clides* and *Micion*, they payed Tribute in a manner to all Kings, and namely to *Ptolomy*, who soone after that time made Warre against the *Egyptians*. For as hee had bene assisted in the Warre against *Antiochus*, they presently abandoned him: For that growne proud with the Battaille giuen neere vnto *Raphia*, they would no more obey the King, seeking only a Commander, as if they had bene able of themselves to manage the Warre: the which was soone after done.

Antiochus during Winter had leuiued a great Army, and the Summer following past Mount *Tauris*: where making a League with King *Asia*, he renewed the Warre against *Acheins*. And although the *Etolians* found the peace good in the beginning, for that the Warre had taken a better end then they expected: Hauing chosen *Agelaus* of *Nanpacte* for their Chief Commanded, by whose meanes the peace had ensued: yet after some time they blamed him much, complaining that by his meanes they had lost the great profits they had drawne from Forreine parts: For that he had made a peace, not onely with some Prouinces, but generally with all *Greece*. But *Agelaus* bearing their blame with patience abated their fury: And so they were forced contrary to their nature to pacifie their Choler.

Sceardalaide vnder colour of money due vnto him, had spoild all those he met, and (as we haue sayd) had taken shippes of *Leuceade*, and had

risted a Towne in *Pelagonia*, which they call *Pisæa*, with diuers other Cities of *Dassarete*, as *Amipatria*, *Chrischidion*, and *Gertente*: Having moreouer gained a good part of *Macedony*, aswell by perswasions, as by force.

Philip after the peace concluded, having imbarqued himselfe and his Army to saile thither, and to encounter *Scerdilaide*, he tooke land being wholly bent to recover the sayd Townes. Finally, when he had fully resolu'd to make Warre against *Scerdilaide*, holding it necessary to Conquer *Sclauonia*, as well for other Enterprizes, as chiefly for his passage into *Italy*. The which is an aduice, whereof *Demetrius* laboured to make him susceptible, saying that he had seene *Philip* do so in a Dreame. He did not presse this for any loue he bare him, but for the hatred he had to the *Romans*: Thinking by this meanes to recover the Country about *Tharros*, from whence he had beene expell'd. *Philip* recovered all the sayd Townes, approaching neere them with his Army: For in *Dassarete*, hee tooke *Creone* and *Geronie*, and neere vnto the Fennes of *Lychnide*, *Enchelane*, *Cerece*, *Sation*, and *Boies*: and *Bantia* in the Prouince of the *Calienius*: and towards the *Pissantius*, and *Orygisse*. This done, he sent his Army to Winter. It was the same Winter when as *Hannibal* had spoiled the best Countries of *Italy*, and past his Winter in *Dawnia*, and the *Romans* making their Election, created *Gaius Terrentius*, and *Lucius Emilium* Consuls.

Whilest that *Philip* spent the Winter, he drew together a hundred Vessels, (which neuer King of *Macedony* had done before him) thinking it necessary to make prouision: Not so much for the Combate at Sea, (for that he did not hold himselfe equall in forces to answer the *Romans*) as to passe his Army into *Italy*. Summer being come, and the *Macedonians* in-vred to the Oare, hee parts with his Army. At the same time likewise *Antiochus* past Mount *Tauris*. *Philip* then passing by the *Eurippus* and *Malea*, came vnto the Countries which are about *Cephallenia* and *Leucade*. Where planting his Campe, he fortified it with Ditches and Pallisadoes, for hee feared much the Sea Army of the *Romans*. But when he was aduertised by his Spies, that it was neere vnto *Lylibeum*, his Courage increased, and hee proceeded in his Enterprize, taking his course directly to *Apollonia*. When as hee was neere those Countries which are about the Riuer of *Loia*, which passeth neere to *Apollonia*, he fell into the same feare which doth many times befall Armies at Land: For some of his Vessels which followed in the Reare, and had sailed towards an Iland called *Safon*, lying at the mouth of the *Ionian* gulfe, came by night to *Philip*, telling him that they had spoken with some of the *Syrilian* Sea, who aduertised them, that they had left the *Roman* Quinqueremes about *Rhegium*, bending their course to *Apollonia* and *Scerdilaide*. *Philip* imagining that the Army was not fare off, was amazed: And weighing Anchor retired with great feare and disorder, hee came the next day to *Cephallenia*, sailing continually by night: Where assuring himselfe he stayed some time, making shew that his returne was for some pressing affaires in *Morea*.

Demetrius his
aduice to *Philip*.

Philip enter-
prize against
Sclauonia.

Philip leaues his
Enterprize for
saue.

It hapned that this was a false Allarum: For you must vnderstand that *Scerdilaide* aduertised of the great multitude of Vessels which *Philip* had drawne together in Winter, and fearing his coming by Sea, had obtained succours from the *Romans* by his Embassadours: So as they sent him ten ships out of their Fleete which was at *Lylibeum*, the which passing neere vnto *Rhegium* were discovered. If the King had not beene amazed without reason, he might well haue vanquish't them, and performed his Enterprize against *Sclauonia*: And the rather for that the *Romans* had receiued a wonderfull losse neere vnto *Cannes* against *Hannibal*, where they were in a manner quite ruined. But being then terrified without cause, he made a safe flight into *Macedony*, and remained infamous.

Succours sent
by the *Romans*
to *Scerdilaide*.

At the same time *Prusias* did an Act worthy of memory: For when as the *Gauls* whom *Ascalus* had drawne out of *Europe* into *Asia* for the Warre of *Acheus*, had abandoned him for the causes about mentioned, they spoil'd all the Townes of *Hellepontus* with too much auarice and cruelty. And when in the end they had besieged the Townes of the *Elienses*, then they of *Alexandria* neere vnto *Troade*, performed an Act worthy of memory: for sending *Themiste* against them with foure thousand men, they not onely rais'd the siege of the *Elienses*, but chaft all the *Gauls* from *Troade*, aswell cutting off their Victuals, as disappointing their designes. The *Gauls* having taken the Towne of *Arifbe* in the Country of the *Avideniens*, sought to surprize all their Neighbours. Against whom *Prusias* was sent with an Army, and giving them Battaille he defeated them, killing women and Children, without any regard of Age or Sexe, and abandoned the spoile of their Campe to his Souldiers. By this meanes *Hellepontus* was freed from great feare, leaving for the future a good example to *Barbarians*, not to passe so easily out of *Europe* into *Asia*. These things were done at that time in *Greece* and *Asia*.

Prusias defeats
the *Gauls*.

In regard of *Italy*, many Townes yielded to the *Carthaginians*, after the defeat of the *Romans* at the Battaille of *Cannes*. Finally, we will make an end here of the Histories of that time, seeing we haue sufficiently shewed in what Estate *Asia* and *Greece* were in the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. And hauing briefly related them in the following Booke, we will turne our Discourse to the Government of the *Romans*, as we had resolu'd in the beginning.

The end of the Fifth Booke of Polybius.

The



THE SIXT BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIVS.

Concerning the diuers Formes of
Government.



The Declaration hath beene easie, by the which the Actions past are related, and the iudgement giue of the future, touching the frequent increase of the *Grecians* Common-weales, and how againe they have many times felt a totall alteration. We may without any trouble deliuer things knowne, and easily coniecture of the future by the precedent. In regard of the *Romans*, it is difficult to iudge of the present, for the variety of their Government: Or to fore-tell the future, for the ignorance of the Actions, which (as proper to that Nation) have beene in old time decided in publique and in private. VVherfore if any one will exactly know the diuersities, he had need of an excellent iudgement and consideration of Actions. It is true, that they which by instruction would make vs know things, propound three kinds of Government: Calling the first a Royalty, the second Aristocracia, and the third Democracy. Yet in my opinion wee may with reason doubt of these things, whither they propound them vnto vs sely, or better then the other: For it seemes they are ignorant of eyther.

A diuision of
Government.

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is apparent that, that Gouvernement should be held the best, which is composed of all the afore-sayd properties; whereof wee haue made prooffe not only by reasons, but also in effect: For that *Lycorgus* hath first established the *Lacedemonians* Common-wealth in that manner. Neither must we thinke that these Governments are alone: For wee haue seene some Monarchiall and Tyrannous, who although they differ much from a Royall; yet they seeme to haue something common with them: the which our Monarches imagine, vsurping with all their power the name of King: Moreover the Olygarchicall Common-
A weales, which haue beene in great number, seeme to haue some correspondency with the Aristocraticall; although they differ much. The like we must iudge of a Democracy. And to prooue it true, it will be apparent hereby.

We must not hold a Monarchy for a Raigne: but onely that which is voluntary, and governed more by a Common consent then by feare and violence. Neither must we hold every Olygarchy for Aristocracy; but that only which according to the Election is managed by the wisest and best men; neither must that be allowed for a Democracy, where as all the Commons haue power to do what they wil and please; but where as the auncient custome and vse is to honour the Gods, to do good vnto their Parents, to reuerence old men, and to obey the Lawes. Then they will call a Common-weale Democraticall, when as the
B Commons shall accept of that which many allow of. Wherefore we must say that there are sixe kinds of Governments: We haue already spoken of three Common to all the World: The other three are neere vnto them, that is to say a Monarchy, Olygarchy, and Ochlocracy. The first whereof is a Monarchy, rising naturally without any establishment. From whence doth grow a Royall Government, by order and good direction: But when the Royall changeth into its neighbour vices, as into Tyranny, then by the abolishing thereof an Aristocracy
C takes its being: the which naturally changeth into Olygarchia. And when the Commons reuenge with fury the Gouvernours iniustice, then growes a Democracy. For the outrages and iniquities whereof, in time it prooues an Ochlocracia.

A man may vnderstand that these things plainly which I haue sayd, are true, if he knows the beginning and the change of every Government according to the course of Nature. For whosoever shall consider either of them a part, and how they grow, may also iudge of their increase, force, and alteration; and when and how the one ends in the other. I haue beene of opinion that this kinde of Disputation and Exposition agreed well with the *Roman* Government: For that by a certaine course of Nature, it hath taken from the beginning its institution and increase. Peraduenture these alterations and changes of Government from the one to the other, are more exactly handled by *Plato*, and some other Philosphers. But for that they are disputed by them in many and diuers manners, it happens that few men vnderstand them. Wherefore wee will indeauour to comprehend them, and set them downe by certaine Articles, so as (according to our opinion) they may be

A true Monarchy.

A true Aristocracy.

A Democracy.

Sixe kinds of Governments.

A Monarchical Government of one alone by force.

Ochlocracia is a Government of the mutiny of the people.

The beginning
of gouern-
ment.

be of consequence for the profite of the History, and all mens vnderstanding. And if there be found for the present some defect in regard of the generall and Vniuersall declaration, the reasons which shalbe hereafter deliuered in particular, will repaire it. What Principles then shall I assigne for gouernment? From whence shall I say they take their first growth and being? When mortallity fell vpon mankind by inundation of Waters, or by pestiferous Calamities, or by barrenesse of the Land, or by other such like causes (as we haue vnderstood hath beene, and in reason may often be hereafter) all Institutions and Artes were then lost: And when againe the multitude of men hath by A succession of time taken increase, as it were from some remainder of seede; and that in regard of the weaknesse of their Natures they gathered together, euen as of Custome (as it is reasonable) other creatures doe according to their kinds, it is then necessary that he obtaine the Principallity and Empire which is of greatest force of body, and of most vnderstanding. The which wee see happen in other kindes of brute Beasts, (which we must hold for a most certaine worke of nature) among the which wee see the strongest and of most spirit march before, as Bulls, Stags, Cockes, and such like.

Principallity or
Monarchy.

A Royalty.

It is therefore likely that a principallity is of that kind, and that the course of mens liues is so gouerned, assembling together after the manner of Beasts, and following those which are the most strong and powerful, to whom force is the end of their Principallity, which wee may with reason call Monarchy. But when as with Time there grows from these Assemblies a Company and Custome, then a Royalty takes her Birth: And then Men beginne to thinke of Honesty and Iustice, and of their contraries: Such is the manner of the beginning and fountaine of the sayd Governments. As all men haue a desire of a mutuall and naturall Coniunction, and that from thence proceedes the generation of Children, it is manifest that when any one of those which hath beene bred and brought vp, doth not acknowledge nor yeild the like to those which haue bred them, but contrariwise presume to do them outrage in word or deede, then they which are present are offended: as knowing their care, trouble, and paines which haue ingendered them, and with what diligence they haue bred vp their Children. For as Mankind is more excellent then all other Creatures, to whom is giuen vnderstanding and Reason, it is not fit to passe ouer the said disorder, after the manner of other Creatures: And that contrariwise the assistants ought to obserue and reprehend such an Action; foreseeing the future, and making their account that the like may happen vnto themselves.

Moreover, if at any time hee which hath receiued comfort and aide from any one in his Adversity, doth not acknowledge his Benefactor, but seekes to preiudice him in any sort, it is manifest that they which shall see it, will be grieved and discontented: So as their Neighbour shall moue them to pitty, thinking of themselves as of their Neighbour. Wherefore then doth rise a certaine thought of Vertue, and a consideration of the duty which every man must obserue, which is the

beginning and end of Iustice. In like manner if any one amongst the rest takes reuenge vpon the most furious Beasts, withstanding their force, it is reasonable that such a one, should purchase among the people an acknowledgment of affection and Command: And he that should doe the contrary should both wrong his honour and good reputation. Whence againe the consideration of infamy and honesty, and of their difference takes it birth: Whereof the one meritts (as commodious and profitable) to be loued and followed, and the other to be shunn'd and avoided. When as any one hauing the principallity and the great power, vseth the afore-sayd things by the aduice of many, and that hee seemed to impart them to the Subiects, according vnto euery mans merite: Then fearing no more any violence, and hauing a good opinion of him, they submit themselves voluntary vnto his obedience, and defend his Government: And if hee prooues in all respects worthy of honour, with one accord they take reuenge and fight against those which are Enemies to his power.

By this meanes by little and little, he makes himselfe King of a Monarch, when as reason succedes in the Empire, instead of rage and force. This is the first Contemplation for men, according vnto nature of Honesty and Iustice, and of their contraries; it is the true beginning and fountaine of a Royalty. They doe not only maintaine their Principallity and gouernment, but many times leaue it to their posterity, hoping that their Children bred vp vnder such men will be of the same will and disposition. But if it happens at any time that the posterity of former Kings displeaseth them, then they make an Election of Princes and Kings, without any respect of corporall forces, aiming only at the differences of iudgement and reason, making tryall of the diuersity of both by the workes themselves.

Wherefore leauing the ancient custome, they which haue once seized vpon the Crowne, and haue gotten this power, they fortifie certaine places with walls, and possesse the Countrey as well for the safety, as to supply their Subiects necessities abundantly. Whilst that Kings were careful of these things, they were free from flaunder and enuy: For that they differed not much from others in their Apparell or Diet, observing a course of life conformable to others, with a conuersation and familiarity common to many. But when as they (who by succession and a prerogative of race, are come vnto the gouernment) haue already the preparations which serue for safety, and those which are more then necessary for foode: then following their appetites, by reason of the great abundance of all things, they thinke it fitting for Princes to bee more richly attired then their Subiects, and to be intreated more delicately with diuersity of meates, and to conuerse without contradiction with other women then their owne. Hence springs enuy and scandall with hatred and implacable rage: Finally the royalty changerh into Tyranny.

The beginning of this ruine, and the conspiracy which is made against Princes, growes not from the wicked, but is practised by the best and most resolute men, who cannot endure such outrages and insolencies

Tyranny.

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Aristocracia. cies of Princes. And withall the Commons having found a head to make resistance, ioyne with him for the afore-said causes against their Prince: and then the former of a Royalty and a Monarchy is wholly ruined, so as by consequence an Aristocracia must take its beginning and course. Then the people as it were by a thankfull acknowledgement, ordaine these suppressors of Tyrants to be their Heads and Commanders, and they submit themselves vnto them. When as they haue with good zeale embraced the charge of this gouernment, they haue nothing in so great recommendation, as that which concerns the publique good: providing with great care and diligence for any thing that may touch the peoples profit, as well priuate as publique. But when the Children enioy the same power from their Fathers, and haue not experience of aduersities, nor of the equality and politique liberty, being withall bred vp from their youth in the authority and prerogatiue of their Fathers, they change an Aristocracy into Olygarchia, some abandoning themselves to a vitious and insatiable desire of couetousnesse and getting: Others to drunkennesse, and by consequence to excess in Banquets: some to Adulteries, and forcing of Boyes: Finally, hauing done vnto the people that which wee haue formerly spoken of, it is reason they should conceiue the like ruine in the end that did befall the Tyrants.

Olygarchia. Beleue me, if any one obserues the enuy and hatred which the Citizens beare them, or dare say or doe any thing against the chiefe Commanders, he shall presently haue all the people ready to giue him aide and assistance in his Enterprize. And when they haue murdered those, they dare not choose a new King, fearing the iniustice of the former, neither dare they trust their Common-weale in the gouernment of many, the memory being yet so fresh of the basenesse of the precedent: so as their onely hope resting in themselves, they retire, changing the Olygarchicall gouernment into a Democracia, and taking vpon themselves the care and charge of the Common-weale. It is true that in the meane time some of those haue escaped, which had tasted of the preheminance and power: who taking delight and pleasure in the present estate of the Common-weale, make great esteeme of equality and liberty.

Democracia. But when as young men succeed, and that the Democracia is deliuered to posterity, (they striue in making little account of equality and liberty) to be greater then the rest: whereinto they chiefly fall which haue great wealth. When as they affect command, and cannot attaine vnto it of themselves, they begin to dispose of their riches, and to corrupt the Commons with that baite. A great number being corrupted by their bounty, by reason of a silly Couetousnesse of presents, then a Democracia is ruined and changed into violence, and a seditious estate of policy. For the Commons hauing bene accustomed to liue by the goods of their Neighbours, make a mutiny, taking a resolute and audacious man to be their Head, who for his pouerty cannot in reason aspire to the honours of the Common-weale, and then they assemble together, and fall to murders and ruines, and to spoile and diuide

diuide the Land amongst them, vntill their fury being pacified, they finde againe a new Lord and Monarch. Behold the revolution of Gouernments, and the prouidence of Nature, according vnto which the estate of the Common-Wealth, changeth and re-changeth, and makes the same returne. Which things if any one knows not plainely, hee will be ignorant of the time in fore-telling the future Estate of the Common. But he will erre often, for that a Gouernment increaseth and decreaseth where into it is so transferr'd, if without great iudgement he giues his aduice. We will likewise come to the knowledge of the Institution, increase, and vigour, and likewise of the future change of things in the Roman Common-Wealth, according to this knowledge.

And if it happen that any other Gouernment hath (as wee haue already sayd) from its beginning this Institution and increase, by the course of Nature it wilbe changed into its contrary: The which may be well obserued by that which followes. Wee will deliuer in few words the *Nemobesia* of *Lycurgus*, which shall not be impertinent to our Discourse. Wherefore when he had considered all decent things, and how they are necessarily perfect by a certaine Nature, he hath also obserued how euery forme of Gouernment is variable, which is established simply according vnto a power, so as suddenly it degenerates into its neighbour Vice, and consequently by Nature. For as rust consumes Iron, and wormes Wood, being natural vnto them, so as although they can preferue themselves from all exterior outrages, yet they are corrupted by these, as borne with them: So as according to Nature there is a certaine mallice growing and adhering vnto euery Common-wealth: As to a Royalty there is a Monarchy: To an Aristocracy an Olygarchia; and to a Democracia, a Chirocracia: So as it must needs follow, that in succession of time all the fore-sayd change by the said meanes.

Chirocracia is
Gouernment
by the mutiny
of the people;

Lycurgus hauing fore-seene these things, hath ordained a Common-wealth, which was neither simple, nor vnder the absolute power of one man: vniing all the Vertues and properties of the most commendable Gouernments, to the end that nothing in it should take a greater increase then was needfull, nor degenerate into the neereft vice: And that their forces by a mutuall restraint should not bend or decline to any part, nor any thing therein ruined: Finally, that the Common-weale should remaine of an equal weight for euer, according to reason and equality, and that by this meanes Loyalty should be restrained from Arrogancy, by the feare of the people, for that a iust portion of the Common-weale was allotted vnto them. And againe, the Commons durst not disdain the Kings, for the respect of the most aged: Who being chosen by the Grauest, added themselves continually to equity: So as the weakest party was maintained in its Customes, and was strong and to be feared by the Succour and aide of the Senators. The Common-weale being thus established, he hath preferred the liberty of the *Lacedemonians* longer then hath come to our knowledge. When he had fore-seene the Fountaine and source of all of them;

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and what did usually happen, he established the sayd Common-wealth with our danger.

The Romans.

In regard of the *Romans*; they have done the like in the Institution of their Common-wealth; not by one reason, but as choosing that which seemed best unto them, being made wise by the event of things, by many Combats and alterations: And by this means they have attained unto the same end which *Lycurgus* prescribed: setting a better forme of a Common-wealth then wee have in *Greece*. Finally, hee that will iudge of Writers with reason, doeth not iudge of matters as they are omitted, but according to those which are mentioned. And if he finds any thing false, he must conceive that omission hath beene by ignorance; but if all which they have spoken be true, let him then grant that what they have omitted, hath beene done for some cause, and not through ignorance.

These three parts, (whereof wee have formerly spoken,) rul'd in that Common-wealth. They were all established and ordered so equally, and proportionably by them, as no man, no not the inhabitants themselves, could ever say whether this Common-weale were Aristocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The which hath not happened without reason: For if wee observe the power of the Consuls, it appeareth plainly to bee Monarchicall and Royall: and if that of the Senators, it seemes to bee Aristocraticall: But if wee duly consider the popular power which consists in many, it is apparently Democraticall. In like manner, no man can say by what part the forme of the Common-Wealth was then guided and governed, except in some things.

The Office of the Consuls.

The Consuls being present at *Rome*, have the Gouvernement of all the publique Affaires, before they draw the Army to fildes. To whom all the other Princes obey and are subiect, (except the Tribunes of the people) appointing Lieutenants in the Senate, from whom they demand aduice in pressing Affaires: moreover they have the Charge and power to make Edicts. Finally, they have the care of all that which concerns the publique Affaires, which the Commons are to decide. It is their duty to call the people together, and to pronounce their Edicts, and to iudge of the plurality of Voices. Finally, they have the power and Authority to prepare for Warre, and generally of all the Gouvernement which is vnder the Heavens, to conclude, they have in a manner a most stately and Royall authority. It is lawful for them to dispose of their Allies in what they shall thinke fitting for matters of Warre. To appoint and ordaine Captaines of Thousands, to leuy an Army, and to choose the most able and sufficient. It is also in their power to punish all their Subiects wherefoever they remaine: and to dispose of the publique Treasure as they shall thinke good, being so that cad followed by the Questor: who presently obeys their Commandment: So as he which shall consider this part of the Common-weale, hee will say with reason that it is Monarchicall and most Royall.

Finally, if it happen that any of things which wee have spoken, or shall

shall speake, shall change presently or hereafter, they may not in any sort derogate from our opinion. Next after, the Senate hath the Owner-ight of the publique Treasure: For they may dispose of the Reuenues and Expences. It is not in the power of the Questors to imploy money, no not in perticular Affaires, without their order, but for the Consuls. Finally, the greatest and heaviest expence, as that which many times the Questors are accustomed to imploy, at the returne of the Quinquenniall, or space of five years for the repairing of publique Buildings, the Senate decrees: And whatsoever is allowed the Censors, depends thereon. Of all offences committed throughout *Italy* which deserue a publique punishment, as Treason, Conspiracy, Poisoning, and Murthers by secret practises, the punishment belongs unto the Senate.

The duty of the Senate.

And moreover if any private person, or any City hath neede of thanks or blame, or of succours and assistants, the Senate hath the whole charge. Finally, if they bee to send an Embassie into any part out of *Italy*; to reconcile some, or to admonish them, be it to Command any thing, or to declare Warre, the Senate hath the power. In like manner when as Embassadours come to *Rome*, the Senate giues order for their entertainment, and what answer shalbe made. Finally, the Commons have no hand in all that which wee have sayd: So as whatsoever thou shalt see done in the absence of the Consul, will seeme to bee an Aristocraticall gouernment: The which many *Greeks* and Kings imagine, for that in a manner all their affaires are vnder the Authority of the Senate, without any contradiction whatsoever. For this cause some one will demaund with reason, what portion of the Common-weale remains to the people? Seeing that the Senate hath the Gouvernement of things, which wee have deliuered in perticular, and that it disposeth (which is much more) of the Reuenues and publique expences: And that moreover the Consuls making Warre without the City, haue a Royall power ouer the preparations, and all other affaires which are in the Campe: And yet there is a part referred for the people, the which is of greater esteeme. For they haue the authority of honours and punishments: wherein is contained the power and gouernment, and finally the generall life of men.

The authority of the people.

Belceue me, there is nothing that concerns the Subiects, that can be ordered by reason, by such as haue not the knowledge of this difference, or hauing it doe abuse it. What reason were there that the Wicked should be equall in Honour with the Good? The people therefore iudge and many times diuersly, when as the iniustice which they are to punish is of great consequence, and namely in those which haue had great and Monourable charges. They alone condemne to death: Wherein there are some actions past worthy of praise and memory: For usually they suffer those that are accused of a Capitall or heinous crime, to retire in the sight of all the World, although there remaine an opinion in some which confirms the iudgement and Sentence, by the which a free and Voluntary Banishment is taken quite away.

Kk 3

Fugitives

Towns for the
renew of such
as are voluntar-
ily Banished.

Fugitives are in safety in the Townes of *Naples, Preneſte, Tinaly*, and in other Confederates. Finally, the people giue Principalities to the moſt ſufficient: which in a Common-wealth is a goodly reward of honeſty. They haue alſo Authority to confirme the Lawes: and Peace and Warre lies in their will: Iudging of the Succours, Reconciliation, and Accords of their Allies. Finally, the people confirme theſe things in approving or diſannulling them: So as now ſome may juſtly ſay, that the greateſt part of the Common-weale is in the peoples hands, and that it is Democraticall.

The mutual
kniuing toge-
ther of three
Common-
weales.

We haue deliuered how the diuers formes of Common-weales, are diuided among them: We muſt now ſhew how they may affiſt and giue comfort one vnto another. When the Conſull hath receiued his power, and drawne an Army to Field, hee ſeemes a King, yet hee hath neede of the people and Senate, to bring his reſolutions to an end, without the which hee cannot poſſibly finiſh his Affaires. It is certayne that hee hath neede to furniſh and prouide Viſtualls, pay, and munition for the Armies. But it is not poſſible to furniſh him with Corne, Apparell, nor pay, without the will of the Senate: So as the attempts of the Conſulls are of neceſſity made fruitleſſe, if the Senate doth willingly faile him or hinder him.

By this meanes it is in the reſolution of the Senate to make the Enterprizes of the Commanders effectuell or not. It is alſo in their power to ſend another Commander when the yeare is paſt, or continue his Authority that doth enioy it. Moreover, the Senate may make his Exploits ſeeme great and admirable, and augment and increaſe his Actions, in like manner they may blemiſh and diſgrace them. In regard of that which they call Triumphes, by the which a certaine viſible ſhewe of their Actions is brought by the Conſulls to the view of the people, they dare not attempt them, as it is fitting, neyther (to ſpeake plainly) bring them to an end, velleſſe the Senate allow of them, and furniſh the charge. The conſent of the people is wonderfull neceſſary, be they neuer ſo farre off, for it reſts in them, (as wee haue formerly ſayd) to confirme or diſannull all Accords and Leagues. But behold another caſe: For after their Government is ended, they are forced to yield and ſubmit their actions, vnto the iudgement of the Common people, ſo as they ought not to bee careleſſe of the loue and good liking of the Senate and vulgar ſort.

Although the power of the Senate be very great, yet they muſt of force haue reſpect vnto the multitude of publique affaires, and drawe them to their ends and intentions: Neyther can they put generall and great doubts in Execution, nor puniſh crimes committed againſt the Common-weale, if what the Court ordaines bee not confirmed by the Common people. Matters which concerne the Senate it ſelfe, are of the ſame condition. For if any one propounds a Law, by the which it doeth in any ſort abridge the Authority and power of the Senate, or ouerthrowes their Prerogative and Honour, or purſues them in their liues, all theſe things are to bee done by the power of the people.

It is

It is likewiſe certaine that the Senate cannot execute any of their reſolutions, nor hold a Councell, nor aſſemble themſelues, if any one Tribune of the Commons oppoſeth. The Tribunes muſt alwaies doe according to the opinion of the people, and obſerue their will. In regard of theſe things the Senate feares the people, and obſerues them: In like manner the people are bound vnto the Senate, and forced to winne them: For as there are many Famines which the Cenſors diſpoſe of throughout all *Italy*, for the great multitude of publique repairations, and many places of Riuers, Pooles, Gardens, and Mines, and finally all other things of that nature, which are vnder the *Roman* Empire: they are all managed by the people, hiring all the Rents and profits which grow thereby.

Some take their Leaſes from the Cenſors, to whom others aſſociate themſelues, others become ſuerties for the Farmers: and ſome bring the Inuentory of the goods into the Treafury. Of all which things the Senate hath the knowledge. For it reſts in them to prolong the Terme, and to graunt ſome abatement, if there hath bene any loſſe: Finally, to remit the whole Debt, if there hath happened any impoſſibility. There are infinite caſes wherein the Senate may helpe, or hurt, but thoſe much, which hire the publique Rents, whereof the Senate hath the charge. They alſo name the Iudges in moſt of their Conventions as well publique as priuate, as farre as the greatneſſe of the cauſe ſhall require. Wherefore relying vpon their wiſdome, and fearing the vncertainty of their affaires, they carefully obſerue the inſtances and oppoſitions of the Senates aduice. They doe not willingly oppoſe againſt the attempts of the Conſuls: For that all in generall (whereſoeuer the *Roman* Empire doth extend) are vnder their Command, as well in priuate as in publique. As therefore the power of either of theſe is ſuch, as they may mutually bring profit or preiudice, yet they are ſo ſtily vntied againſt all croſſes and diſaſters, as we cannot finde a better forme of a Common-wealth.

For when as any common terror ſhall preſent it ſelfe, and that they are forced to ſuccor one another, the forces of this Common-wealth are ſo great, as there is not any thing wanting, neither doth any man faile, in his Charge, but all tend joyntly to bring to a good end that which hath bene reſolued: and that, whatſoeuer hath bene ordained, may not be delayed beyond the opportunity of time. Finally, all employ themſelues as well in publique as in priuate to finiſh the Enterprize. Wherefore they haue this peculiar vnto them, that their force is vntoſtable, and they accompliſh whatſoeuer they reſolute. Again, if (ſtried from the publique feare of Strangers) they abandon themſelues to proſperity and abundance of wealth, which they enioy by meanes of their good fortunes, then vſually they grow inſolent and proud, allured by flatteries, and giuen to delights and idleneſſe. Then may they eaſily ſee how the Common-wealth ſtudies to helpe it ſelfe: For when as any one of the parts will be Miſtreſſe, and rule more then is fitting, it is maniſt, that neither of them being newly erected, according to our diſcouſe, the Enterprize of either of them may be mutually reſtrained

Kk 4

and

and hindred, so as none of them can fly off, nor aduance it selfe, either of them continue in their charge, as well by an opposition to their Enterprize, as through a present feare of punishment.



A Parcell of the Sixt Booke

touching the Order of the *Roman* Armies.



Hence the *Romans* haue chosen the Consuls; they appoint the Tribunes of the Souldiers: that is to say, fourteene of those which haue followed the Warres six yeares, and ten others which haue continued ten yeares. Among the which there are foure on Horse-backe; and sixe on Foote: who must of necessity goe vntill they come to the Age of sixe and forty yeares: except such whose estate doth not amount to a-

boue seauen pounds sterling: For those they leaue and reserue them for the Sea. But if the affaires be vrgent and pressing, the Foote-men are bound to serue twenty yeares. In regard of the Citty-magistrate, no man can execute it before he hath serued ten yeares.

When the Consuls ordaine a leuie; they make Proclamation by the Trumpet, on what day all the the *Romans* of sufficient age to beare Armes, to meete; the which they doe yearly. When the prefixed day is come, and that all the able men are come into the Citty, and assembled before the Capitole, the youngest Tribunes diuide themselves into foure parts; as the People and Consuls haue ordained: For that they make the general and first diuision of their Bands into foure Legions. Then the foure first chosen are appointed to the first Legion, the three following to the second, the foure subsequent to the third, and the three last to the fourth. They ordaine the two first of the most ancient to the first Legion, the three next to them of the second, the two following to the third, and to the fourth the three last of the most ancient. When the diuision of the Tribunes hath bene thus made; so as all the Legions haue their Capitaines equally, they cast lots vpon every Race, being set apart one from another, right against either Legion: And they call their Company, most commonly fallen by lot: out of which

which they choose foure Young men of like constitution. After which the Tribunes of the first Legion make the first choice: Then the second, the third, and the fourth last of all. And againe, vpon the presenting of other foure, they of the second choose first; and so the rest in order: They of the first begin the last. Then of the foure which are presented after these; the Tribunes of the third Legion choose the first, and they of the second are the last. By this meanes making alwaies this election by portion, and as it were by a kind of circulation, it falls out that to every Legion the men are equally diuided:

The manner of the Tribunes in the choise of the Legions.

A When they haue chosen this number, (the which they doe to the end that every Legion may consist sometimes of foure thousand two hundred Foote, sometimes of five thousand if the danger seemes great) and that the diuision is thus made, they were wont to muster their Horse-men after the Leginaries. At this day they are the first, by an election of the richest made by the Censor, of which they appoint three hundred to every Legion. The leuie being thus made, every Tribune drawes together his Legion, and in choosing one of the most sufficient, they take an Oath from him to obey his Capitaines faithfully, and to execute their Commandments: Then the rest swear particularly in passing, testifying by a signe, that they are ready to doe all things as their first man had done.

At the same instant the Consull aduertiseth the Gouvernours of Townes allied in *Italy*, from whom they thinke good to draw succours, acquainting them with the number of men, the day, and the place when they should meete which should be leuied. Who after they haue made their leuie accordingly, they send them hauing taken an Oath, and giuen them a Commander and a Treasurer. But when the Tribunes at *Rome* haue taken the Oath of the Souldiers, they send them backe, appointing a day and a place to every Legion when they ought to come without Armes.

When they are drawne together on the day appointed, they make choice of the youngest amongst them, and weakest in their estates, to carry Iauelings or Darts: Then such as are more advanced in yeares, they carry Armes which they call forked Darts or Iauelings: And they which are strong of Body and more aged, are made principals: But the Triarij are chosen out of the most ancient. So many differences of Names and Ages are among the *Romans*, and likewise of Armes in every Legion. They diuide them in such sort, as the Triarij are the most ancient, to the number of sixe hundred: The principals twelve hundred, to whom the forked Iauelings are equal: The rest which are younger, are light Iauelings. If the Legion consists of a great number, they diuide it proportionably, except the Triarij, whose number is alwaies the same.

The diuision of Souldiers in every Legion.

The youngest are bound to carry a Sword, a light Iaueling, and a Buckler. This Buckler is firme as well for its art, as for the greatnesse, sufficient to defend the body. It is round, hauing three foote in Diameter. The Souldiers haue moreouer a light Head peece, whereon doth hang a Wolues skin, or some such thing, which serues for a couering and marke, to the end that every one may be knowne by his Capitaine being

The forme of a Buckler.

The light laueling.

being in fight, doing his duty or not. The light laueling is most commonly three foote long, of the bignesse of a mans finger, with an Iron head a good spanne long, and is so slender and sharpe, that vpon the first cast it must of necessity bend, and so is made vnprofitable to cast againe: Otherwise they will serue the one as well as the other. Then they command those which are more aged, whom they call forked lauelings to be armed.

The forme of a Target.

The *Romans* Armes are first a Target two foote and a halfe broad, and bending vpon the superficies, and foure foote in length: The greatest hath foure fingers more, and is made of two boards glued together with Oxeglew: And is couered with a Calues skinne, or that of a Goate, or some such like Beast. All the circumference hath a hoope of Iron, the better to beare off the blowes of a Sword, and that leauing it on the ground, it may not weare. In the midst there is a Bosse of Iron, which beares off all blowes, and the violence of Stones; of long Pertwifans, and of all manner of Darts bethey neuer so violent. The Sword which they call Spanish, and hath two edges with a very sharpe point, hangs commodiously with the Target vpon his thigh. It chargeth home for that it is strong and stiffe. Moreouer, they haue two spits, a headpeece of Brasse, and greaues for the defence of their leggs, amongst the which spits, some are great, others slender: The strongest which are long and round, haue three inches in Diameter: Those which are square, haue the sides equal: The slenderest are like vnto the lesser forked Darts, which they carry with the said Armes: The staffe whereof doth not much exceede the length of foure foote and a halfe: and they arme them with a head of Iron, equall in length to the staffe, the which they ioyne so close with so many ligatures and crosse-nailes, as they neuer dissolue vntill the Iron breake: although at the neather end it be a finger and a halfe thicke, where it ioynes vnto the staffe, so carefull they are in setting them together.

Besides all these things, they are adorned with a Crowne of feathers, with three red or blacke feathers standing right vp almost a foote and a halfe, the which set vpon the top of the head, together with his other Armes, make a man seeme twice as big, and by this meanes of a goodly appearance, and terrible to the Enemy. Others taking a peece of Brasse a span broad, which they lay vpon their stomackes, which they terme the guard of their hearts, are completely armed. But they which are held to haue about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling in their estates, take for the defence of their body, with their other Armes, shirts of maille. The Principals haue the same kind of Armes, and in like manner the Triarij, but in stead of spits, they carry forked lauelings. They chooseth the heads of Bands our of all these sorts, except the youngest to the number of ten, of the most ablest men: Besides the which they make another Election of ten others, whom they call heads of Ordinance. Among the which the first chosen is admitted to Councell. These againe chooseth as many Lieutenants. These things done, they diuide with the Captaines euery age into ten parts, except the light lauelings: appointing to euery Band two Captaines and two Lieutenants of those which

The manner of choosing the heads of Bands.

which haue beene chosen. In regard of the light lauelings or Darts which remaine, they distribute them equally throughout all the Bands: which Bands they haue called Orders, Troupes, and Ensignes: and their Captaines Centurions and Heads of Bands. These chooseth out of euery Troupe two strong and resolute men to carry the Ensignes. They make two Captaines to euery Troupe, and with reason: For as it is certaine what either of them can doe or suffer, and that the actions of War haue no excuse, they will neuer haue the Troupe remaine without a Commander or Gouvernour. If they be both present, the first chosen leads the right wing of the Troupe, and the second those which are vpon the left wing of the Ensigne. If one miscarries, he that is present gouernes all. Finally, they desire not so much valour nor disdain of death in their Commanders, as gouernment, constancy, and good counsell: and not to ingage themselves first in the fight, nor to begin it: But being vanquished and prest, they should stand firme, and rather dye, than to abandon their place. They haue also diuided their Canallery into ten Troupes, drawing from euery one of them three Captaines: who likewise made choise of three Lieutenants, of which the first is Chiefe of the Troupe, and the rest hold the ranke of Dizeniers or Commanders of ten, and so they are called. The second holds the place of the first in his absence.

The Armes of the Horse-men are at this day very like to those of the *Grecians*: Formerly they had no Guytrasses, being in danger by reason of their Linnen breeches, with the which they were more actiue to mount on Horsebacke lightly, but they found themselves in great danger in fight, being in a manner naked. Moreouer, their forked lauelings were vnprofitable for two respects: For first they made them slender and fit to dart, so as they could not take their aime, and many times they were broken before the point could sticke, for that they were continually shaken with the trotting of the Horses: and withall they were of no vse but to thrust forward, being vnarmed at the other end. In truth they were of no seruice after they were broken. They had also Targets made of the hydes of Oxen, like vnto putt vp Gakes, which they usually make at Sacrifices: The which they could not well vse in fight, for that they were not firme, but swel'd with raine. By this meanes they grew vnprofitable. Wherefore as the vse did not seeme good, they presently changed, imbracing the fashion of the *Grecians* Armes, in the which the thrust with a laueling is suddaine and certaine, neither is it without effect, for that it shakes not, but is firme. Moreouer, in turning the point behind, the vse is firme and violent: Their Target is the like, for both in defending and assailing it, it is firme, strong, and profitable. The which when they had seene, they presently followed it: for the *Romans* are as apt as any others to imbrace the best course of life. When the Tribunes haue made their diuision, and the orders concerning Armes, they send them backe to their houses. The day coming whereon they haue sworne to come to the place appointed by the Confull, (for that euery one doth assigne it apart vnto his Legion, considering that most commonly they ordaine to euery once a

The *Romans* Canallery are med after the *Grecians* manner

The docility of the *Romans*.

part,

part, one for the allies, and two for the Legions, all they which haue bene mustered, meete without exception: For that they admit no excuse, vnlesse it be in regard of the Angure or for health. But when the Allies are assembled with the *Romans*, the Captaines appointed by the Consull, whom they call *Gouernours*, to the number of twelue, haue the charge of their diuision. Who first choose to serue the Consuls loyally and faithfully, the most able and astiue of all the men, as well of Horse and Foot, which are come to their succours, they call extraordinaries. All the Troupe of succours is most commonly in regard of the Foot-men, equall to the *Roman* Legions.

The Horse-men are double in number, of which they take a third part for extraordinaries, and a fifth of the Foote-men. Finally, they diuide the rest into two Battalions, calling the one the right Battalion, and the other the left. These things thus ordred, the Tribunes taking the *Romans* and the Allies, hold a Campe, hauing alwaies one forme in their setting downe, which they vse at all times, and in all places. Wherefore I hold it fitting to the time, to indeauour as much as wee may to perswade the Readers to the contemplation of the order of the Army in marching, camping, and putting into Battaille. What man is so ill disposed to good and honest workes, which will not giue a carefull care to these kind of actions? The which being once heard, he shall vnderstand a thing worthy of memory and knowledge. This is the manner of their camping: The Consuls Tent is planted in the easiest Quarter of the Campe, where he may see and command. When they haue set downe a marke where they are to plant it, they measure out a square place round about it, so as all the sides may be a hundred foote from the marke, and the whole Plot about an Acre of ground.

The Legions are alwaies lodg'd in one aspect to this figure, and of that side which shall seeme most commodious for the water and forage. As either of them hath fixe Tribunes, and that two of them doe alwaies follow one of the Consuls, it is apparant that either of them hath of necessity twelue Tribunes for the Warre. Whose Tents they set vp in a streight line, eight fathome and two foote distant from that side which they haue chosen for the square, which may be a sufficient place to lodge their Horses, Sumpters, and Baggage. They are set vp turning their aspect without the square: the which wee must alwaies hold, and terme it opposite to the whole Figure. The Tribunes Paullions are equall spaces, and of that extent, as they containe as much ground as the Tents of the *Roman* Legions haue in breadth. And when they haue measured out a space of a hundred foote without all the Tents, and haue made a direct line, confining this breadth to the like space of those of the Tribunes, they begin to make lodgings for the Legions after this manner.

When they haue diuided this line in two, they lodge the Horse-men of the two Legions opposite one to the other fifty foote distant, the separation being in the midst of the space. The Tents of the Horse-men and Foot-men are placed in like manner: For all the figure of the inclosure is made square. It looks towards the spaces of the streets, and

The manner of
the *Romans*
camping.

hath one certaine length ioyning to the way, being 100. foot long. The y study often to make the depth equall, except vnto the Allies. But if their Army be greater, they adde both to the length and depth. And as the lodgings of the Horse-men answere to the middle of the Tribunes Tents, there is a certaine way made crossing the afore said streight line, and the void place before the Tribunes. The passages are like vnto streets. For as of either side the troupes are lodg'd all along, but after the Horse-men of the said two Legions, they lodg'd the Triarij in the same forme, ioyning A troupes to euery Ensigne, so as the figures touch one another, hauing their aspect to the other side contrary to the Horse-men, reducing the depth to halfe the length in euery forme: For that they are most commonly but halfe so many in number as the other troupes. Wherefore as the number of men is often found vnequall, it happens that the parts are alwaies made equall in length, for that they differ in depth. Then they lodge the Principals 50. foot distant, and opposite to the Triarij: These being turned against the said spaces, the two streets are compleate, taking their beginning from the same streight line, with such approaches as the Horse-men haue, that is to say, of 100. foot distance, which is before the Tribunes, and ending on the contrary side: The which formerly we haue B propounded to be opposite to all the forme of the Campe. After the Principals they lodge the forked Iauelings behind in an opposite aspect, the figures being ioyned. And as by the first diuision all the parties haue ten Ensignes, so the streets are alike and equall behind, as well in length as in separation, vpon the sides opposite to the Rampire and Pallisadoe; where turning the last Ensignes, they campe. Then after the forked Iauelings leaving a space of eight fathome and two foot, against them they lodge the Horse-men of the Allies, taking their beginning at the same streight line, & ending on the same side. The number of the Allies Foot-men is equall to the *Roman* Legions, only excepted extraordinaries, but C the Horse-men are double in number, from whom a third part is drawne for extraordinaries. The Commanders of Bands take the first lodgings in euery quarter: placing on euery side the sixt Band after the fift, they retire eight fathome and two foote, the like they doe with the Bands of Foot-men: so as there is another passage made through the Legions, and crosse the streets: the which is a way equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, which they call the fift, for that it is drawne after the fifty fise Bands. The place which remains behind the Tribunes Tents, and which of either side ioynes to the Consuls Paullions, serues partly for the Marker-place, and partly for the Questor and his munition. In regard D of the two last Paullions, of either side of the Tribunes, some chioise Horse-men and other voluntaries following the Campe for the loue of the Consull are lodged there, towards the sides crossing the Rampiers, some looking towards the Questors munition, and some to the Marker-place, with an order bending towards the Tents of the extraordinaries. It often falls out that these men are not onely lodg'd neare the Consull, but they also doe their duties about him and the Questor, when the Army marcheth, and in their other affaires.

To these are ioyned Foote men looking to the Rampire, who doe the like seruice: after which they leaue a space of 16. fathome and 4. foote
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broad,

broad, equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, besides the Market place, the Pretorium & the Questory, extending throughout all the parts of the Rampire: At the upper end whereof the extraordinary Horse-men of the Allies Campe, looking towards the Prator and Questor. In the midst of their Pavillions, there is left a way to the Prators place, of 8. fathome and 2. foot, drawing to the further end of the Campe. After these are lodged the extraordinary Foote-men of the Allies, turning their backs to them, and looking towards the Rampire and the further end of the whole Campe. In regard of the void place remaining of either side of the crossing flanks, it is for strangers & new commers. Matters being thus disposed, the whole forme of the Campe remains square with equal sides. As for particular figures as well of separation of streets, as of other ordinances, they are much like a Towne. They cast vp the Rampire 33. fathome and 2. foot from the Tents: for that this void space profiteth them much. For it is commodious for the cleansing of the Campe, so as every man goes forth into that place by the street which is nearest to him without crossing one another. There they also keepe their Cartell safely in the night, & the booty which they have taken from the Enemy. And it is of great benefit, for if the Enemy assailes them by night, neither Fire nor Darts can touch them, or very little, and without any offence, considering the great distance and the Tents about them. It is then easie for a man to iudge how spacious this Campe is, whether they giue it a multitude of Foote and Horse, or they make the Legion of foure or five thousand men, with the length, depth, and great number of quarters: adding thereunto the spaces of waies with all other things. If at any time the number of the Allies be great, whether that they followed the Campe from the beginning, or came afterwards vpon some occasion, they fill vp the places which are about the Pretorium, with such as are new come, & they draw the market place and the Questory into one, for the necessity of the time. Also if the number of those which are come to Field with the Army be great, they adde on either side of the *Roman* Legions a street towards the crossing Flanks. And if all the foure Legions & both the Consuls be ioyned in one Campe, we must conceiue that they are two Armies, equally camped and ioyned backe to back, the lodgings of their extraordinaries touching one another, the figure being somewhat long, and twice as spacious, with a circumference halfe as big againe. The Consuls being in one Campe, they doe alwaies thus: But if they be separated, they obserue the first order. In regard of the Market place, the Pretorium and Questory, they place them in the midst of the two Armies. But when they are encampt, the Tribunes assemble, taking a particular Oath of all men, be they free or bond, who sweare not to steale any thing in the Campe, and if they finde any thing to bring it to them. Then they dispose of the Ensignes, and depute out of the two Legions two of the Principals and of the forked Iaulings, for the guard of the place which is before them. For thither the greatest part of the *Romans* repaire daily: and therefore they haue the charge it should bee kept cleane. Every Tribune chooseth three out of the other two and twenty Ensignes which remaine. According to the said diuision, there are so many Ensignes of Principals and forked Iaulings in every Legion. There

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are fixe Tribunes which gouerne in their turnes, and particularly three Ensignes, the which set vp the Tent in the place appointed for him that hath the government, pausing the place which is about it. Moreouer they haue charge to fortifie if it be needfull, for the guard of the Baggage. They also appoint two Watches, either of them consisting of foure men whereof some are before the Tent, and others behind neare vnto the Horses. As every Tribune hath three Ensignes, and aboue a hundred men in either of them, except the Triarij and light Iaulings (which are not bound to that seruice) the charge is found light: for that the Watch falls to every Ensigne but the fourth day. Finally, as for these duties, the necessary Command, with the honour and obedience is due vnto the Tribunes. The Ensignes of the Triarij are freed from the Tribunes charge, but they serue daily among the Troupes of Horse men, as they are lodged neare them: and they haue a care of the Horses, lest they should intangle and hurt themselves, and so be made vseruiceable: or being vntied fight together; whereby an Alarum might grow in the Campe. Moreouer, one out of every Ensigne keepe a guard daily before the Consul, whereby he is in safety from Treason, being the most honourable Magistrate. The Allies haue the charge of either side of the Ditch B and Pallisadoe, where every one of their Troupe is nearest, and the *Romans* of the other two, and every Legion hath one. And as every flanke is distributed by the Ensignes, the Captaines of the Bands are present at the particular guard, but in generall two of the Tribunes had the oversight, who in like manner had the charge of the rest of the Legion. For For their diuision being made by two, they gouerne by their turnes two Moneths in fixe, and they (to whom the lot is fallen) haue the preheminance of all the affaires. The same manner of government is obserued among the Commanders of the Allies. The Horse-men and Captains of Bands, come at Sun-rising to the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes to the Consul, to whom he giues order for pressing affaires: They likewise to the horse-men and Captains, who command the Troupe in time conuenient. As for the watch word by Night, they giue it safely thus: A man is chosen both of the Horse and Foot of the tenth Ensigne, which camps behind vpon the extremity of the streets, who is not bound to watch, but comes only every day at the Suns setting to the Tribunes Pavillion, and when he hath receiued the word, (which is written downe) he returns, and being come vnto his Ensigne, hee deliuiers it with the word vnto the Commander of the next Ensigne in the presence of witnesses. The like he doth vnto the next, and so consequently of all the rest vntill it come vnto the first Ensignes which are lodged neare vnto the Tribunes. They must bring backe this Paper to the Tribunes before night: and if all those which haue bin deliuered be returned, they know that the word hath bin giuen to all in generall, hauing past through them all. If there be any fault, the Tribune enquires presently of the cause, and knows by the inscription from what quarter the Paper came, and when the error is discouered, they presently condemne him to a certaine Fine. Moreouer, they appoint their guards after this manner: An Ensigne watches about the Consuls Tent: the like doe the Deputies of every Ensigne about the Tribunes and the Troupes of Horse men. Thus

The order of two Watches.

The *Romans* manner ingiuing the word.

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they

they of every Band dispose of themselves, and the Consuls of the other guards. There are most commonly three guards, one about the Questor, and two others about the Lieutenants and Councillors. But the light lauelings remaine without the Campe, making a guard by day about the Pallisadoe, for it is their charge: Of which there are ten appointed for the guard of every Gate.

The Lieutenant of every Ensigne brings in the Evening vnto the Tribune those that are appointed for the first watch: to either of which the Tribune giues little Talleys, hauing Characters: After the receipt whereof they retire to the places assigned them. Concerning the suruey of the Watch, they trust Horse-men, for the chiefe Capitaine of the Band must giue order to one of his Lieutenants to carry this Commandment to every Legion: That is to say, to foure young men of his Band before dinner, that the charge belongs to them, to visite the Watch the Night following. This being done, the like command must be giue to the Capitaine of the next Band, that it belongs to his charge to make the Round the day following. This being heard, the day following he doth the like to others, and so consequently of the rest: Finally, they which haue bin chosen by the Lieutenants of the first Band, to whom the Watch is fallen, repaire vnto the Tribunes, and take in writing what portion, and how many Watches they are to visite, which done, they remaine in the guard neare vnto the first Ensigne of the Triarij, of the which the Capitaine of the Band hath the charge, to the end the Trumpet may sound in fit time for the Watch. The time being come, he that hath the charge to make the Round, doth it to the first Watch. He not onely visiteth the places neare the Pallisadoe and streets, but altogether going about the Ensignes and Troups: and if he finds the Watch of the first guard waking, he takes their Talley: But if he finds any one sleeping, or the place abandoned, he departs, taking witness of them that are neare. The like also they doe which afterwards goe the Round. The charge to cause him to sound to the Watch, belongs to the Captains of Bands of the first Ensignes of the Triarij of every Legion, who serue as visiters for the guard. Either of which in the morning brings the Paper to the Tribune, and if they haue brought all they returne. If any one brings lesse then the number of the guards, they search by the Character where the fault was committed: This being knowne, they call the Capitaine of the Band, who brings those whom they had appointed for the Watch. These debate it with the Visiter: And if the fault be in the Watch, the Visiter deliuereth presently with the testimony of those that were neare: For he is bound to doe it: But if he hath err'd himselfe, the blame is laid vpon him, and they make his proceesse presently before the Tribune, in the presence of the assembly: if hee be condemn'd, they whip him. This is the punishment: The Tribune when he hath scarce toucht the condemn'd with the rod all the Souldiers of the Campe fall vpon them with rods, and kill them for the most part, and if any escape, yet they are not preferred: for how were it possible, seeing that the returne into their Countrey is forbidden, neither haue they Friends or Kinsmen that dare receiue them into their houses. Wherefore they which fall into this Calamity, perish totally. To the like punishment are also subiect the Lieutenants

To whom the
suruey of the
watch belongs.

The manner
how they pun-
nish such as
faile in the
Watch.

nant and Capitaine of the Band, if they haue failed in their Command, the one as Visiter, and the other as Capitaine of the Band, who must shew himselfe in time conuenient, wherefore as the punishment is seuer and irremissible, the watch neuer commits any fault. The Souldiers must obey the Tribunes, and they the Consuls. It is true the Tribunes haue power to condemne in a Fine, to absolute and to whip. The Capitaines haue the like priuiledge ouer the Allies. If any one hath stolen any thing in the Campe, he is whipt: so is a false witness, or any one that is apprehended abusing the flower of the youth. Moreover, if any one hath bin thrice reprehended for one and the same crime, they punish him afterwards grievously as a depraued person. They hold these crimes infamous and base in a Souldier, as if any one hath bragg'd falsely to the Tribune of his prowess to winne honour: Or if any appointed to the guard of a place, abandon it cowardly, or leaues any of his Armes for feare in fight. Wherefore some hauing apparent death before them in the place where they are set, as being environed by a great Troupe, will neuer abandon the station where they haue bin once appointed, fearing the punishment due to their offence. Some in the like dangers losing by chance their Bucklers and Swords, or some other Armes, thrust themselves among their Enemies, hoping to recouer that which they haue lost by force: or enduring some vafortunate accident, to sie a manifest infamy and reproach of their Companions. If these things happen to many, and that some Ensignes haue by a generall consent abandoned their place, they held it not fit to whip them, nor to kill them all, but they haue another expedient which is profitable and terrible: for after they haue drawne the Army together, the Tribunes bring them into the midst of it, accusing them with big words. Finally, he drawes forth by lot five or eight, sometimes twenty, hauing regard vnto the Troupe, so as there be the tenth part of the delinquents, whom they whip as hath bin said, without any remission. Moreover, he commands the rest to lodge without the Rampiers and Pallisadoes of the Campe, deliuering them Barley for Wheat. By the apparent danger and feare of the lot equally incident to them all, seeing the euent is vncertaine, with the example of the Munition which they giue them of Barley, concerns them all, and serues for a terrour and restraint from offences. Moreover, they encourage young men to vndergoe danger: For when necessity requires it, and that any one of them hath performed an act of valour, the Consull assembles the Army, where they are presented which haue done any memorable act: There he commends every man in particular, laying open what they haue valiantly performed, or any other thing that hath bin worthy of memory, during the whole course of their liues: Finally, he giues a gaulish Dart to him that hath wounded the Enemy: To a Foot-man which hath ouerthrowne a Horse-man and stript him, a vessell of Gold: To a Horse-man the Furniture of a Horse. In former time they had none but the gaulish Dart: which are gifts which they receiue, which in skirmishes and such like actions haue done valiantly and courageously, where without any necessity they enter voluntarily, and fight man to man in single Combate, not hee which in Battails or the

The manner of
recompencing
the Souldiers
valour.

taking of a Towne hath wounded or stript an Enemy. It is true they give a Crowne of Gold to those which haue first ascended the wall : The Consull in like manner makes shew of such as haue defended and preferred any Cittizens or Allies, and makes them honourable by gift. Moreouer the Tribunes compell those which haue bene preferred, if they doe it not willingly, to crowne their preferred, to whom they beare a reuerence and respect during their liues, as to their Fathers, to whom they yeeld the like duty. By these inticements they not onely encourage the assistants to fight, and by their example to vndergoe danger : but likewise the Inhabitants which remaine in the City. For they which haue obtained these gifts, besides the glory and esteeme of the Souldiers, the same flying to their family, they haue solemne pomps made for them, being returned into their Countrey with great honour and dignity, for that they to whom the Captaines haue done such honours, are onely worthy to be so magnified and esteemed. They also set vp in the most apparent places of their City the spoiles, as markes and testimonies of their virtue. As they are thus curious and diligent in the Campe, for honours and punishment, it is reasonable and fitting the euents of War should proue prosperous and honourable.

The pay or entertainment of Foote and Horse.

The Foote-men haue by the day fourteene Deniers, the Captaines of Bands two soules and foure, the Horse-men haue three soules and sixe, a Foote-man hath monethly almost foure Bushels of Wheate, a Horse-man hath by the moneth three Septiers and a Mine of Barley and a Septier of Wheate. As for the Allies, the Foote-men haue the same, the Horse-man hath eight Bushels of Wheate, and two Septiers and a Mine of Barley, which are things done in fauour to the Allies. The Questor deducts a certaine portion of the *Romans* pay, for the Wheate, Apparell, or Armes, if any of them haue neede. They march in Battaille after this manner, when the first warning is giuen, they packe vp their Tents and Baggage. The which no man may take downe, or set vp, before those of the Tribunes and Consuls be ordred. At the second sound of the Trumpet, they lay the Baggage vpon the Sumpters. But at the third the first must march, and all the Campe must moue : whereas sometimes the extraordinaries march first, being followed by the right wing of the Allies, with their Baggage in the Reare. After these march the first *Roman* Legion, with their stuffe after them. Then follows the second with their carriages, following the Army close.

A Septier is two Mines, and a Mine two London bushels.

The order of the Campe in marching.

It is true, the left wing of the Allies makes the Reareward when the Army marcheth. Sometimes the Horse men follow in the Reare, euery one to his Quarter ; where they are vpon the wings of the Baggage, to assist them for their safeties. But if there be any doubt of the Reareward, all march in one order, except the extraordinaries of the Allies who are brought to the front of the Reareward, and euery other day the same Legion & wings make the point. Then againe they follow behind to the end that all may be partakers of Forrage and water, changing their order daily, to the end euery one may be first in his turne. They obserue another kind of march in dangerous times, and in a plain Champeigne. They make three Battalions in equall distance, consisting of

forked lauelings, Principals and Triarij's, putting before the Baggage of those Ensignes which march first. After the first those that are second : and then doth march the Baggage of the third, and they order their Baggage and Ensignes by this proportion alternatiuely. Marching in this order, if there happens any great affaires, they cause the Ensignes to march thorough the Baggage, sometimes presenting their Targets, sometimes their lauelings to the Enemy. And in one instant and the same march, the Souldiers put themselves in order of Battaille, vnlesse it be when as your forked lauelings fetch a compasse : For then the Baggage with their attendants, stealing behinde the Souldiers, recouers some place of safety.

But when in marching they are neare to plant their Campe, the Tribunes and they which are vually appointed to that charge, goe before : who after they haue viewed the place fit for the Campe, they first marke out the place for the Consuls Tent, (as hath bene said) and vpon what aspect and flanke of the square thus markt out, the Legions should bee lodgd. Then they measure out a plot for the Pretorium : after which a straight line, whereupon are ioyned the Tribunes Pauillions : Then a line equally distant, after which are lodgd the Legions. In like manner they measure on the other side of the Pretorium, the places whereof we haue lately spoken in particular. This is soone done, for that the measures are easie, the spaces being certaine and ordinary : they set downe a marke, and first of all that where the Consuls Pauillion must stand : Then the second on the side which is chosen : The third to the line in the midst, to the which the Tribunes set their Tents : The fourth where the Legions are lodgd. Of which these last are red, and the Consuls white. As for the other side, there they sometimes fasten forked Darts, or other markes of diuers colours. This done, they consequently make the streets : At euery one they fasten a forked Dart, to the end that all things might be knowne more commodiously to them that approach to the Army, and to the view of the Campe, by a coniecture and consideration of the Pretors marke.

Wherefore euery man knowing plainly in what streete and in what part his Tent is, for that they alwaies hold one place in the Campe. It falls out in like manner as when an Army enters into its owne City, which is well knowne. Euery man from the Gate turning, marcheth presently and comes to his owne lodging without wandring, for that all in general and particular know in what quarter of the City their dwellings are. It happens likewise in the *Romans* Campe, wherein they seeme (following this custome) to take a contrary course to the *Grecians* in regard thereof. The *Grecians* make great accompt of the strength of a Campe, and seeke it principally, flying partly the labour of ditching, imagining that fortifications made by hand, are not so effectual and good as those of nature, wheretore they are forced in Camping, wholly to change their formes according to the situation on of places : so as all mens lodgings are vncertaine. In regard of the *Romans*, they desire rather to endure the labour of ramping, and to doe all other things necessary for their ease, and to haue the knowledge of euery one in the Campe. These are the

generall parts of the contemplation of an Army, and the scituation of a Campe.



A Parcell of the Sixt Booke

of Potentates, and which is the
most excellent.



ALL Historiographers in a manner, haue in their writings made great esteeme of the Excellency of these kinde of Common-weales, as the *Lacedemonians*, *Candians*, *Mantiniens*, and *Carthaginians*: Some likewise haue mentioned the *Athenians* and *Thebians*. For my part, I differ from the rest: in regard of the *Athenians* and *Thebians*. I doe not hold it needfull to vse many words of them; for that they haue had no great increase, nor any firme forces, neither are they fallen into any moderate alteration: But as they seemed to be in vigour and force by a certaine new temporall Fortune, so they haue felt a contrary change. The

The Thebians.

Thebians haue purchased an esteeme of virtue among the *Grecians* by the fault of the *Lacedemonians*, and the hatred of those which were of their League, adding therunto the excellency of one or two in regard of the afore-sayd things. That the virtue of Governours, and not the estate of the Common-weale hath bene the cause of the *Thebians* felicity, the suddaine following Fortune hath made manifest. Their power hath bene augmented and confirmed, and againe ruined during the lines of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. Wherefore we must conceiue that these Men and not the Common-weale, haue bene the cause that the City of *Thebes* hath purchased so much honour whilst it was in esteeme. We must likewise for the same reason iudge the like of the

The Athenians.

Athenians: the which hath many times, especially by the virtue of *Themistocles*, made it selfe glorious, but hath presently tried a contrary change by the disorder of its nature.

II

It hath alwaies happened to the *Athenians*, like vnto ships vnfurnished of Pilots. For when the Company resolue to agree, and to obey the Governour of the ship, either for feare of Enemies, or for the danger of a storme, they performe their duties cheerefully. But when through arrogancy they begin to disdain their Governours, and to mutine, for that the same things doe not please all men: so as some haue a will to faile, others to force the Pilot to goe to harbour, and that some lay hold of the Oares, and call vpon him to set saile: this causeth an infamous spectacle to those which behold it, by reason of the mutuell discord and mutiny. The humour of those which are Companions in the Navigation, hath no stay: wherefore flying many times the great depth of the Sea, and great stormes which doe usually arise, they faile along the shore. The like hath often happened to the *Athenians*. For as they haue some times repell'd by the virtue of their people and Commanders, great and greiuous calamities, yet they haue err'd wonderfully by their great rashnesse and indiscretion, hauing a prosperous gale and all things successfull. Wherefore it is not needfull to hold any longer discourse, neither of it nor of the *Thebians*: where the Commons attempt all things according to their owne humours, the first being brutish and rude, and this other accustomed to violence and fury.

Commig then to that of the *Candians*, it is fit to know two things, why the most learned among the ancient writers, as *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Plato*, say first that it is like and the same with that of the *Lacedemonians*, and secondly that it is commendable: For neither of them seemes true in my opinion: The which may bee conceiued by that which followeth, shewing first that it differs; they say that the *Lacedemonians* haue this proper; that it is not lawfull for one man to haue more land then another, being necessary for every burgesse to haue an equall portion of lands in the Citie. Secondly that hee isto be amerced as a wicked man, that hath greater possessions then the rest: By this meanes ambition is wholly or in part rooted out of this Common-weale. Thirdly, their Kings enioy the Crowne for euer: and they only for life, whom they call ancients: By whom and with whom all the affaires of the Common-weale are managed. In regard of the *Candians*, all the things are gouerned by contrary meanes. For the Lawes allow them to possesse what Lands they can get: by this meanes Excellency is in esteeme amongst them, so as the possession of Lands is not onely held necessary, but also most honest.

The Lacedemonian Common-weale.

The Common-weale of Candy.

Finally, the desire of infamous and auaritious gaine is so powerfull amongst them, that among all mortall men onely the *Candians* find no kind of gaine worthy of blame: Although that in that which concernes their principality, they haue an Annall and Democraticall government: so as we are in doubt, and wonder often, how Writers haue deliuered them vnto vs to be familiar and as it were Germanes, seeing they haue so contrary a Nature: Neither haue they without doting ordained so many differences, not lightly, but with a great shew of words: saying that onely *Licurgus* among the Ancients, had aim'd at firme and solid things: And that as there are two meanes for the preseruacion of every Common-

Common-weale, which are force against the Enemy, and mutuall concord and agreement among themselves: that in chasing auarice, hee had withall taken away all ciuill discord and mutinie: and that by this meanes the *Lacedemonians* being freed from these mischiefs, haue better then any other *Grecians* gouerned their Common-weale, and with greater vnion. And although the *Candyotts* bee of this aduice, paralleling themselves, Yet they thinke it concerns them nothing, liuing in many publique mutinies, murders and ciuill warre by their naturall auarice, presuming to say that these two Governments are alike. *Ephorus* speaking of these two Common-weales, yeth the like speech, except their names: If any one doth not obserue the proper names, who can discern whereof hee speaks. These are the causes for the which in my opinion they differ.

We will now shew the reasons for the which the *Candyotts* Common-wealth, doth not seeme commendable nor worthy to be imitated. I conceiue that of euery Common-wealth their are two Principles, for the which their estate and power is desired or detested: Which are their manner of liuing and their Lawes. That is to bee desired and the best, by the which the life of men in priuate is made religious and honest, and the common course of liuing in the City gracious and iust. Finally that is to be detested and auoyded, where they doe the contrary. And as we iudge confidently that the men of a Common-wealth apply themselves to vertue, when we see their course of life, and the lawes to fauour of honesty in some of them: So we may with reason say, that a Common-weale is altogether depraued, as well by the lawes, as by their course of liuing, when we see any giuen to couetousnesse, and the publique Arts vniust.

Moreouer you shall not finde any liues in priuate more cunning and crafty, nor enterprizes more vniust then among the *Candyotts*, except some few. Whereof we approue it by this comparison, the reason why we hold their Common-wealth not to be like the *Lacedemonians*, nor to be chosen, or worthy to be followed. I say moreouer that *Platoes* Common-weale is not to be preferred. Although that some of our Philosophers make great esteeme. As we doe not receiue among handicraftsmen, nor wrestlers, those which haue not exercised their bodies, nor beene accustomed to wrestling. So we may not receiue this: So as compared with the former, we may not bring it in competition, before we see some effects. I will for the present onely propound this: If wee must esteeme and parallell it to the Common-weales of *Lacedemon*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*, it were euen as if a man should propound an Image, to be compared with men that are liuing and animated. For although he deserves commendation of his Art, yet the comparison of things which be dead, with the liuing, seeme to the eye poore and obscure. Leaving them therefore, let vs returne to the *Lacedemonian* Common-weale. *Licurgus* without doubt, seemes to haue made the law, and well provided that the Burgeesses might agree together, for the preseruatiō of *Lacedemon*, and the maintenance of their liberty: So as his consideration seemes more diuine then humane. An equality of possessions, with a

Two principles
of euery Com-
mon-weale.

Platoes Com-
mon-weale is
to be rejected.

simple and common course of liuing, should cause a modest life in priuate, and make a City quiet and peaceable. Finally, exercise in labour, and to indure all toyle, was to make men strong and valiant. Being certaine that these two which are magnanimity and temperance, concurring together in a priuate person or a City, malice can hardly creepe in amongst them, or be drawne from their neighbours. By these meanes the Common-wealth being settled, it hath procured safety to all the Countrey of *Lacedemon*, and a very durable liberty. But as for that which concerns the conquest, and principally ouer their neighbours, and finally the enterprize of a warre, it seemes he neuer thought of it: but onely that they should bring in a certaine friendship or resolution, by the which the common course of liuing of the City, should rest contented with their moderate estate, euen as their liues in priuate were modest, and contented with their choise. And although hee had instituted in such sort, as they were freed from ambition, and were very wise as well in priuate as in the common course of their liuing in the City: yet he hath left them towards the other *Grecians* more then ambitious, and of an insatiable desire to raigne, with an extreame auarice: So as it is partly notorious, that first in a manner among the *Grecians*, greedily desiring the countreies of their neighbours, they made warre against the *Messenians*, to draw them into subiedion: It is also partly manifest, that they had obstinately sworne amongst themselves, not to raise the siege, before they had forc't the City of the *Messenians*. It is also notorious that for the great desire they had to rule ouer the *Grecians*, they had againe submitted themselves to the yoke of those whom they had vanquished in battaile, So as they had patiently obeyed their commanders.

They had vanquished the *Persians* making a discent, in fighting for the preseruatiō of the *Grecian* liberty: to whom notwithstanding being returned and fled, they haue deliuered the *Greeke* Townes which were restored, according to the peace made by *Antalcides*: to the end that hauing money, they might fortifie themselves against the *Grecians*. At what time the establishment of their law seemed to decline: for whilst it gap't after the command of their neighbour, and finally of *Morea*, they helpt themselves with content, by the meanes which *Lacedemon* did furnish, hauing necessary preparations speedily, and making a suddaine returne vnto their houses: But when they began to put an Army to Sea, and to march out of *Morea* with forces by land, it is certaine that their Iron money, nor the trocking of their Annall fruits, could not supply their necessities according to the lawes of *Licurgus*. Their enterprize required currant money, and traffique with strangers for victuals: so as they were forced to haue recourse vnto the *Persians*, to impose a tribute vpon the Islanders, and to exact money from all the *Grecians*: knowing it impossible (according to the lawes of *Licurgus*) to hold the principallity of the *Grecians*, nor to bee able to keepe their owne Common-wealth. But why haue I wandred so farre in this discourse. To the end it may really appeare, that the institution of *Licurgus* lawes, is onely sufficient for euery man to preserve his owne, and

The Roman
Common-weale
more excellent
than the Lacedæ-
monian.

to maintaine his liberty : And we must confesse to those which respect a Common-wealth to this end, that there is nothing more to be desired, then the estate and order of the *Lacedæmonians*. But as any one tends to greater matters, and thinks of the command of the Empire, and Signury ouer many, their hope in him and his fauour towards them, to be more specious and magnificent, we must then confesse, that the *Lacedæmonian* Common-wealth is defective, and that the *Romans* is more excellent, and of a more powerfull foundation. The which experience shewes plainly.

The Carthagi-
nian Common-
weale.

For when the *Lacedæmonians* laboured to conquer the principality of the *Grecians*, they suddenly brought their owne liberty into danger : whereas the *Romans* after they had reduced *Italy* vnder their obedience, within a short time they subdued the whole world, being sufficiently supplied with abundance of all things, and prouision of munition and victuals to effect their Enterprize. In regard of the *Carthaginians*, it seemes to haue bene well instituted since its beginning, according to all differences. They had Kings, and an Aristocratically power of Senators : The Commons also had their prerogative in matters which belonged vnto them. Finally, in that which concerns their generall assembly, it was like vnto that of the *Romans* and *Lacedæmonians*. It is true, that in the time of *Hannibals* Warre, that of the *Carthaginians* was lesse, and that of the *Romans* better. In euery Common-weale and action there is a certaine naturall increase and vigour, and consequently a diminution : so as all things are perfect in their vigour. Moreover these Common-weales were at that time different : For the greater the *Carthaginians* were in the beginning, hauing had many better fortunes then the *Romans*, the more they haue bene weakened. In regard of *Rome*, it flourished then euen in order and policy. And as the people of *Carthage* tooke great authority vpon them in Councell, so the Senate had great power among the *Romans*. Wherefore as in publique resolutions the Commons in the one gaue their aduice, and the best men in the other : so the *Romans* haue bene more excellent in their publique affaires : where if they haue bene in danger of their whole estate, yet vsing good Councell, they haue in the end vanquished the *Carthaginians*.

A Comparison
betwixt the Ro-
man and Car-
thaginian Com-
mon-weales.

But for that which concerns a suddaine preparation to Warre, the *Carthaginians* are more active at Sea, and prepare their Fleets better : For that this practice is hereditary and ancient vnto them, and they traffique more by Sea then any other men. But as for the Foot-men, the *Romans* make better vse then the *Carthaginians*, for that they wholly addit themselves vnto it. In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they are carelesse of Foot-men : As for Horse-men they take some good order. The reason is, for that they imploy forreine forces which are Mercenaries : and the *Romans* their owne Nation and Burgeses. Wherefore this Common-wealth is more commendable then the other, the which commits the hope of their liberty to the prouesse of mercenary men : and the *Romans* to their owne virtue and the succour of the Allies. Wherefore if at any time the *Romans* haue made losse in their Principa-

lities,

lities, they resist with all their forces. The *Carthaginians* on the other side, fighting for their Countrey and Children, cannot abate their fury, maintaining the Combate vnto the last gaspe, vntill they haue vanquished the Enemy. Wherefore although the *Romans* be (as I haue said) inferiour vnto them in Sea-fights, yet they exceed them in the bounary of their Souldiers. And although that in dangers at Sea, the experience of nauall combats be of no small importance, yet the prouesse of Souldiers at Sea, is of great profit for the Victory.

The *Italians* in truth are of a more excellent disposition then the *Phe-
nicians* or *Lybans*, as well in force of body as in courage : whereunto they vsually incite their Youth. I will tell you one thing which may serue for a great presumption, of the diligence of this Common-weale, ordained to breed vp such men as will endure any thing, to the end they may purchase praise, vertue, and fame vnto their Countrey. If at any time a man of great fame and note, dies, they bring him with great pompe to the place which they terme for valiant men, where hee is sometimes vpon his feete, but seldome laid along. When as all the people are assembled, if there be any Sonne of his of sufficient age, he goes into the Chaire of Orations : if not, some other of his Race, who sets forth the vertue and valour oft he deceased. Hence it growes that many, not onely of his Companions in valour, but also others being admonished, and seeing visibly the deeds, haue so great compassion, as the misfortune seemes not onely proper to those which undertake the danger, but common to the people. Finally, after they haue interred him and performed likewise his obsequies, they set his Image vpon the most apparent place in the house, building about it a Chappell of Ioyners worke. The proportion of his face is carefully wrought to the life, according to the forme and lineaments. Which Images being shewne in publique Sacrifices, they adorne honourably. When a man of some excellent Race is dead, they make his obsequies, and they being about him which seeme to be of the same height, stature, and proportion, they put on a garment bordered with purple, if he had bene a Consull, or Generall of an Army : or else a Roabe of Purple, if a Centor ; Or of cloth of Gold, if he hath triumphed, or done any such like thing. These march in a Chariot in this order : Before the which goe the bundels of Rods and Maces, and other things accustomed to honourable persons, according to euery mans authority, with the which during his life he hath bene honoured in the Common-wealth. Being come to the place of interment, they are all set in Chaires of Iuory according to their order : so as a young man that thirsts after glory and fame, can behold nothing more beautifull. For who would not be encouraged, to see the Images of men whom they honour in regard of vertue, and as it were aliuie ? What other spectacle can wee finde more beautifull ? Moreover, he that makes the Funerall Oration, begins to speake of his other Kinsmen there present, and first of all the most ancient, relating the deeds and employments of either of them. So as it falls out that by the Commendation of good men, many times remembered by their vertue, their glory is immortal which haue performed

The pompe of
the Romans to
an honourable
person.

Man

any

any honourable action : and their honour which haue serued their Country well, is made knowne to many, and multiplyed to posterity. Moreouer, young men are encouraged to that resolution, that they are ready to endure any thing that presents it selfe for the publique good, to the end they might purchase the renowne which accompanys good men. Many *ROMANS* for this cause haue fought man to man, to get an estimation among the people : Others haue chosen an apparent death : some to saue others in Battaille : Others to the end they might procure a safety in peace to the Common-wealth. Some also hauing the command of an Army, haue contrary to all custome and law, slaine their owne Children, hauing more regard to the good of the Country, then to the naturall alliance of those which were neereft vnto them. They write diuers other things of many *ROMANS* : but it shall suffice at this time to produce one for an example and prooffe.

They report of *Horatius Cocles*, that when he fought against two, right against the Bridge of *Tiber* before the City, and seeing a multitude of Enemies come to succour them, fearing lest they should force the City, he retired to those that were at his backe, crying out vnto them that they should breake the Bridge, and in the meane time maintained the fight with great courage and resolution, receiuing many wounds, and stayed the fury of the Enemies : so as they wondred not so much at his forces, as at his resolution and courage. When by the breaking of the Bridge the Enemies enterprize was disappointed, *Cocles* casting himselfe armed into the Riuer, died according to his resolution, esteeming more the preferuacion of his Country, and his future glory, then his present life, or that which hee had remaining to liue. It is likely that by such courtes young men were inflamed with a desire to honest actions.

As for that which concernes gaine, the custome and proceeding of the *ROMANS* is much more excellent then that of the *Carthaginians*, to whom nothing is infamous that brings profit : where there is nothing more vile and base among the *ROMANS*, then to be corrupted with gifts, and to wrest from another man contrary to duty. The more honourable they esteeme a benefit gotten from a great and powerfull man, the more they blame and condemne as infamous abundance purchased by vnlawfull meanes. For prooffe where of, among the *Carthaginians* they attaine vnto the government which haue openly giuen presents : whereas among the *ROMANS* that corruption is punished with death if it be discouered. Wherefore as the rewards of vertue are contrary among them. It is apparent that the institution of these Common-wealths is vnequall in these things. Finally, it seemes that concerning the opinion of the Gods, the *Roman* Common-wealth followes not the best. And I imagine that all the world holds it a dishonour that this is found among their actions. I speake of their superstition. It is in truth preacht among them for so excellent, and so anchored in men, as well in priuate as publique, as they cannot adde any thing, the which in truth will seeme admirable. I am of opinion they haue done it for the common good. For if the Common-wealth could haue assembled wise men

men, this course happily had not bene necessary. But for that the multitude is light and inconstant, and subiect to disordred affections, and to vnreasonable distempers of fury and violence, it was fit to restrain them by a disguised feare, and by this kind of strange language. Wherefore the *Ancients* did not without reason inuere the Common sort with the knowledge of the Gods, and with Tales of Hell, which some at this day oppose foolishly and without consideration.

Wherefore in passing ouer with silence others which gouerne Common-wealths, if a man lends to *Grecians* but fixe hundred Crownes, they cannot keepe their Faith, although he hath ten promises, and as many Signatures, and twice as many Witnesse. In regard of the *ROMANS*, in all their Commands, they which mannage great affaires and wealth, performe their duties according to the Faith of their Oaths : whereas in other states you shall find few men carefull and sparing of the publique good, and performing the duty of an honest man : so it is a rare thing among the *ROMANS*, to finde any one accused of such a Crime. That there is corruption and alteration in all things, it is not needefull to speake : For the necessity of Nature will giue sufficient prooffe. And as there are two menes by the which euerie Common-wealth is usually ouerthrowne, whereof the one is exteriour, and the other of it selfe : That which is exteriour is in its consideration inconstant : But as for the order within it selfe, we haue formerly deliuered what kind the first is, what the second, and how it ends in a third Common-wealth : so as they which can appropriate the beginning of this present Subiect to the end, may also fore tell the future : the which in my opinion is manifest.

For when a Common-wealth hath gotten (after many and great dangers auoided) an excellency and vnresistable power, it is apparent, that growing (as of custome) to abundance of wealth, the expences are more sumptuous, and men grow more quarrellsome touching Governements and other Enterprizes. By the continuance whereof begins a change to worse, as to ambition which is a kind of ignomy : Moreouer, an arrogant kind of liuing and sumptuousnesse. The people will leaue this Title of change, when as growne proude with ambition, sweetened with their good words, which seeke to gaine them by couctousnesse. For then being furious, and manning all things with rage, they will no more obey their Princes, nor be equall to their Governours, but most commonly will haue all the power. This done, the Common-wealth will change its name into a goodly shew of liberty and a Democracia : but in effect to a most wicked Orchlocracia. Finally, as we haue declared the establishing, increase, with the vigour and disposition of the Common-wealth, and the difference from others, and what is good or bad in it, we will here make an end of this Discourse.

Resuming then the parts which cohere with the time of the History, from whence wee strayed, we will in few words make a brieue relation of an action : to the end that not onely in speech, but also in effect, after the manner of a good workeman, we may plainly shew the vigour and power of the Common-wealth, as it was at that time, propounding

M m 2

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All things sub-
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tion.

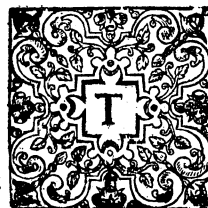
*Hannibals pro-
ceeding after
the Battaille of
Cannes.*

some excellent action. When as *Hannibal* had won the Battaille of *Cannes* against the *Romans*, he tooke eight thousand men Prisoners, which had bin appointed for the guard of the Fort of Campe: suffering them all to send to their houses for their Ransome and safety. He sent tenne of the most apparent to *Rome*, vpon their Faith to returne againe. Whenas one of them being out of the Fort, was returned, saying that he had forgotten something, and hauing taken that which he had left, he went on his way, thinking by this returne to haue kept his Faith, and to haue made his Oath void and vnprofitable. When they were come to *Rome*, they intreate the Senate not to hinder the deliury of the Prisoners, and that they would suffer them to pay thirteene Livers for a man, and that they might returne safely to their Families. They sayd that *Hannibal* had so agreed, and that moreouer they were worthy to be preferred, for that they had not playd the Cowards in the Battaille, nor done any act vnworthy of the *Roman* name: But being left to guard the Campe, all the rest being slaine in Battaille, they had beene suddainly enuironed and brought vnder the Enemies subiection. But when the *Romans* (hauing made great losses during the Warres, and being in a manner abandoned by all their Allies, so as they seemed to be in great danger for their Countrey) had heard this speech, they were not careless of their honour, to yeeld vnto their misery: neither did they disdain any thing that was needfull to be done. But considering *Hannibals* intention, who thought by this practice to draw away their Treasure, and withal to dis-inhearten & discourage his enemies in battaille, shewing couertly that the vanquished had yet some hope remaining, and were so farre from yeelding to that which was required, as they were neither moued to pittie the Prisoners, nor made any accompt of the future faule of men: making it knowne (in refusing to redeeme their men) that the conceit and hope which *Hannibal* had in them was vaine. Finally, they haue enioyned their Souldiers by a law, to vanquish in fighting or to die, for that being vanquished there remained no hope of safety. After which things decreed, they sent backe the nine Embassadors, who willingly returned according to their promise, deliuering him who had thought cunningly to breake his Faith to the Enemy, bound hand and foote: so as *Hannibal* was not so glad of the Battaille wonne against the *Romans*, as sorrowfull, wondering at the constancy and magnanimity of these men in their resolutions.



A PARCELL OF the Seuenth Booke of the

History of *POLYBIUS*, concerning the
Accord made betwixt the *Cartha-*
ginians and *Messenians*, with the
taking of the City of the *Sar-*
dines by *Antiochus*.



The City of the *Leontins* is wholly situated towards the North: In the midst whereof is a great place, where there are Pallaces built, Seates of Iustice, and a Market place for all Commodities. Vpon euery side of the place is a Hill, with a thicke Rocke, and the plaine of these Hills vpon the top, is fill'd with houses and Temples. Finally, this City hath two Gates: whereof the one is towards the South, at the end of the place aboue mentioned, going to *Saragossa*: and the other bends to the North, towards the *Leontine* Plaines and the errable Land. But vnder one of the Rocks which looks towards the West, there flowes a River which they call *Lisson*: where there are houses built one against another, and many others vnder the Rocke, betwixt the which this River passeth. Behold the accord sworn, which was made by *Hannibal* the Commander, *Mago*, *Mercant*, *Barmocare*, and all the *Carthaginian* Senators, which were then with *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army which he had vnder his command, with *Zenophanes* the Soa of *Cleomachus*, Embassadour for the *Athenians*, whom King *Philip* the Sonne of *Demetrius* sent vnto them as well for himselfe as for the *Macedonians* and their Allies: And that before *Iupiter*, *Iuno* and *Apollo*: And before the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, *Hercules* and *Iolus*, *Mars*, *Trisun*, and *Nepertune*: And before the Gods of their Army, the Sun Moone, and Earth: And the Riuers, Gods, and Waues, and finally before all the Gods which possesse *Carthage*, and all those which hold *Macedony* and the rest of *Greece*, and in the presence of all other Gods which are not compre-

The River of
Lisson.

An accord
made betwixt
the *Carthagini-*
ans, *Macedoni-*
ans, and *Greci-*
ans.

Mm 3 headed

bended in this Oath. Captaine *Hannibal* with the Senators of *Carthage* which were with him and the whole Army, haue said : according to your good pleasure and ours, wee Friends, Allies, and Brethren, shall giue order to this Accord *sworne*, concerning the Friendship and good intelligence, so as the Lords of *Carthage*, Captaine *Hannibal* and his men, with the other *Carthaginian* Princes, which liue vnder the same Lawes, and likewise the *Bisartins*, with all the Cities and Nations subiect to the *Carthaginians*, Souldiers and Allies, and all Cities and people with whom we haue any league or fricadship, as wel A in *Italy* and *Spaine*, as in the Countrey of *Genoua*, and if there be any others in this Region with whom we haue any fricadship or league, shall be guarded and defended by King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and all other *Grecians* which are in league with them.

In like manner King *Philip* and the *Macedonians* with the Allies of the other *Grecians*, shall be guarded and defended by the *Carthaginians*, making Warre with them, and by the *Bisartins*, and by all the Cities and Nations acknowledging the Empire of *Carthage*, with their Allies and Souldiers, and all Nations and Cities which are in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Genoua*, and all other Allies which are in other Countries of *Italy*. Neither the one nor the other shall haue any practices, nor plot any War B by deuices, being of good affection and intelligence, without fraud or deceit, Enemies to those which shall make Warre against the *Carthaginians*, except the Townes, Cities, and Ports, with whom they haue a *sworne* league. We likewise shall be Enemies to those which shall make Warre against King *Philip*, except the Cities and Nations with whom we haue *sworne* friendship. Finally, you shall maintaine our party, in giuing aide and comfort according to the necessity of our affaires, in the War begun betwixt vs and the *Romans*, vntill that by the grace of the Gods you and we may haue a good end. And if by the helpe of the Gods you and we shall consent to to treat of friendship with the *Romans* touching the Warre we haue with them, we will treat it in such sort, as you shall be partakers, so as it shall be neuer lawfull for them to make Warre against you : Neither may the *Romans* rule ouer the *Ceretyreins* or *Apollinates*, or *Epidamnet*, or ouer *Phaire*, or *Demale*, the *Parthins*, and the *Antimanians*. And moreover they shall restore to *Demetrius* of *Phaire* all his Subjects, whom they haue receiued for Burgeses. And if it happen that the *Romans* make Warre against vs or you, we shall succour one another as the common necessity shall require. The like also we will doe, if others make Warre against vs, except the Kings and Nations with whom we are in league. Moreover, we will adde or diminish what we D shall thinke good of this accord *sworne* by a common consent.

During these things *Philip* taking the Bowels of the Sacrifices, the which according to the custome were brought vnto him, and bending himselfe a little, he presented them to *Arate*, demanding of him what those Sacrifices signified, and whether they would abandon that Fort or keepe it still. Then *Demetrius* as the most aged, said : If thou hast the iudgment of a Soothsayer, we will leaue it suddainly, but if the vnderstanding of a warlike King, we will keepe it. And not to abandon it, thou shalt consider

consider of another necessary occasion : For by this meanes in laying hold of the Oxes hornes, thou shalt haue it wholly in thy subiection. By the hornes he meant *Thhomate*, and the *Acrocorinthe* : and by the Oxe, *Morea*.

Then *Philip* returning to *Arate*, art thou of this aduice ? And when as *Arate* spake nothing, he intreated him to deliuer his opinion : who after he had considered thereon, answered, thou mayst keepe it, if thou canst provide in such sort that the accord with the *Atheniens* may not be infringing. If in taking it thou puts a Garrison, thou shalt loose all the A Fort, and the Garrison it selfe (meaning his sayth) which thou hast receiued from *Antigonus*, in giuing the Guards to the Allies. Consider whether it be now better, that in putting me forth, thou loosest this fidelity, and that by this meanes thou sedest Garrisons ouer the *Messeniens*, and other Allies. But *Philip* had a great desire to breake the accord : the which his following actions made manifest. And when hee had a little before bene sharply reprehended by yong *Arate* for the defeat of some men, and that the elder (hauiug spoke freely and with authority) had intreated him not to giue an eadie eare to such speeches as should be vsed vnto him, shame restrained him : and taking his right hand, well sayd he, let vs follow the same course.

In regard of the City of the *Sardins*, there were continually combats and dangerous encounters. For the souldiers of eyther side studied day and night to frustrate one anothers policies by new inuentions : to write all which in particular would be no lesse vnprofitable then tedious. And whenas the siege had continued full two yeeres, *Lagorus* of *Candy*, a man well experienced in the art of warre, hauiug considered with himselfe, that many times strong Cities fall easily into the Enemies hands, by the negligence of the inhabitants, who relying vpon their fortifications made as well by nature as art, assure themselues and grow idle : And knowing likewise how they are accustomed to set guards in strong places, which might make heads against the Enemies attempts : Seeing likewise according to his conceit the despaire of them all, that they should not be able to take the *Sardins* Fort by this meanes, and that want of victuals and munition, remained for their last hope to take it : The more he considers thereon, and studies by what meanes he might finde some occasion to surprize the City. And when as afterwards hee found that the courting of the place, which they call *Serie* (it is that which ioynes the City with the Fort) was without guard, it happened that according to his hope and opinion, he discouered the negligence of the guard by his presumption.

D This place was very rough and steepe, hauiug a valley neere vnto it, into the which they of the City cast their dead carrion : Whether resorted a great number of vulture and other rauening Birds. When this man saw that these Birds after they were full gorg'd, perch daily vpon the top of the valley, and on the wall, he knew thereby, that of necessity this courtine was abandoned, and for the most part without guard. Then approaching wisely in the night, hee sought meanes to get vp. And when he found that in a certaine place of the valley they might

A signe of the
sardins neglig-
gence.

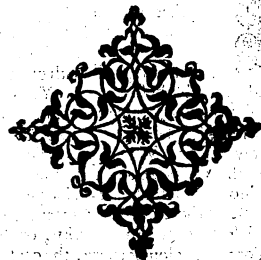
ascend, he aduertised the King. Who conceiuing a good hope, perswaded *Lagoras* to continue his enterprize, promising to doe what possibly hee could. *Lagoras* intreats the King, to giue him for companions *Theodote* the *Etolien*, and *Demis* Captaine of his guard, and that hee would command them to beare him company to lay this Ambush: For they seemed to be able men and sufficient for this enterprize. And when the King had satisfied his demand, they agree together, and by a common consent make choise of a night, when as part of the morning had no moone-light. After which the day before at Sunne-setting, they make choise of fiftene strong and resolute men, A to mount vp the ladders with them, and to gaine the wall, who in this hardy enterprize should be their companions.

Then they chose thirty other, to lye a little distant of in Ambush: to the end that when they had recovered the wall, they should fall vpon the next gate, and striue to breake the hinges and ioynts, and the others within the barres and lockes. They also appoynt two thousand men in the reare of these, who entring with them should recover the place of the Theater: The which was made so conueniently, as it was opposite to the approaches of those of the Forts and those of the City. Moreover to auoyd the suspicion of the truth, B in regard of the choise of these men, he gaue order that the *Etolians* should giue an assault vnto the City by a certaine valley: And therefore it was needfull that these should second them, according to a signe which should be giuen them. When as all things were ready, and the Moone growne darke they which were *Lagoras*, taking the ladders, approacht closely to the top of the valley, and hid themselves vnder the rocke.

When at the breake of day they had relieved the watch which was on that side, and the King had sent (as of custome) others to second them, and had appoynted a good number for a place where they runne their horses, no man suspected any thing of the enterprize: But when C as the two ladders were set vp against the wall, where *Demis* on the one, and *Lagoras* on the other mounted first vnto the top, their grew a great noyse, and alteration in the Campe. It so fell out that they which mounted the ladders, could not be discovered by them of the City, nor by the rest which were in the Fort vnder *Achem*, by reason of the Rocke which advanced ouer the valley. But their courage which ascended the wall and assailed the City, was apparant to the Army. Wherefore some wondred at there incredible resolution, others foreseeing the future, and fearing, remained partly amazed, and partly ioyfull. Wherefore the King seeing the alteration in his Campe, desiring also to direct D this fancie, as well from his owne men, as from those of the City, he led forth his Army, and besieged the two Gates, which they call *Persides*. On the other side *Achem*, seeing the Enemies alteration more then of custome, was in great doubt, being ignorant of the present cause, and could not vnderstand the practise. Yet he sent men to the Gate, which succours came somewhat late, for that they descended by straights and hollow places, *Aribaze* who was Captaine of the City, went simply

simply to the Gates, which he had seene *Antiochus* assaile: appoynting some to goe vnto the wall, others to make sallies by the Gate, to keepe the Enemy from approaching, and to fight with them. In the meane time *Lagoras*, *Theodote*, and *Demis*, with their troupe, hauing recovered the walls, came to the Gate vnderneath, wherof some maintayned the charge which the Inhabitants gaue them, others brake the barres and bolt of the Gates. The like did they without which were appoynted to that Quarter. When as the gate was opened, the other two thousand entred the City, and seize vpon the place of the Theater. This done, all they which had runne to the walls, and to the Gate which they call *Perside*, who had bene sent by *Aribaze* to defend it, against the Enemies assault, came running thither. After which reuerse, the Gate was opened, so as some of the Kings troupe pursuing those which abandoned it, entred pell mell. When they had taken the Gate by force, some entred the City, others forced the next Gates. They that were of *Aribazes* band, with all the Citizens, recovered the Fort by flight, after they had made some little resistance. After this route, *Lagoras* and *Theodotes* band stood firme in the place of the Theater, seruing as a Fort to all the rest. Finally the rest of the Army charging of all sides tooke the City. By this meanes, the City was wholly sackt and ruined, some killing those they encountred, others setting fire of the houses, and some gaping after spoyle for their priuate profit. And thus *Antiochus* vanquished the *Sardins*.

The City of the *Sardins* taken by assault.





A PARCELL OF the Eighth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS, concerning the Difference of a Perticular and Ge- nerall History.

NO man can iustly say, if they to whom these kindes of Calamities and disasters haue befallen, ought to be blamed or censured, or helde worthy of pardon and pittie in regard thereof: For that it falls and happens to many (to whom all things haue beene done conformable and agreeable vnto reason) to bee subiect to those which transgresse with great desire, the things which are iust and reasonable before men. Yet wee may not be silent here, being necessary (hauing regard to the time and circumstance of accidents) to blame some Captaines, and to pardon others: The which will appeare plainly by this. When *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedaemonians* suspected that *Cleomenes* aspired to the Crowne, he fled from *Lacedaemon*. Who soone after being againe perswaded, put himselfe into his hands: Being therefore by this meanes stript of Crowne and Life, hee hath left no excuse to posterity, of those things which he hath suffered. For what colour is there, the cause being still the same, and *Cleomenes* power increasing, but he should suffer the things which we haue spoken, hauing put himselfe into their hands, from whom he formerly had fled, giuing order for his safety contrary to all hope? Although that *Pelopidas* of *Thebes* had beene the cause of King *Alexanders* iniquity, and that hee knew well, that all Tyrants are capitall Enemies to those which defend liberty, yet he perswaded *Epaminondas*

to

to be Gouverneur not only of the popular Common-weale of the *Thebans*, but also of the *Grecians*. And as he was an Enemy to *Thebally*, to the end he might ruine the Monarchy of *Alexander*, yet he presumed to go the second time in Embassie vnto him. Wherefore when he fell into the hands of his Enemies, hee was the cause of great prejudice to the *Thebans*, and the ruine of their glory, which vntill that time they had preferred: for the confidence he had in those, whom he should not haue trusted.

The like hapned to *Cheius* Chiefe of the *Romans*, during the Warre of *Sycily*, for that he had indilcreetly thrust himselfe into the Enemies power. Diuers others haue suffered the like. Wherefore they are worthy of blame, who without great consideration, submit themselves vnto their Enemies, and not they who (as much as in them lies) managed their Affaires discreetly: for in truth no man can gouerne them well, relying vpon another. If thou dost them by certaine occasions, which are conformable to reason, thou shalt be blamelesse. The most likely causes of this kind are, an Oath, Children, Wife, and for the most certaine, the fore-passed life. And if it happens that vnder colour of these things, thou fallst into an inconuenience, the faulte shall not bee thine in suffering, but theirs who commit the wrong. Wherefore we must seeke such Arguments and assurances, as in regard thereof, he in whom you trust, may not breake the faith which hee hath giuen. But for that there are few such, the best will bee to haue a care of those which are conformable to reason: so as if wee be deceived therein, wee may not loose our excuse with strangers: the which hath hapned to many of our Predecessors.

It is a thing much more manifest in those times whereof wee haue made mention, and of a later date, in that which hath befallen *Achens*: who fell into his Enemies hands, although hee omitted nothing that might be done for his safety, providing for all things as much as Humane sense could effect. Wherefore the euent hath caused commiseration and pardon, in him which hath suffered with strangers, and blame and hatred to those which haue done the outrage. Moreover, I do not find it strange to my Enterprize and first intention, to aduertise the Readers of the greatnesse of these things, and of the ambitious desire of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Common-weales. Who will not hold it fit to be considered, how the Gouvernours of such great Cities, not being ignorant of the things which had happened in *Italy* and *Spaine*, hauing moreover of either side an equall hope of the future, and a present danger of the Warre, haue not beene contented with this apparent discommodity, but contended for *Sardinia* and *Sycily*, imbracing the whole, not onely in hope, but with Expences and Preparations of Warre, which will moue any man to wonder, that shall obserue it all in perticular? The *Romans* had two sufficient Armies in *Italy* with their Consuls for their preferuations: And two others in *Spaine*, where *Gneius* had the leading of that by Land, and *Publius* of the other by Sea. These are things which happened to the *Carthaginians*. Moreover they sent an Army by Sea, to crosse the at-
tempts

attempts of *Philip in Greece* : In the which *Marcus Valerius* commanded first, then *Publius Sulpicius*, with whom *Appius* likewise ioynd with a hundred Quinqueremes. Moreouer *Marcus Claudius* furnished with an Army at Land, had assailed *Sycily* : The like *Amilcar* had done being sent by the *Carthaginians*.

By the which things I am confident, (the which I haue often spoken in the beginning of this Worke) to find a certaine assurance by the accidents which consist in this, that it is not possible for those which Write pericular Histories, to be able to obserue the generall disposition of things: For how is it possible, that he which doth barely read the Exploits of *Sycily* and *Spaine*, can know or conceiue the greatnesse and continuance of Actions, nor in what sort or forme of a Common-weale, Fortune hath brought it to an end? The which is very admirable to vs, for that all the Countries of the World, which are come to the knowledge of men, are subiect to one Empire and Power, the which hath not formerly bene.

It is true, that it is not impossible to vnderstand in some sort by pericular Histories, how the *Romans* haue Conquered *Sycily* and *Spaine* : But it is a difficult thing to know in what sort they haue attained to this Vniuersall power and Command : Nor to what vse pericular Actions haue serued to their generall Enterprize, nor with what succours, nor at what time they haue attempted it, without a full and generall History of the proceedings : neither will it be easie for the same causes, to consider the greatnesse of Actions, nor the power of this Common-weale. For in that the *Romans* haue Conquered *Sycily* and *Spaine*, and haue made Warre there both by Sea and Land, it is no wonder if one man deliuer it in pericular. But if we consider that when these things happed, this powerfull Common-wealth had ended many others, and at the same time; and how it was effected, and with what calamities and Warre, they were afflicted in their owne Region, which performed these Exploits at that time, finally their deedes wil be held glorious and admirable; and then the knowledge of these things will square well. This Discourse shalbee directed vnto those, who by pericular Commentaries, thinke they are able to attaine vnto the knowledge of a generall History.

Marcus furnished with an Army of three-score Quinqueremes, sailed to *Achraudine*, either of which were armed with men, carrying Bowes, Slings, and Darts to repulse those which should defend the Forts. Hee had also eight Quinqueremes furnished with Pallisadoes, as well on the right as left side : with the which being ioynd together with two thin inclosures, they approacht vnto the Wall, by means of the Pallisadoes without the inclosure, and they call them Sambuques. The manner of ording the same Engines was in this sort. They had with in the Ship a Ladder of foure foote broad, to the end that at the Decent it might come to the top of the Wall : Vpon the sides thereof they made stayes, and armed them with a couering for defence, setting them crosse the inclosures, which kept the Shippes vnited together, so as they did passe much beyond the Prow or fore-part of the Shippe.

There

The order of
the Engines of
Battery.

There were pulleys fastned with Cords to the top of the Masts : and when as necessity required, they drew those which were at the poope or hinder part by the pulleys, with Cords tyed to the top of the ladder. The others which were at the Prowe, assured the Engine with stayes : and finally they approacht it to the wall, drawing neare to Land by the navigation of the ships, which was done by the means of two Pallisadoes which are placed without. On the top of the ladder there was a planke, which couered three superficieses with *Persian* Targets, to the which foure Souldiers mounted, and fought against those which from the Forts sought to hinder the approach of the Sambuques. When by the ioyning of the ladder they haue gained the wall, in disarming the sides of their Targets, they mount to the Forts or Towers. The rest follow them by the Sambuques, by means of the transport of the ladder from Vessell to Vessell by ropes. Finally, this Engine was not vnusly so called. For being finished and set vp, the figure of the ship and ladder reduced into one, make it like vnto a Sambuque. They imagined to come close vnto the Wall with this Engine.

But *Archimides* hauing made prouision of Engines fit for all distances, troubled them at Sea much, and thrust them into despaire, annoying them a farre off with casting Engines which were strong and great. But if they went beyond them, he vied lesser Engines, according to the distance, which disappointed and hindered their Enterprize and navigation : vntill that *Marcus* being much perplexed, was forced to make his approaches couerly in the Night. When they had recovered Land, and were out of the Battery, he made another kind of Engine against those which were to fight by Sea. For hee made many holes in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bignesse of a mans hand, where hee appointed within castles of Darts, and of Engines to repulse, making by the means thereof the Enemies attempts in their mounting vnprofitable.

By this meanes he not onely repul'd them farre off, and prevented their attempts neare, but also slew many of them. And whereas they made vse of their Sambuques, he likewise set vp Engines, to pull them ouer the Wall : and kept them alwaies hidden vntill necessity required, setting them vpon the Wall within, to passe forth and fall vpon the sayle-yards : some of them cast Stones, or Lead of twelue hundred weight. And when as the Sambuques approach sometimes in turning, they cast from the top of the Engines with a Tower, Stones against them as necessity required. So as not onely the Sambuque hath bene broken, but also the Vessell: and all they that were within it in great danger. Again, some Engines cast lesser Stones vpon the Enemy, comming to the assault couered with Targets, to the end they might not bee annoyed with the Darts and other Weapons, which they cast from the Wall, that they which fought in the Prowe might bee repul'd. They likewise let downe a hand of Iron tyed to a Chayne, the which laying hold of him which gouerned the toppe, drew the Prowe within the Wall with the tayle of the Engine. And if at any time in rayling the Prowe, hee set the Shippe vpon its Poop, he

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hee held it firme and vnmoueable by his instrument, then by a kind of fauour he let slip the hand and the chaine by the Engine. By this meanes some fell vpon their sides, others were ouerthrowne, a great part of them (the Prow falling from the top to the bottome) were drowned with great confusion. *Marcus* discontented with *Archimides* repulses, seeing likewise his men preuented in their attempts, to his preiudice and disgrace, sayd (although hee were grieved with his misfortune) in scoffing at the deeds of *Archimides*, that he vsed his ships as they doe pots, to draw water out of the Sea, and that being battred and beaten, they were as disloyall fallen infamously. This was the end of the Siege at Sea. In regard of those which were with *Appian*, they ceased from their attempts, hauing endured the like affronts and losses. For although they were a good distance from the Wall, yet they were hurt and slaine with their casting of Stones and Darts.

In truth the Art, the number and the effect of all manner of Engines, wherof King *Hieron* had made good provision, was admirable, the which *Archimides* had forg'd and made, being the Architect and Engineere. And when as they approacht the City, some of them (as we haue sayd) were slaine with their Arrowes, and continually repul'd from their approaches: Others couered with Targets, and therefore assailing with greater force, were ouerthrowne, and slaine with Stones and the bodies of Trees: A good number likewise were slaine by the hands descending from the Engines as we haue sayd: For they cast downe men being raised vp on high with their Armes. Wherefore they of *Appian* Army retiring to their Campe, and holding a Councell with the Capitaines, were all of one opinion, and resolu'd to try all manner of hope, to take *Saragossa* by siege: the which in the end they did. For when they had besieged this City for the space of eight Moneths, they ceased not daily to make braue and valiant enterprizes of Warre: But they neuer durst attempt to take it by force.

By this meanes a man with good fortune seem'd to bring to an end great and admirable things, when as they are fitly ioyned together in great affaires. Finally, the *Romans* hauing such great Armies both by Sea and Land, attended to take the Towne speedily, if they could get an old man out of *Saragossa*, not daring to approach it, whilst that *Archimides* were present and could defend it. Wherefore concealing that *Saragossa* might be taken for want of victuals and munition, considering the great multitude which was in the City, they relyed vpon this hope: and hindered by an Army at Sea that nothing might approach, and by that at Land, that no succours might come. Moreover, the Commanders being loath to spend the time in vaine, during the siege of *Saragossa*, but withall to vndertake some good thing beside the siege, they diuided their Army in such sort, as two parts should remaine with *Appian* for the siege of the City: And that *Marcus* with the third part should assaile the *Carthaginians*, who sent an Army into *Sicily*.

Finally, *Philip* hauing made the *Messenians* his mortall Enemies, could

could in nothing offend them that was worthy of fame: Although hee had assailed their Countrey to torment them, vsing great indignities to his best Friends. For soone after hee caused old *Arate* to bee poisoned in *Messene*, for that hee was discontented with his course of life. The like hee did to *Taurion*, who had serued him in *Morea*. Wherefore these his Actions were presently divulged and made knowne to strangers. His power ouer those whom hee then defeated was not new, but long before vsed, and practised by custome: neither was *Arate* ignorant of this mischief, the which was discovered by this meanes. And as he had concealed it from all others, yet he did not hide it from *Cephalon* one of his familiar Friends: But declared vnto him his infirmity, the which appeared by the bloudy spittle against the wall, saying: Behold *Cephalon*, the recompence wee reape by *Philips* Friendship.

Truely, Mediocrity is so great and honest, as hee which suffers; is more ashamed of the deed, then he that hath committed it. But such rewards they reape of Friendship, that haue bene Companions in such great Actions, and done seruice to *Philip*. Finally, *Arate* after his death receiued sufficient honours, both in his Countrey and the Common-weale of the *Acheins*, as well for the gouernment which hee had often in charge, as for the many fauours hee did vnto that Nation. They decreed him Oblations and Heroicke honours, and finally, all things which serue to perpetuate the memory: so as if the Dead haue any sense, it is likely he commends the acknowledgement done vnto him, and the communication of affliction and dangers which haue happened in his life time.

As *Philip* had long deuised how to take *Lisse*, and its Fort, desiring to reduce those places vnder his obedience, hee drew thither with his Army. Hauing marcht two dayes, and past the streights, hee campt neare vnto the Riuer of *Ardaxana*, neare vnto the City. And when he had view'd the situation of *Lisse*, excellently well fortified both by nature and industry, as well towards the Sea as Land: And likewise the Fort ioyning neare vnto it, the which in shew was impregnable to all the World by force, as well for its extent vpwards, as for the other fortification, hee despair'd to take it, yet he did not wholly despair to take the Towne. Considering therefore that the space betwixt the Towne & the Mount of the Fort, was reasonable to besiege the Towne, he thought good to make a Skirmish there with his Archers, which was then his manner of proceeding: Suffring then the *Macedonians* to rest a day, whom he aduertised of things necessary, he layd an Ambush in the Night of a great part, and the ablest of his men, in certaine woody Valleys, and neare vnto a Mediterranean place, lying about the place wherof we haue spoken: and retaining for the day following those that were armed with Targets, and the rest of the nimblest Souldiers, hee takes his way forthwith towards the City: marching of either side towards the Sea.

When hee had past beyond it, and had made a stand there; it was apparent that hee meant to assaile the City in that place. As this

*Philip causeth
Arate to be
poisoned.*

*Honours done
to Arate after
his death.*

comming of *Philip* was not unknowne, so a great number out of *Salamonia* were come into *Lisse*. It is true that for the great confidence they had in the fortification of the Fortresse, they sent but a meane Garrison. Wherefore when the *Macedonians* approacht, the Inhabitants presently made a sally, relying in their multitude and the force of the place. The King ordred the Targetteers in the plaine, commanding the most aduice to recover the hills, and to fight valiantly with the Enemy. The which they performing, the danger seemed something equall. But in the end *Philip* men retired, for the difficulty of the place and the multitude of their Enemies. And as they retired to them that were armed with Targets, they of the City pursuing them with a kind of disdain into the Plaine, fought with the Targetteers. They likewise which had the guard of the Fort, seeing *Philip* retire by little and little with his Troupes, and imagining that he was going away, came running courageously, trusting in the nature of the place: Then leauing few men within the Fort, they came by unknowne wayes into the Plaine, as if they were to take the spoiles of their flying Enemies.

But in the meane time they which were in Ambush, rose suddainly and gaue a furious charge with the Targetteers vpon the Enemies. The multitude was herewith so amazed, as the *Lisians* retired for their safety to the City. In regard of those which had abandoned the Fort, their returne was cut off by the Ambush. Whereby it happened that whereas before there was no hope, now the Fort was presently taken, and without danger, and *Lisse* the next day by the valour of the *Macedonians*; and by their rough and terrible assaults *Philip* having conquered the said places contrary to his hope, he made all the Neighbours therabouts submit vnto him, so as a great part of *Salamonia*, offered to submit their Townes to his protection. It is true, there were no Forts that could endure the violence of *Philip*: neither any safety for those which resisted, after the taking of the said Forts by assault.

Bolis was a man borne in *Candy*, who had long frequented the Court, and was aduanced to the prime dignity. Hee seemed to be very wise and resolute, with no lesse experience in the Warre. Whom when *Sesillus* had gained, and made affectionate vnto him, he commanded him (after a long speech) to put a businesse in execution, telling him, that there was not any thing at that time, could be more pleasing vnto the King, then to finde meanes to save *Acheus*. The which *Bolis* having heard, and promised to consider thereon, he retired. Two or three dayes after, when he had thought of this Discourse, hee came to *Sesillus*, and vnderooke to effect his saying, that he had long held the party of the *Sardinians*, and had good knowledge of the Countrey: Adding moreover, that *Cambyle*, Captaine of the *Candians* which are in pay with *Antiochus* was not only a Burgess, but also his kinsman and friend. It happened that *Cambyle* and the *Candians* that were vnder his charge, had the guard of the back part of the Portresse; which was not fortified, but it was guarded by a multitude of *Cambyles* Souldiers. When as *Sesillus* found this aduice good, studying how hee might free *Acheus* from calamity, or whether it were better to attempt it by some other

A sally made by them of *Lisse*.

Lisse taken by *Philip*.

Bolis.

Cambyle.

man then *Bolis*, but his humour concurring with *Bolis*, the businesse took this effect. *Sesillus* deliuered money presently, to the end nothing should bee wanting for the Enterprize, promising great rewards if it succeeded well. So promising the Kings fauour, and that of *Acheus* if hee might bee preferred, hee fedde *Bolis* with great hopes.

This man being ready to vndertake the Enterprize, without any longer expectance imbarques: and having Letters of Recommendation and credit, hee goes to *Nicomache* at *Rhodes*, who seemed to be affected to *Acheus*, as well for his Fathers loue, as for particular Friendship: And likewise to *Melancomie* in *Ephesus*. These in truth were the men, of whose meanes *Acheus* had formerly made vse, as well comming to *Ptolomy*, as in other forreine and remote places.

Being come to *Rhodes*, and afterwards to *Ephesus*, having acquainted them with this businesse, and finding them ready in any thing hee desired, hee sent *Arian* (being one of those that were vnder his charge) to *Cambyle*, saying that he had bene sent from *Alexandria*, to leuy forreine Souldiers, and that he had a great desire to conferre with him concerning matters of importance: And therefore he desired to appoint a time and place where they might meete vnkown to the World. *Arian* came to *Cambyle*, discouering vnto him his charge: whereunto hee gaue care, being ready to doe that whereunto they prest him, appointing a day and place knowne to them both: whither being come in the Night, he sent backe *Arian*.

As *Bolis* was a *Candian*, and cunning by Nature, he studied of the resolution inquiring of all things. Finally, according to the agreement of *Arian*, he goes to *Cambyle*, and deliuers him the Letters: whereon they aduise and consult after the manner of *Candians*. For they had no care to succour *Acheus* being in danger, but onely to provide for their owne safety and commodity. And as they were both *Candians*, they were soone of one opinion as followeth: That the ten Talents which *Sesillus* had deliuered, should be equally diuided betwixt them: and then they should discouer the businesse to *Antiochus*, to make vse of him, and promise to deliuer *Acheus* into his hands, in giuing them money, and hopes worthy of their attempt. These things being thus concluded, *Cambyle* vndertakes that which concernes *Antiochus*: *Bolis* on the other side resolues within certaine daies to send *Arian* to *Acheus* with Letters of recommendation from *Nicomache* and *Melancomie*. But concerning the meanes how *Arian* might enter safely into the Fort and returne, he giues him charge to doe his duty. If this were done, and that *Acheus* made answer to those things which concerne *Nicomache* and *Melancomie*, *Bolis* held himselfe assured, that he might well deliuer him into the hands of *Cambyle*.

After this resolution they part, euer of them striving to effect that which they had concluded. *Cambyle* embracing the first occasion, discouered the businesse vnto the King. As this promise pleased *Antiochus*, which offered it selfe contrary vnto his hope, so hee tooke it partly joyfully, promising great matters: partly distrustfully, he considered

A Treason practised against *Acheus* by *Cambyle* and *Bolis*.

of either of their opinions and resolutions. But in the end giving credite, thinking that this Enterprize came Diuinely vnto him, he often intreated *Cambyle* to bring it to an end. *Bolis* wrought in like manner with *Nicomache* and *Melancome*. Who thinking these things to be guided by God, they suddenly prepare Letters from *Arian*, directing them to *Acheus*. Written by their Common sent, as they had been accustomed: And in sending them they perswaded *Acheus* to give credit to those things which *Bolis* and *Cambyle* should doe. They were written in such sort, as being surprized they could not be vnderstood.

Arian enters the Fort by the helpe of *Cambyle*, and deliueres the Letter to those that were with *Acheus*: and instructs him diligently of euery thing, as one who from the beginning had bene present at that which was practised. And although hee answered oftner for *Sophias* and *Bolis*, then of *Nicomache* and *Melancome*, and likewise for *Cambyle*, so hee often maintained by his owne inuention, the Arguments which they made: And therather being ignorant of that which had bene resolved betwixt *Cambyle* and *Bolis*. *Acheus* giuing credit, as well in regard of *Arians* answers, as of the Letters of *Nicomache* and *Melancome*, made an answer, and sent *Arian* presently backe. And as this businesse was handled often of either side, in the end *Acheus* people sent word of themselves to *Nicomache*, that there was no more hope of safety remaying: And aduise him to send away *Bolis* with *Arian* at mid-night, as it were to take them. The resolution of *Acheus* was, that first he would slay the present danger, and then recover *Syria*.

Finally, he was in a wonderfull hope, that if suddenly and contrary to all hope he shewed himselfe to the Inhabitants of *Syria*, *Antiochus* being yet tyed at *Sardains*, he should cause a great alteration, purchasing great praise, as well with the *Antiocheins*, as with the inhabitants of base *Syria*, and *Phenicia*. *Acheus* being in this hope and conceite, expected the coming of *Bolis*. In regard of *Melancomes* peoples, after the coming of *Arian*, and the Letters read, they presently send away *Bolis* with all speede, making him great remonstrances: and putting him in great hope, if he effected his Enterprize. *Bolis* sending *Arian* before, aduertised *Cambyle* of his coming, and came by night to the place appointed. And when they had agreed on the day, and had resolved how to bring all to an end, they entred the Campe at night. This was their resolution: If it hapned that *Acheus* came out of the Fort alone, or accompanied with some one with *Bolis* and *Arian*, he might be taken with an Ambush as abandoned. But if he came forth well accompanied, the businesse would proue difficult, to those to whom they had giuen the charge. Finally, they thought to take him aliue, knowing that by this meanes they should do great pleasure to *Antiochus*. Wherefore they gaue charge vnto *Arian* to march before, when he should draw forth *Acheus*, for that he knew the turnings, by the which he had often entred and come forth. *Bolis* was to follow the rest behind, to the end that being come vnto the place, where the Ambush should be ready by *Cambyle*, he might seize vpon *Acheus* and slay him, fearing that through the Alarme in the night,

be

he might saue himselfe through the Forrest, or being in Despaire, he might cast himselfe into some pit: and contrary to their Resolution, fall aliue into the Enemies hands.

These things being thus concluded, when *Bolis* came to *Cambyle*, he was the same night brought by him to *Antiochus* being alone. And when the King had received him graciously, and had assured them of his promises, making remonstrances to either of them, not to be negligent in the businesse, they then returned to their Campe. In the morning *Bolis* accompanied with *Arian* ascend, and at night they enter the Fort. *Acheus* receiuing him with great affection and loue, demanded many things of him diligently. And as hee obserued as well the countenance, as the familiar speech wherewith *Bolis* assured the plot, he shewed partly a ioyfull countenance, for the hope of his safety: So he partly languished, for the apprehension of the future danger. But for that he was a man of a great Spirit and great Experience, hee did not hold it fit to relye wholly vpon *Bolis*. And therefore he vsed this Speech vnto him: That for the present hee could not go forth; and that hee would send three or foure of his friends with him, and that after conference with *Melancome* he would be ready. *Acheus* in truth did all that could be done: But hee was ignorant of the common Prouerbe: That hee must Candize with the Candyots. *Bolis* likewise had tore-seene all things which concerned this businesse.

To Candize with the Candyots.

But when the night came, in the which he sayd he would send his friends, sending *Arian* and *Bolis* before out of the Fort, he commanded them to attend vntill the coming of those which should goe with them. Whereunto obeying, in the meane time he conferres with his Wife. But for that he had amazed *Laudicea*, with a businesse not fore-seene, he stayed some time vntill he had pacified her, and brought her to an expectance of good hope. Then making the fitt, hee attired the others meanly, and himselfe puts on an old and simple Robe, shewing himselfe to be a man of a base condition: and so he goes forth. He had giuen charge to one of his Friends to answer *Arian* continually to all that he should propound, and that he should learne of him whither they went, and should speake of the rest as of Barbarians. When they were come to *Arian*, he went before for the knowledge hee had of the way.

Laudicea the wife of Acheus.

In regard of *Bolis* he followed behinde, according to the first resolution, being doubtfull of that which was offered. For although hee were a Candyot, and did diue into all things nercely, yet he could not know *Acheus*, by reason of the darknesse of the night, nor yet whither he was there. And as the descent was rough, and for the most part vn-easie, and in some place vnsafe and dangerous for the steepnesse, and being come vnto a certaine place, where as some helde *Acheus* and others receiued him, (at that time in truth they could not wholly forbear to yeild him their accustomed reuerence) then *Bolis* suddenly knew which was *Acheus*. When hee came to the place appointed to *Cambyle*, and that *Bolis* had giuen them a signe by his whistle, they of the Ambush issue forth and take the rest: But *Bolis* seized vpon *Acheus*, ha-

Na 4

uing

uing his hands wrapt vp in his Robe, fearing that in discovering the Ambush, he should attempt to kill himselfe: for hee had a Sword ready. Being thus suddainly inuironed, he fell into the hands of his Enemies, and was presently led to *Antiochus* with his friends. The King remaining in suspence, expecting what would become of it, hee was alone in his Tent waking accompanied onely with two or three of his guard. But when as *Cambyles* Company was arrived, and had layed *Acheus* bound vpon the ground, his Speech failed him for so strange an accident; so as he continued long without speaking: And in the end toucht with Commiseration and pity, the teares came into his eyes: the which in my opinion happed by a Consideration, that those things which Fortune brings, are ineuitable and vncertaine.

Acheus was sonne to *Andromachus*, brother vnto *Laodicea* the Wife of *Selenus*, and he had married *Laodicea* daughter to King *Mithridate*, and withall hee was Lord of all the Region on this side Mount *Tauris*. As hee was then held to liue in a place of his owne wonderful strong for the Enemy, so he was now set vpon the ground bound and manacled in their hands: Neither was there any man that knew of the fact, but those which had the Execution. But when the day was come, and that the friends (according to the custome) were come vnto the Tent, B and saw this accident, it happed vnto them as it had done formerly vnto the King. For in wondering at the businesse, they were in doubt of those things which they saw. When the Councell was assembled, they spake many things of him touching his defeat. First they decreed that his hands and feete should be cut off, and then hauing taken of his Head it should be sowed to an Asses skinn, and the rest of his body hanged vpon a Crosse. Which being Executed and the Army hearing thereof, the fury and alteration was so great in the Campe, as *Laodicea*, who knew nothing but the departure of her Husband, looking from the Fort, coniectured of that which had happened by the trouble and alteration in the Campe.

A Herald was presently sent vnto *Laodicea*, who aduertised her of those things which had befallen *Acheus*, commaunding to consider of Her estate, and to leaue the Fort. At the first they which held it made so great cries and lamentations, as they could giue no answer: Not so much for the affection they bare to *Acheus*, as for the accident which seemed to them all vnlooked for and not fore-seene. Finally, they were in great doubt what they should do. *Antiochus* after the ruine of *Acheus*, prest the besieged more violently, perswading himselfe that in the end hee should haue meanes to take it by the Souldiers themselves: D the which happened accordingly. For they being diuided among themselves, they parted into Troupes, some holding for *Ariabaze*, others for *Laodicea*. After which, both parties yielded for their mutuall distrust, and deliuered the place.

To conclude, as *Acheus* had done what hee could in reason, (being vanquished by the wickednesse of those which assured him) lost his life, seruing for a profitable Example to posterity for two causes. First, that no man should relye simply vpon any: And next, that no man should mistake

Acheus taken
and brought to
Antiochus.

The Race of
Acheus.

The condem-
nation & death
of *Acheus*.

The strong fort
yielded to *An-
tiochus*.

mistake himselfe for his good Fortune, but be prepared for all accidents, which may happen to man. And therefore in the beginning they goe forth, as it were to take some spoiles, and come by night to the *Carthaginians* Campe: Others held the close way, staying at a certaine place full of Woods. But *Philimene* and *Nicon* approacht the Campe: When the Watch led Prisoners to *Hannibal*, they neuer discouraging of whence nor what they were: making onely a signe that they would speake with the Generall.

Being then brought vnto *Hannibal*, they told him that they would A speake with him in secret. Who giuing them Audience with great affection, they excuse themselves and their Countrey, accusing the *Romans* in many sorts, to the end they should not seeme to be come forth about this businesse without cause. Wherefore *Hannibal* commended them much, and entertained them curiously: Finally, hee sent them backe to retorne speedily to conferre with him, ordering for the present that these men should be let go: when they were out of the Campe, and in the meane time he would consider what should be most safe. This he did to haue conference with these young men, and to inquire of their affaires: And to the end they should keepe their credit with the Citizens, as if by the Capitaines leaue they had made incur- B sions for spoile.

When as *Nicon* had Executed his Charge, *Hannibal* was very well satisfied and ioyfull: For that he might haue meanes to effect his Enterprize which was then difficult. *Philimene* on the other side assisted the businesse propounded, for that they had giuen him a safe access to speake, and he had found *Hannibal* very attentive, promising him to giue store of Victuals to the Citizens: Then they not onely got credite with the *Tarentines*, but moreover they had a good Train, as well for the accord made, as for the Victuals whereof they had sufficient. Afterwards making a second incursion, and putting euery thing C in Execution, they assured *Hannibal*: and were likewise assured by him, (that is to say,) that the *Carthaginians* should leaue the *Tarentines* in their Liberty, not oppressing them with any Subside or Tribute, nor with any other impost: Being also lawfull for them, after they had Conquered the City, to ruiue the *Romans* Houses. Finally they agreed, that when they should come vnto the Campe, the Watch should presently take them.

Which things being concluded, they had power to come and speake often with *Hannibal*: putting from the City sometimes to get spoyle, and sometimes to Hunt. These things being thus agreed vpon for the future, most of them had a care of the occasion. In regard of *Philimene*, they appointed him for Hunting. For as he was much inclined to it, they thought he could do no other thing but to attend it. Wherefore they gaue him this Charge, to the end he might take the wild beasts, first to winne *Caius Lybius* Gouvernour of the City; and afterwards those which kept the Gates, which are called *Temenides*. Inbracing this Commission, heooke some Beasts in Hunting, others were prepared for him by *Hannibal*. For his part hee continually brought his prize,

He turns his
Discourse to
the *Carthaginians*
nians.

Tarentum bee-
tried to *Han-
nibal*.

Philimene was
pointed for
Hunting.

prize, whereof he shared part to *Caius* and to the Guards of the gates to the end they might speedily open the Gate called *Rhinopile*. He entered and went forth often in the night by this Gate, vnder colour of feare of the Enemy, but in the meane time hee made vse of it for his Enterprize.

When *Philimene* had obtained this course with the Guards, so as without suspicion approaching to the Wall, if he whistled, they opened vnto him the Gate *Rhinopile*: And withall obseruing that the Roman Gouverneur of the Gate, should be on a certaine day with great Company at *Musæ* neere the Market place, they appointed that day to *Hannibal*. He had long before inuented this fiction, as if hee were sicke, to the end the Romans should not hold it strange, that he staid so long there, and then he feined himselfe to be more sicke. Hee had not bene in the Campe for the space of three daies vpon the approaches of *Tarentum*. The day being come, he makes choise of a thousand of the ablest and resolute men, both Horse and Foote: to whom he giues charge to carry Victuals for foure dayes. Finally hee marcht speedily, remoouing his Campe at the breake of day. He gaue command to foure score *Numidian* Horses to march thirty Furlongs before the Campe, and that they should run of eyther side of the Country, to the end that no man might discouer the whole Campe, but taking some of them that fled, the rest which escaped might aduertise the City of the *Numidians* courses. When as the *Numidians* were about twenty Furlongs off, they set downe to Supper neere vnto a certaine River, in a Rocke which was not easie to discouer.

Then *Hannibal* drawing the Capitaines together, he discouers his Enterprize vnto them, and perswades them, that first of all they should carry themselves like braue men: for that there were neuer such great rewards propounded vnto them: And that secondly euery man should keepe his Souldiers in obedience during the Voyage, and punish those feuerely, that should abandon their places thorough Disobedience. Finally, they should haue a care of those things which should bee Commanded, and that they should not attempt any thing of their owne fancy, contrary to his Commandement. This Speech being deliuered in the presence of the Capitaines, he marcht, (being yet night) meaning to come vnto the Walls about mid-night. Hee had *Philimene* for his Guide, to whom hee gaue *Synagrie* for a Companion in that same Action.

VVhen as *Caius Lybius* with his Company were in the day time at *Musæ*, according to the conception of the Youth, they aduertised him that the *Numidians* ouer-ran the Country towards the West, when as their desire of drinking increased. Yet thinking to stay them, hee called for the Capitaines, giuing them charge to go forth at the breake of day with halfe the Horse-men, and repulse the Enemy which spoye the Countrey. This was all the conceite he had of the businesse. As for those which kept Company with *Nicon* and *Tragisque*, assembling suddainly within the City, they looked for the returne of *Caius*. And being suddainly ready, for that they had drunke in the day time, some retiring

retiring to certaine places staid there: Others among the Youth go to meete *Caius*, sporting and playing among themselves, making shewe to bring them backe which should be found at the Banquet, and moreover as it were, transported by reason of the Drunkenesse of *Lybius* Company, as soone as they met they fell to laughter and immoderate sport of either side: then turning head they Conducted *Caius* vnto his House. He layd him downe to rest as a man soundly drunke, after the manner of those which drinke daily, hauing nothing in his braine that troubled him: finally, he was full of ioy and negligence. But *Nicon* and *Tragisque*, hauing assembled the Youth, diuided themselves into three Band: and after aduice, they seized vpon the most commodious approaches to the Market place, to the end that nothing might be vnknewne vnto them, of that which was practised, aswell within the City as without.

They also approached neere vnto *Caius* House, being resolved that if he should haue any suspicion of the Enterprize, to kill him first: And that whatsoever they did they should beginne with him. As it often times happens at the returne from Banquets, when as the Tumult was suddainly past, and that the multitude was layd downe and a sleep, and by the aduancement of the night, the hope of the Enterprize remained entire, then altogether attend the Execution. The Youth had articulated and agreed with the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* comming to the City, neere vnto *Musæ* on the East, and to the Gates which they call *Temenides*, he should make a fire vpon a little Hill, the which some call the Hill of *Hyacinthe*, and others of *apollo Hyacinthe*. And that when *Tragiques* Company should see it, they should answere him by the like signe of fire: This done, *Hannibal* should quench the fire which hee had made without the City, and then approach with a slow pace.

These things thus concluded, the Youth of the City hauing past the inhabited part, they came to the Monuments of the Deceased. The Easterne part of the City of *Tarentum*, was full of Monuments: For that all the dead are buried within the Walls of the City, according to a certaine old Oracle. They say that God gaue the *Tarentins* to vnderstand by an Oracle, that it would be best for them when they had most Inhabitants. For their parts they thought, that they should haue a good dwelling according vnto the Oracle, if they retained the dead within their City. For this cause they interre them within their walls: When as the Youth of the City was come to the *Pythionique* Hill, they expected what would succcede. *Hannibal* approaching did what had bene concluded: and the Company of *Nicon* and *Tragisque* seeing the fire, they tooke courage, and kindled another fire. Againe seeing *Hannibals* fire quencht, they made hast and ran vnto the Gate, meaning to preuent *Hannibals* men in killing the Guards: for that the *Carthaginians* preparing to enter marcht slowly. When they had preuailed in their Enterprize, and the Guards being surprized, some slew them, others brake the Bolts. The Gates being suddainly opened, *Hannibals* men came with such a measured March, as without any delay they assailed

Tarentum taken
by Hannibal.

affailed the City. When they had made their entry safely and without Tumult, thinking they had done the greatest part of their business, they entered the Market place boldly, on that side which ioines to the Sea. In regard of the Horse-men, they leaue no lesse then two Thousand within the Walls for their supply, as well for the accidents which might happen without, as for other expected things which do usually chance.

When they were come vnto the places neere vnto the Market, the Army made a stand. *Philimene* likewise being much troubled, how he might execute his Charge, staied without. For when they made the fire, they ranne not to that Gate; and they had sent him with a wilde Boare, and about a Thousand *Lybians* with him to the next Gate, meaning to execute their Enterprize, not by one meanes only but by many. When as *Philimene* was according to his Custome come vnto the Walls, the Guards suddainly were ready descending to *Rhinopile*. When as he called vnto them to open the Gate, for that hauing a Boare, hee was soare laden, the Guard hearing those words open speedily, expecting to haue a share of *Philimenes* prize, as formerly hee had done to others.

Philimene being the first of this Battalion enters, accompanied by another, wearing a *Numidian* Habite, as if hee had bene of that Countrey: after whom followed two others, carrying Venison. When there were foure entred, they slew him which opened the Gate, running simply and without feare, to handle the Boare, there entred to the number of Thirty *Lybians* by the little Wicket, which followed them a slow pace and secretly. This being done, soare brake the Hinges, others slew the Guards at the Gate, and others called the *Lybians* by signes being yet without, leading them to the Market place, as it had bene ordred. *Hannibal* ioyfull of the adiuſtion of these men, for that matters succeeded according to his desire, he was attentive to that which he had begunne. Hee therefore drawes two Thousand *Gauls* a part: and diuiding them into three Bands, hee appoints to cyther of them two of the Youth which had manag'd this Enterprize, with some of his Captaines, giving them charge, that they should gaine the most commodious approaches to goe vnto the Market place. After which they should receiue the Youth of the City, and haue a care to preserve the Citizens, and that they should crye out to the *Tarentins*, to stay in the place which was assigned them for their safety. Finally, hee Commands the Captaines of the *Carthaginians* and *Celts*, that they should kill all the *Romans* they should encounter. Diuiding them selues one from another, they dispatch that which they had in charge. The Enemies entry being knowne to the *Tarentins*, the City was full of cries and vnexpected Trouble.

When as *Cains* was aduertised of the Enemies entry, thinking that he should not be able to prevent the danger, by reason of his drunkenness, he gets suddainly out of his lodging with his family: And when hee was come to the Gate which leads vnto the Port, and that the Guard had opened the *Rhinopile*, he escapes that way, and imbarques with

They kill the
power.

Cains saues
himselfe.

his people in a little Cocke boate which lay in the Port, and was carried to the Fort. Afterwards *Philimene* makes prouision of Roman Trumpets, whereof some sounded neere vnto the Theater, as they had usually done. And when the *Romans* ran in Armes according to their Custome to the Fortresse, the Enterprize was dispatcht to the liking of the *Carthaginians*. But they which being disperfed and without order entered into those places, some fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, others among *Celts*: Who by this same meanes slew a great number.

A The day approaching, the *Tarentins* rested in their Houses, not able to prevent this inconuenience. For they thought by reason of the founding of the Trumpets, that this combustion had bene made by the *Romans*; for that they made no spoile in the City. But when they saw some of their men slaine in the place, and some of the *Gauls* stripping the dead bodies of the *Romans*, they beganne to thinke of the coming of the *Carthaginians*. When as *Hannibal* had drawne his Army into the market place, and that the *Romans* were retired to the Fort, the which they held before with their Garrison, he causeth a Proclamation forthwith to be made and proclaimed, that all the *Tarentins* should come vnto the Market place without Armes. In regard of the Youth, they went vp and downe the City crying liberty; aduising and perswading the Citizens to rest assured that the *Carthaginians* were there for their good. But all the *Tarentins* which held the *Romans* party, being aduertised of this Action, retired to the Fort: The rest assembled without Armes at the sound of the Trumpet. To whom *Hannibal* spake graciously.

When the *Tarentins* had generally conceived by his Speech, and vnexpected hope, he sent many of them away, giving them charge at their returne, to be carefull to Write the name of the *Tarentins* vpon their doores: And if by fortune or chance any one did it to a *Romans* House, he should be punished with Death. Wherefore hee made choise of men accustomed vnto this charge, and sends them presently to spoile the *Romans* Houses, willing them to hold and maintaine the *Tarentins* lodgings for Enemies, which had not the marke of a *Tarentine*. Finally, hee kept the rest in battaile to succour the others. When he had drawne together great store of goods by this spoile, and that the commodities answering the conceiued hope of the *Tarentins*; came to good, they then returned to Armes.

The day following *Hannibal* holding a Councell with the *Tarentins*, decreed to separte the City from the Fort, and to fortifie it, to the end they should be no more in feare of the *Romans* holding the Fort. Wherefore he beganne first to fortifie the City with pallisadoes, right against the Walls of the Hill which is before the Fort. And knowing that the Enemies would stirre and make some attempt, hee appointed sufficient Forces: Thinking that for the future, there would be nothing more necessary, to amaze the *Romans*, and to assure the *Tarentins*. When as they beganne to see vp their impalement, and that the *Romans* assailed their Enemies with great confidence, courage and

O o resolution,

A skirmish be-
twixt the Ro-
mans and Car-
thaginians,

resolution, *Hannibal* fighting with them a little, prouoked them to the Combate. But when as many of them past beyond the Hill, he giuing courage to his men encounters the Enemy. When the Combate grew hot, as much as might be in a streight place inuironed with Wals, the *Romans* in the end beeing roughly repuls'd gaue backe, so as many of them fell into the *Numidians* hands: Finally the greatest part being repuls'd, and falling into the ditches, dyed.

After this, *Hannibal* fortified the City with Pallisadoes without danger, and hauing done all things to his liking hee was at quiet. He likewise forced the Enemies to remaine shut vp in their Fort, in feare not onely of themselves, but also of the Fort. In regard of the Citizens, hee hath so put vp their Courage, as they helde themselves able to resist the *Romans*, without the helpe of the *Carthaginians*. Afterwards *Hannibal* leauing some little space, from the pallisadoe towards the City, hee made a Ditch answering the Pallisadoe and the wall of the Fort, from whence some time there were Souldiers drawn vnto the wall of the City. Moreover hauing Pallisadoed this Ditch, this fortification prooued not lesse strong then a Wall. Besides the which within towards the City (leauing a reasonable space) hee beganne a VWall from that part which they call the Sauior, vnto that which they call Deepe: So as without any Garrison, these Fortifications would bee sufficient to cause the *Tarentins* to dwell in safety. Leauing then a sufficient Garrison of Horse for the Guard of the City and wall, hee planted his Campe forty furlongs from the City, neere the Riuer which some call *Gallea*, others *Erota*, which name it hath taken from that other Riuer, passing neere vnto *Lacedemon*, which they likewise call *Erota*.

The Riuer of
Erota.

The *Tarentins* in truth haue many such, as well in the Country as in the City, for that vndoubtedly they haue taken their Collony and Race from the *Lacedemonians*. The wall beeing finished and ended, aswell by the diligence and industry of the *Tarentins*, as the helpe and assistance of the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* resolues to ouerthrow the Fort. And when hee had prepared and made all things ready for the siege, the *Romans* hauing receiued into the Fort succours by Sea, from *Mesaponia*, they were something refreshed and comforted, and in the night assailed *Hannibals* Engines, ruining them all with their preparations. This made *Hannibal* to despaire of the siege of the Fort.

Hannibals Re-
monstrance to
the *Tarentins*.

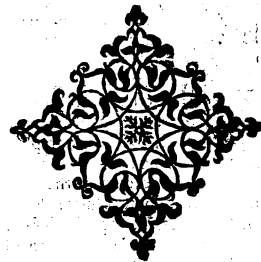
And when the City wals were made perfect, he assembles the *Tarentins*, and lets them vnderstand, that it was very necessary for them to be masters of the Sea, against the discommodities of the present time. But as the mouth of the Port was in the Command of the Fort, it was not in their power to helpe themselves with shippes at their pleasure, or goe out of the Port: VWhere as the *Romans* had all necessaries brought vnto them safely. So as the City should neuer enjoy a perfect freedome and liberty. *Hannibal* considering this, he let the *Tarentins* vnderstand, that if they which held the Fort, lost the hope of the comodity of the Sea, they would presently yeild it to them.

The

The which the *Tarentins* hearing, they allowed of his Speech, but they could not at that time effect it, vnlesse they were assisted by the *Carthaginians* Army: The which could not then be done. Wherefore they could not conceiue whereto *Hannibal* tended, propounding these things.

And when he maintained that they might well be masters of the Sea without the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, they wondred more, not being able to vnderstand his conception. When hee had viewed the place within the Wals, from the Port vnto the outward Sea, he was of opinion that the Ships might saile close vnto the Wall towards the South. When hee had giuen this aduice vnto the *Tarentins*, they not onely imbraced it suddainly, but commended *Hannibal* wonderfully. Presently after they had made Wheeles, they prepared a way for ships, which was sooner done then spoken, for that affection and the multitude of Worke-men preuailed much. By this means the *Tarentins* past their ships into the open Sea, and safely besieged those of the Fort, who receiued their succours from abroad. In regard of *Hannibal*, leauing the City he raised his Campe, and returning three dayes after, to the Pallisadoe which he had made in the be-

ginning, hee stayed to spend the rest of the Winter.



Oo 2

A



A PARCELL OF the Ninth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.



Behold the most renowned and excellent Actions, comprehended vnder the afore-sayd Olympiade, and within the space of foure Yeares which it contains: Of which we will endeavour to speake of in two Booke. I am not ignorant that our Commentaries have bene something rough, and that they are pleasing to a certaine kinde of Auditors, and blamed by others. In truth other Historiographers, and in a manner all, or the greatest part, helping themselves with all the parts of a History, draw many men to the reading of their Commentaries. The manner to Discourse of Genealogies causes a desire to heare: That also which speakes of Colonies, Voyages, Possessions, and Races, which please a curious man of little iudgement, as that of *Ephorus*. And to a ciuill man, that wherein they Discourse of the Actions of Nations, Cities, and Potentates, whereunto applying our selues plainly, and disposing all our Treaty to these things, wee direct and guide our selues by a certaine kinde of Discourse, as wee haue formerly promised.

It is true, wee direct most Readers to that which is not much pleasing and delightfull. Finally, wee haue at large deliuered the cause, why in reproouing the other parts of a History, wee will thus write the Actions. There is no hinderance that for the better expresseing and declaration, wee should not briefly aduertise the Reader hereof.

But

But as many of these things are related in diuers manners, of Genealogies, Fables, and Colonies, and moreover of Races, Alliances, and Possessions, it will be necessary for him that would Write, to speake consequently of strange things as proper, which were an infamous thing: Or if he will not, hee must labour in vaine, in promising publicly to pursue and Comment of those things, which haue bin sufficiently declared, and deliuered to posterity by the ancient.

For this cause, and for many others we haue left them, requiring a relation of Actions: For that first, that as many new things offer themselves often, so it is very necessary to vse a new kinde of Discourse: The which happens not in the beginning of the Relation, so as we deliuer the subsequent Actions. And secondly, for that this kinde hath bene before, and is most profitable, by the which the experience of things and Policies, haue so much preuailed with vs, as they which haue a desire to know the Actions, may helpe themselves by an easie way, in all that which happens by the course of time. Wherefore hauing no such regard to the pleasure and delight of those which shall reade and peruse our Commentaries, as to the profit of the Hearers, we haue (leaving the other parts) fixed vpon this. Finally, they which shall diligently consider of our Commentaries, wilbe more certaine witnesses.

When as *Hannibal* had inclosed the Campe of *Appius Claudius*, being at the siege of *Capua*, at the first hee vsed skirmishes, seeking to draw the Enemy to Battaille. But when as no man presented himselfe, in the end he besieged them, which was an Enterprize wherein hee was frustrated as well as of the first, although the Horse-men of the Wings assailed them in Troupes, casting Darts into their Campe, with great cries: And the foote-men charge them by Bands, labouring to breake the Pallisado. Yet they could not diuert the *Romans* from their former resolution, repulsing those which assailed the Pallisadoe with great strength and Courage: And being well armed, they went not out of the Campe with their Ensignes. *Hannibal* bearing these things impatiently, and the rather for that the *Romans* could not any way bee annoyed from the Towne, studied what order he might take for the present Affaires. For my part, I thinke that the case falling our thus, seemes to haue made not onely the *Carthaginians* to doubt, but all other men to whom the knowledge thereof hath come.

Who will not wonder, hearing how the *Romans* haue often bene vanquished by the *Carthaginians*, and durst not present themselves, nor fight with them, haue not abandoned their Fort being in the open field? It is certaine that in times past, they had alwayes Camped onely at the bottome or foote of Mountaines against the Enemies: But now being in a faire Plaine, and in the openest place of all *Italy*, besieging a strong Towne, they were assailed by them of all sides, against whom they durst not once thinke or imagine to make head, being so much disheartned. And although the *Carthaginians* preuailed continually fighting, yet they were no lesse annoyed by the vanquished:

O o 3

Finally,

Finally, I hold this to be the cause, that they consider the Enterprize one of another: That is to say, that the Troupes of *Hannibals* Horsemen, purchased the Victory to the *Carthaginians*, and a defeat to the *Romans*: Wherefore the vanquished made suddaine sallies after the fight. They also lodg'd their Troupes in such a place, as the Horsemen could not annoy them. The case falling out thus neere vnto *Capoua*, was common to them both. The *Romans* in truth durst not come forth to fight, being terrified with the Enemies horse. They kept themselves within their Fort, knowing well that the Cavallery vanquishing them in fight, they could not annoy them.

The *Carthaginians* likewise could not with reason stay long with so great a number of Horses: For that the *Romans* had for that cause waited the whole Countrey: Neither could they give order to have Hay and Barley brought on Horse-backe so great a way vnto their Cavallery and Sumpters: Neither durst the *Carthaginians* besiege the Enemy without Horse, being fortified with Ditches and Pallisadoes: Against the which in fighting without Wings vpon an equal danger, they should hazard an vncertaine Fortune. They feared likewise that the *Roman* Subjects, would joyne with them and succour them, and that cutting of their necessary Viutuals, they would draw him into B great distresse.

A wife Consideration of Hannibal.

Hannibal considering these things, having opinion that they could not raise the siege directly, he takes another aduice. Finally, he makes his reckoning, that if in stealing away suddainly, he should shew himselfe about *Rome*, he might do something that might be profitable for the *Carthaginians* affaires, the inhabitants being amazed with such a new accident: Or if that did not succede, hee should force *Appius* Army to raise the siege to succour and supply their Countrey, or else forthwith divide themselves, so as they which should succour the Countrey, and they which remained at the siege would be easie to vanquish. Considering these things, hee sent a certaine *Lybian* messenger to *Capoua*, perswading him to retire to the *Romans*, and so into the City, providing wisely by this meanes, that his Letters might be safely carried. He feared much, that the *Capouans* seeing his departure would yeilde, following the *Romans* party, as destitute of hope. For this cause hee acquaints them with his intention by Letters, for the which he sends the *Lybian*, after the departure of his Army, to the end that knowing his resolution and dislodging, they should maintaine the siege courageously.

When as they which besieged *Capoua*, had intreated the people of *Rome* for assistance, that *Hannibal* held them besieged, they were all in great doubt and feare, for that the present Affaires required a small end, and therefore they sought by frequent Embassies and attempts to assist that party concerning the Generall. The *Capouans* on the other side (after they had received the Letters by the *Lybian*, and knowne the *Carthaginians* aduice) hold good against the Enemy, resolving to adventure and trie their Fortune. Wherefore *Hannibal* having fedde his Army the fifth day after his coming, and leaving fires burning, he

he raised his Campe, so as he was not discovered by the Enemy. Taking then the difficult way by the *Saunitive*, discovering & gaining by his Cavallery the nearest places to his way, he past the Riuer of *Anio* secretly, whilst that the Inhabitants of *Rome* were in suspense for *Capoua* and that Warre: Approaching in such sort, as he planted his Campe within forty Furlongs of *Rome*. And as he assailed it by this meanes, it happened that they of the City were troubled and dismayed with feare, for that this accident came suddainly and contrary to their hope, and that *Hannibal* had not formerly besieged the City so neare. They had also a conceit, that he approaching so neare the City, their Army besieging *Capoua*, must of necessity be defeated. The men flye to the Walles, and out of the City to places of aduantage. The Women on the other side make professions about the Temples, washing the pavement with their haire. It was a thing they were accustomed to doe, if at any time the Countrey were in great danger.

Hannibal within 40 furlongs of *Rome*.

The amazement of the *Romans*.

The superstition of the *Roman* Dames.

When as *Hannibal* was thus incamp, thinking to assaile the City the day following, there happened an admirable and casual accident, working for the preferuation of the *Romans*. *Caius* and *Publius* had taken an Oath of the Souldiers which had bene leuied, to come to *Rome* the same day in Armes. They also made another Levie: so as at a certaine time a great number of men of Warre transported themselves suddainly to *Rome*. With the which the Captaines made a bold sally: and planting their Campe before the City, they restrained *Hannibals* fury. The *Carthaginians* in truth at the first made such an attempt, as they despaired not to take the City by assault. But seeing the Enemies to hold a Campe, and aduertised by a Prisoner of that which had happened, they desisted from their Enterprize to take the Towne, falling to spoile the Countrey, and to fire their houses: so as at the first they brought a wonderfull booty vnto their Campe, as being come to this kind of hunting, to the which neuer Enemy thought to attaine. And when as afterwards the Consuls taking courage, had planted themselves within Eleuen Furlongs of the Enemies Campe, *Hannibal* lost all hope of taking the City, notwithstanding the great spoiles which hee had made; and which is more, he parts at the breake of day with his Army, keeping a good reckoning of dayes, in the which according to his aduice taken from the beginning, he was in hope that *Appius* aduertised of the danger of the City, would wholly raise the siege, and that he would succour *Rome*, or leaving some portion of the Army, and taking the greatest part, he would make hastie to succour his Countrey: either of which happening, his affaires would succeed well. But *Publius* breaking the Bridges of the said Riuer, forced him to passe his Army at a Fourde, being alwayes in the taile of him, and annoying him much.

The *Carthaginians* waste the Countrey about *Rome*.

The *Romans* in Field.

It is true, he could not defeat him for the great number of Horses, and the dexterity of the *Numidians* fit for all purposes: yet he retired to his Fort, having recovered a great part of the booty, and taken about three hundred men. Afterwards imagining that the *Carthaginians* hastned their retreat for feare, hee pursued them in the Reare by Skirmishes.

A defeat of
the Romans by
Night.

Skirmishes. In the beginning *Hannibal* made haste pursuing his designe. But when as on the fifth day he had bene advertised that *Appianus* continued still at the siege of *Capona*, he stayed: then suddenly receiving those which pursued him, he charg'd them in the Night, making a great slaughter, and chasing the rest out of their Fort. When as the day following he saw the *Romans* retired to a certaine Hill, strong by situation, and ramped; he despaired to take them: Yet making his voyage by *Daunia* and *Bristle*, hee assailes the neighbour places to *Rhegium* so suddainly, as he had in a manner taken the City: yet he surprised all those that were stragling in the Fields, with a great number of the *Rheginos* at his coming. In my opinion we ought with reason to observe at that time the vertue and enuy of the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* in the conduct of the Warre.

Lacedemonians
taken by *Epaminondas*.

For as all the World wonders at *Epaminondas*, Generall of the *Thebians* in this, that when he was come with the Allies of the Warre to *Tegea*, and was advertised that the *Lacedemonians* were with their league at *Mantineia*, assembling there to give Battaille to the *Thebians*, hee gave order to his Troupes to feede presently: By this meanes hee causeth his Army to march in the Evening, as it were to recover some convenient places to put them in Battaille. VWhen he had drawne many into this conceite, hee parts to assaile the City of *Lacedemon*. VWhere entering about three houres in the Night, contrary to all hope, and finding it naked and destitute of helpe, he tooke it, and kept it on that side which was paved to the River. As this disaster happened with a great alteration, and that a certaine Fugitive flying to *Mantineia*, had advertised King *Agessilaus* of that which happened, and that they of the league made haste to succour *Lacedemon*, hee was out of hope to bee able to keepe it. But when he had fed neare unto the River of *Erota*, and had drawne his Army together, after that he had suffered many miseries and dangers, he returns to *Mantineia*, taking the same way, with hope to finde it destitute and vnfurnished of *Lacedemonians* and their league, as being gone to succour *Lacedemon*: the which succeeded accordingly. Wherefore giuing courage to the *Thebians*, and marching in the Night with great labour and toile, hee arrived by noone at *Mantineia*, being destitute and void of succours. It is true that the *Athenians* who at that time held the party of the *Lacedemonians*, against the *Thebians*, were come to their succours. When the foreward of the *Thebians* arrived at the Temple of *Possidon*, standing seven Furlongs from the Towne, it happened as a thing fore-cast, that at the same instant the *Athenians* shewed themselves vpon a Hill neare to *Mantineia*, who being discovered by them which remained in the Towne, they went to the VValles, taking courage to repulse the *Thebians* attempts. Historiographers therefore haue reason to complaine of the said actions, saying, that the Commander had done all that was fitting for a wiser and more excellent Captaine then the Enemies were, and that *Epaminondas* was vanquished by Fortune. Some others likewise may say with reason, that the like hapned vnto *Hannibal*.

Epaminondas
vanquished by
Fortune.

For who will not wonder at this Commander, in observing that hee ended,

endeauoured to raise the siege, in assailing the Enemy by Skirmishes: And when hee was therein frustrated in his attempts, hee assailed *Rome* it selfe: And when this Enterprize did not succeed, for the casuall events, hee againe endeauoured (turning head with his Army) to charge the Enemy, and to try if hee might trouble those which besieged *Capona*: And when in the end he preuailed not in his Enterprize, he resolved to annoy the Enemy in ruining them of *Rhegium*. It is true that some one will happily iudge that at this day the *Romans* are to bee preferred before the *Lacedemonians*. Who vpon the first aduertisement parting together, deliuered *Lacedemon*, yet losing *Mantineia* for their parts: But the *Romans* preserved their Countrey without raising the siege from before *Capona*, growing constantly obstinate in their Enterprize, and haue in the end assailed the *Caponans* resolutely. I haue propounded this Discourse not so much to praise the *Romans* or *Carthaginians*, (for we haue many times shewed them to bee excellent) as well for their present Capitaines, and for those which hereafter shall haue the gouernment of these two Common-weales: to the end that remembering them, and hauing these things before their eyes with a desire of imitation, they may take courage, not of a desperate and dangerous rashnesse, but of a politike resolution, with an admirable industry and good discourse, which shall neuer be subiect to forgetfulnessse, retaining still in memory actions well managed; and Enterprizes with our reason.

For this cause the *Romans* haue decreed to set a part, and to carry into their Countrey the things we haue spoken of, not omitting any thing. If this be well done and profitable to them, or otherwise, it requires a longer discourse: And moreouer whether it hath bene in former times, or is onely necessary at this day. If considering these things, they had instructed their men, it is certaine that according to reason they had transported to their vse the things for the which they had growne great: But if leading a simple life, they flye abundance and sumptuousnesse, and yet they vanquish those which many times haue store of such good things, why should not their actions be turned to vice? Some one may confidently say, that they erre which haue left the Victors course of life, to follow that of the vanquished, and hauing incurred enuy, a Companion of such things: which is a case much to be feared in Great men. Doubtlesse a man thus posselt, will neuer hold them happy: which possesse another, and beares them enuie. Moreover, who will take compassion of those which degenerating lose their principalities? If Fortune smiles, and if a man draws together all the wealth of another, and moreouer, inuities in some sort the disposselt to see it, he sinnes doubly. First the Spectators haue no compassion, but are admonished as of their owne miseries: whereby not onely enuy but also Choller inflames them against the fortunate. The remembrance of their owne calamities is as it were a stirring vp to hatred against the Authors. It is true, that it may be there is some shew of reason for the drawing of Gold and Siluer. For they could not haue attained to the Empire, if they had not gotten the power taken from others.

In

In regard of those things which concerne not power, they might leave them with the enuy in those places where they were before, and make their Countrey of better fame, in beautifying it with honesty and magnanimity, not with Images and figures. I hold this Discourse for those which Potentates alwaies vsurpe, to the end that in sacking Cities they may not conceiue that the miseries of other men, are the glory and beautifying of their Countrey. Finally, it is necessary that the accidents which happen in the Art of Warre, bee diligently considered of. It may happen they shall duly fore-see every thing, if any one doth execute speedily that which is propounded. A

If any man will know that executions done openly with violence, are of lesse consequence then actions of policy and time, hee may easily iudge by the actions past. It would be no difficult thing to vnderstand by the euents, that in matters which are done by time, there are more found executed through errors then by reason. For no man doubts that many faults are committed through the ignorance and dulnesse of Commanders. Wherefore, we must consider the reason of this kinde. It is not fit to hold for good seruice the accidents which without fore-sight happen in the profession of Warre, but rather for euents and casual accidents; and wee must leave them, for that they are not gouerned by reason; whereas those should be apparent which are done with a settled resolution whereof we now speake. But for that every action hath time, space, and a determinate place, and hath neede of secrecie, and of confident resolutions: and that it doth import by whom, with whom, and by what meanes they shall execute them: it is apparent that he which shall duly consider euery one of these things apart, shall not stray from reason: if he omits any one of them, he shall be defrauded of his whole resolution. Nature in truth makes one of all the parts, and euery one of them (although vulgar) sufficeth to cause a disaster of aduice if it be forgotten: Finally all the parts doe scarce suffice, although they be employed to bring any worke to a good end. Wherefore Commanders should not omit any thing of this kinde. C

The duty of a Commander.

Silence is the chiefe of those things which we haue spoken of: to the end that through ioy if any unexpected hope presents it selfe, or for feare and amazement, they do not through familiarity or friendship, communicate their enterprize to any stranger, but only to those without whom they cannot execute their resolutions: nor yet to them, but so far forth as necessity shall force them. He must be secret not only in words but also in his affections. For it happens to many to discover by signes, and sometime by their actions, their resolutions which the tongue hath kept silent. Secondly, it is necessary not to be ignorant of the wayes both by day and night, and the meanes to passe them as well by Sea as Land. The third point, and the most exquisite, is to know the opportunity of times by the circumstances, and to be able to coniecture it with iudgement. He must make no little esteeme of the manner how to execute it. For many times thereby things which seeme impossible, proue possible, and those which vsually haue beene possible, are made impossible. Finally, he must not disdaine the Accords and Articles annexed;

nexed, nor the choise of things by the which, and with whom that which hath bin resolved, is brought to an end. Of these things some are considered by the exercise, others by Histories, and some by the course and reason of experience. The knowledge likewise of the waies, and whither he meanes to go, and its nature would be very fitting: and consequently by whom and against whom they make Warre, and carefully to consider of the businesse, and not to trust all men. It is true that they which are led and gouerned, must alwaies in such affaires giue credit to those that lead them. Moreover, Commanders may happily learne these things and other such like from a simple Souldier: some by their owne indutry, and others by History, in considering the actions by experience. It is also necessary to vnderstand the Mathematiques, and the Theorique, especially of Astrology and Geometry, the Art whereof is not very necessary in this trade: yet the vse may helpe much in the alteration of things. Their chiefe necessity consists in the consideration of the Day and Night. If they had bene alwaies equall, there would be no difficulty therein, and the knowledge would bee common to all.

But as the afore-said things haue a difference not onely betwixt them, but also in themselves, it is most necessary to know what bee their augmentations and diminutions. How can the course and perfections of the Day and Night be knowne without the consideration of the said difference? No man can without their experience attaine vnto those things which concernes a competency of time, being otherwise forced to worke sooner or later then is needfull. Hastie in these affaires is more defectiue then the delay of an Enterprize. Hee that exceeds the time appointed, is frustrated of his hope: But hee may repaire it in giuing good order, knowing after what time it may be done: whereas hee that preuents the opportunity of the approaching time, and being discovered, not onely failes of his Enterprize, but is in danger to be wholly defeated. Occasion is the Mistresse of all humane affaires, and especially in the Art of Warre.

A Commander therefore of an Army must haue knowledge of the Solstice of Summer, and of the Equinoctials, and of the intermixt increases and decreases of Dayes and Nights. By this onely meanes hee may hold a meane in things which are to be effected, as well by Sea as Land. Moreover, hee must know euery point of the Day and Night, to the end that hee may vnderstand the time when to plant his Campe and to raise it. It is not possible that hee shall attaine to a good end which doth not consider the beginning. It is not impossible to see the houres of the Sunne by the shaddowes whilest he makes his course, and the distances which are made by it in this world: In regard of those of the Night, it is a difficult thing, vnlesse some doe follow and obserue the Starres after the disposition of the Heauen; and the order of the twelve Signes in the Zodiacke. It is in truth easie for those which diligently obserue the Celestiall Starres. For although the Nights be vn-equall, yet in euery one of them fixe of the twelve Signes do moue, so as it is necessary that to euery part of the Night an equal portion of the Zodiacke

The knowledge of the diuinities of Dayes necessary for Captaines.

Zodiacke be turned, and as daily it is apparent what part the Sun drives behind, which is that which it separates from the Diameter: it is necessary that accordingly there should be so much consumed of the Night, that after this part it appears elevated from the rest of the Zodiacke. The Signes of the Zodiacke being knowne as well for their number as greatnesse, it falls out afterwards that they shew themselves such all times of the Night. But when the Nights are cloudy, we must obserue the Moone: for her greatnesse, her light appears vniuersall in what part of the world soeuer she be. And wee must sometimes search by the times and places of the East, and sometimes of the West: for that in this part there is a knowledge, so as the followes the Diurnall differences of the East. There is also in this knowledge a manner of easie consideration. There is likewise the same end almost within a figure, and all are of Sence. For this cause they iustly commend the Poet, who brings in *Ulysses* an excellent Prince, taking coniecture of the Starres, not onely to direct a Navigation, but also to manage Warre at Land. Wee may in truth exactly fore-see vnexpected chances, although that many times they be of great perplexity, as inundations by Raine and Riuer, Snows and violent Frosts, and finally Fogs and Clouds, with such like things. Shall we not with reason be destitute and void of many things by our owne fault, if wee disdain those which wee may fore see? Wee may not therefore contemne or despise any of these things, lest wee fall into such a consideration which they say hath happened vnto many others: Concerning which wee must now speake by way of Example.

Homer.

The error of Arate.

Arate Chiefe of the *Acheins*, labouring to surprize the City of *Cynetha*, appointed a day to them of the Towne which had the same intelligence: who coming by Night to the Riuer which falls to *Cynetha*, he was to stay there with his Army: and they of the Towne taking their occasion about Noone, should send forth one of them secretly out at the Gate, couered with a Cloake, and should command him to stay before the Gate vpon a Dunghill: and in the meane time the rest should take the chiefe men sleeping, who were accustomed to guard the Gate about Noone. Which being done, coming out of their Ambush, they should plant their Battalion against the Gate. These things thus concluded, *Arate* came at the time appointed, and keeping the accord, he laid his Ambush neare vnto the Riuer. But about five of the Clocke, a man hauing weake Sheepe of those which are accustomed to feede about the Towne, came forth of the Gate in a Cloake, as it was needfull, who according to the reason of the time, enquired of the life of the Shepherd: And staying vpon the sayd Hill, looked where hee was. *Arate* thinking they had giuen him the Signe, makes haste to gaine the Towne with his men. But when the Gate was suddainly shut by the Guards that were present, for that they within had nothing ready, it happened that *Arate* was not onely frustrated of his purpose and intention, but was the cause of extreame calamities to the Burgeses, with whom hee had intelligence. For being apprehended, they were presently chased away or slaine. What shall wee thinke to be the

the cause of this accident? Doubtlesse for that this Commander had executed this agreement with more lightnesse then was fit, who being young had not an exquisite knowledge of these two accords, nor of the things annexed. The affaires of Warre haue an alteration in a moment, waucring from one side to another in the Euent. When as likewise *Cleomenes* the *Lacedemonian*, had resolved to take the City of *Megalopolis* by practice, he agreed with the Guards of the Walles, that hee should come in the Night with his Army to the Gate which they call *Phloe*, at the third renewing of the Watch. For they which held A his party, had then the guard of the Wall. But when he had not foreseen, that the Nights were shorter at the rising of the *Pleiades*, hee parting from *Lacedemon* with his Army at Sun setting, and as hee could not come thither in time, arriuing when the Sunne was vp, he was repuls'd, making his attempts in vaine and without reason, with a great and shamefull losse of his men, and in danger to lose all: Whereas if hee had aim'd truly at the time appointed by the agreement, and had brought his Army when as his Confederates had power to let him in, he had not failed in his Enterprize.

The error of Cleomenes.

In like manner *Philip* (as wee haue formerly sayd) hauing plotted a secret surprize of the City of the *Melicens*, failed doubly. He brought not Ladders of a sufficient length, as the businesse required, neither did he obserue the time. For hauing resolved to arriue at Mid-night, when as all the World slept, hee dislodg'd before the time from *Larisse* with his Army, and came too soone into the *Melicens* Countrey. For this cause as he could not stay, fearing to be discovered by the Citizens, nor yet steale away, he gaue an assault to the City, the Inhabitants being yet awake. So as it was not in his power to get to the top of the Walles by his Ladders, for that they were not of a iust length, neither could hee enter by the Gate, for that the Confederates which hee had in the City, could not succour him being excluded by the time. And as hee had incensed the Citizens, and made a great losse of his men, hee returned with shame and disgrace, it being a warning and cauate vnto all others, not to put any trust or confidence in him hereafter.

The error of Philip.

As likewise *Nicias* which was Chiefe of the *Athenians*, might haue preferred the Army which hee had neare vnto *Saragossa*, and had taken a fit occasion in the Night to lay an Ambush, to the end hee might not be discovered by the Enemy: hee retired into a safe place: Afterwards hee remooued, nor his Campe required superstition, for that the Moone was Eclipsed, as if hee had fore-told some ensuing danger and misfortune. But it happened vnto all, as well to the Army as Captaines, to fall into the hands of the *Saragossians*, when as the Night following *Nicias* raised his Campe, being discovered by the Enemies. Notwithstanding hee might in such affaires haue bene made wise by such as haue had experience, that the comodity of time ought not to be neglected for such things, making the ignorance of the Enemy his comfort. Ignorance in truth giues a great helpe to men of experience, to bring their affaires to a good end.

The error of Nicias.

Pp

Wee

What a Ladder
for the Warre
ought to be.

Wee must then for the afore-said things haue recourse to Astrology, in regard of the measure of ladders, the manner is as followeth. If any one of the Conspirators haue giuen the height of the Wall, they may presently know of what length the ladder shall be: As if the Wall bee ten foote high in some places, the ladders must be twelue foote long. Finally, they must giue vnto the ladder good footing, according to the proportion of the stauces: lest burthning it too much, it breake not easily by reason of the multitude: and againe for vp straight, it will be very dangerous vnto them. If there be no meanes to take the measure, nor to approach the Wall, let them take the greatest of those things which are eleuated on the Plaine, by the space of all the height, which is a kinde of measure not onely possible, but also easie for those which study to learne the Mathematicques.

Geometry necessary
for the Warre.

Wherefore it is necessary for them that will aime truly in their resolutions of the course of Warre, to know the vse of Geometry: If not perfectly, yet at the least that they haue the knowledge of proportions, and consideration of Similitudes. It is not onely necessary for this, but also for the comprehension of Designes in the situation of a Campe: to the end that when as wee sometimes change its general disposition, we may obserue the same proportion of things which are there comprehended: And if sometimes we retaine the same Designes of Camps, we may extend the place comprehended by them, or straighten it; according to the reason of things before decreed, or set apart: the which we haue declared more exactly in our Commentaries for the ordering of Battailles. I doe not beleue there is any man that will be discontented with our study, for that wee charge the profession of Warre with many things, commanding those that loue it, not to disdain Astrology nor Geometry. For my part, I shoue especially, and with great desire to command things necessary, as I doe reproue and blame the excesse of vaine and superfluous things, in regard of the subtilties and dreames in euery Science: So doe we those which are out of necessary vse. It is a strange thing that they which practise Dancing, or playing of the Flute, take the preparatiues which concernes the accords and Musicke: And likewise Wrestling, for that this kind of Art seemes behoouefull to bring this exercise to an end: And yet they which terme themselves Souldiers, are discontented if they must allow of any other Studies: So as they which practise Mecanique Arts, are more carefull and studious then those which challenge an Excellency in things which are of great honour and glory: the which no man of Sense will deny. But wee haue spoken enough of this Subject.

The carelessness
of Souldiers
for the Sciences.

The circuite of
Megalopolis and
Lacedemon.

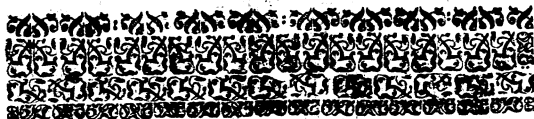
Many coniecture the greatest of things by the Circuite: to whom notwithstanding it seemes incredible, that although the City of *Megalopolis* bee contained within the Circuite of fifty Furlongs, and that of *Lacedemon* within forty eight, yet it is twice as great as that of *Megalopolis*. And if any one (meaning to make this doubt greater) sayth, it is possible that a City, or the Pallisadoc of a Campe, hauing the Circuite of forty Furlongs, may bee more ample and

complete

complete then that of a hundred, this will seeme vnto them a mad and extrauagant speech: the cause is, for that wee remember not the things which inhumane Disciplines are deliuered vnto vs by Geometry. This is the cause why I haue vnderaken this Discourse. For that not onely many people, but also some of those which gouerne the Common-weale, and likewise Commanders and Captaines are amazed and wonder how it can be possible, that the City of *Lacedemon* should be greater then that of *Megalopolis*, seeing the circuite is lesse: and that consequently they coniecture the number of men by the circuite of the Campe.

There is another such like error which they commit in the description of Townes. For many conceiue, that Cities containe more houses which are crooked and hilly, then those which are in a flat Countrey. But this is not true, for that the houses are not of a good building in a declining Streete, but in a plaine Countrey, for the which it happens that the Hills yeeld: the which may appeare by that which is apparent in a Plaine. If thou doest consider the houses which are built high, and set vpon the declining of a Hill, so as they are all of an equall height, it is apparent that their tops being leuell, the distance is equall, as well of those which are built vnder the Hills, as those which are seated on the Plaine neare vnto the foundations of the Wall. It sufficeth at this time to haue spoken to those which (desiring the preheminence ouer others, and to gouerne Common-weales) are ignorant of these things, being amazed and wonder at this relation. The City of *Agragas* is not onely more excellent among many other Cities, but also for the force of its Rampire, and for the grace and building: It is built eightene Furlongs from the Sea, so as euery man may be partaker of her commodities, the Walles are excellently fortified by their situation and the industry of man. The Wall is seated vpon a hard and inaccessible Rocke, as well by Nature as by Art. It is enuiroined with Riuer. For towards the South runs a Riuer of the Townes name, and on the Western part towards the Winter Solstice, passeth the Riuer of *Hypse*. The Fortresse is seated vpon the side of the Summers East. The which hath without an inaccessible valley and within it one approach to the City. On the top is built the Temple of *Minerva*, and of *Iupiter Atabarin*, like as a *rhodes*. For as *Agragas* hath bene peopled by *Rhodiens*, their God hath good reason hath the same name, as at *Rhodes*. Finally the City is richly adorned with Temples and Porches. In regard of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, it is none of the most sumptuous: But likewise it seemes not lesse in its height and greatnesse then any other of *Greece*.

The City of
Agragas.



The Oration of *Chlence*, Embassadour for the *Etolians* to the *Lacedemonians*.

IT is so true my Maisters of *Lacedemon*, that your power hath bene the beginning of Seruitude to the *Grecians*, the which I hold so certaine, as no man at this day will say the contrary. Wee may iudge of it in this manner. For what a multitude of *Grecians* are there in *Thrace*, whereof the *Athenians* and *Calsidoniens* have planted Collonies? What City hath had a greater estate and power then that of the *Olynthiens*? The which when as *Philip* had made Captiue, and ordained to serue foran Example, hee hath not onely bene Lord of all the Cities of *Thrace*, but hath moreover made subiect the *Thessalians*, being terrified with feare. And when as afterwards hee had subdued the *Athenians* by Armes, he vsed his Fortune nobly, not so much for the good of the *Athenians* (for there wanted much) but to the end that by the same of his benefits towards them, he might draw others to a voluntary obedience.

Philip subdued the Thessalians.

In regard of the authority of your City, it seemed for a time to fauour the other *Grecians*. Wherefore propounding what hee thought good, he went to Field with an Army, and in spoiling the Country, he hath ruined and sackt your houses, and finally your Country, distributing part to the *Argiens*, part to the *Tegeates*, some to the *Megalopolitains*, and the rest to the *Messenians*: seeking without reason to benefit others, to the end he might endamage and annoy you. *Alexander* hath since taken vpon him the power and command. Who thinking that there was yet remaining some comfort for *Greece* in the City of *Thebes*, I conceiue you all know how hee hath ruined it. But what neede is there to relate in particular the Deeds of those which haue succeeded them, and how ill they haue intreated *Greece*? There is no man so negligent of the actions of Warre, which doth not know how *Antipater* (the *Grecians* being vanquished neare vnto *Lamiai*) did most wickedly intreate the miserable *Athenians* and others: To whom hee was so outrageous and vnjust, as hee sent Inquisters for Fugitives, and sent to the Cities, against those which had contradicted him, or in any sort offended the honour of the *Macedonians*. Whereof some being violently drawne out of the Temple, and others from the Altars themselves,

Alexander ruined Thebes.

Antipater.

themselves, haue bene miserably defeated and slaine: the other Fugitiues haue bene chased out of *Greece*. There was no freedome but onely in the Nation of the *Etolians*. In regard of the executions done by *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, and *Antigonius*, *Gonas*, who is ignorant of them? The knowledge hath bene manifest, seeing they haue bene done without any disguising. Some of them placed Garrisons in Townes, others setled Tyrants: By which meanes there hath not bene any City free from the name of this kind of seruitude.

But leauing this Discourse, I come in the end to *Antigonius*: to the end that none of you considering plainly my intent, may thinke himselfe beholding to the fauour of the *Macedonians*. *Antigonius* in truth hath not made Warre against you for the preservation of the *Acheins*: neither for that he was offended with the Tyranny of *Cleomenes*, he desired to set the *Lacedemonians* at liberty (it were too great a folly, if you were of this opinion) but for that he saw his power was not assured: if the principality of *Morea* were vnder your government, and withall he saw the industry of *Cleomenes*, and that Fortune smiled vpon you, the which he feared with enuie. He came not to giue succours to *Morea*, but to raniush your hopes, and abate your greatnesse. Wherefore the *Macedonians* are not so much worthy of loue, Lording it ouer this City which they haue ruined, as to be held for Enemies and odious, seeing he hath alwaies hindred you, when you had meanes to command all *Greece*. In regard of the iniquity of *Philip*, what neede is there to vse any long discourse? His execration towards the Gods, for the outrages committed in the Temple of *Thermis* is plainly declared: And as for his cruelty to men, it is fully exprest by this preuarication, and the accord violated with the *Messenians*. Finally, the *Etolians* haue alone among the *Grecians* made head against *Antipater* in the view of all the World: so as they liued in safety which were outrageously afflicted. They haue also withstood the attempt of *Brennus* and the *Barbarians* which accompanied him: And they alone being called, haue endeauoured with you to set the principality of *Greece* at liberty. But it is enough of this Subiect: Wee must now aduise in some sort, and take order touching this present Councell, as with them that resolute for the Warre. Wee must consider it according to the truth.

The blame of Philip.

I am also of opinion that as the *Acheins* as the weaker, should not onely forbear to spoile your Country, but also giue great thanks vnto the Gods if they may preferue their owne: The *Eliences* and *Messenians* will make Warre against them for the league they haue with you, the like you will doe. As I vnderstand, *Philip* will desist from his Enterprize, being assailed by the *Etolians* at Land, and by the *Romans* and *Attalus* by Sea. It is moreouer easie to iudge of the future by the actions past. For making Warre onely against the *Etolians*, hee could neuer subdue them, how then will hee support this present Warre? Take these words according to my first proposition: that it may be notorious to all men, that you ought not by a rash and vnadvised Councell, but by a mature & setled deliberation rather giue succours to the *Etolians*.

the *Macedonians*. And if you haue formerly preuented, and given order for those, what meanes can there remaine? If you haue granted vs present succours, before you haue receiued the benefits of *Antigonus*, wee must with reason enquire, if it be fit that in yielding to the succeeding benefits, you should contemne the precedent which you haue enjoyed. How this liberty and safety being published hath beene consumed by *Antigonus*, there are some which reproach it vnto you, and urne these things to euill, demanding often whether you should follow the party of the *Etolians* or *Macedonians*. You would enter League with vs in many things, to whom in these affaires you haue given your faith, and you haue it mutually from vs, hauing mannaged the former Warres with vs against the *Macedonians*. Who can doubt iustly of these things.

It is certaine that the Affaires which you haue with *Antigonus* and *Philip*, is palliated vnder the Title of courtesie. Finally, what neede is there to declare that, which since hath beene done vnto you? Either in regard of the outrage of the *Etolians*, or the bounty of the *Macedonians*, or for any other thing which hath beene auailable vnto them? How can you being now changed, confirme the Accords and Oathes with them, (which are great Testimonies and Tyes among men) to whom formerly you had wisely resolved not to obey? When as *Chlenee* had Discourfed of these things, and had spoken in such sort, as hee thought no man could contradict him, hee made an end of his Speech. After whom *Lucisque* Embassadour for the *Acarnanians*, entering, contained himselfe at the first, seeing many discoursing of the aforesayd things: But when silence was made, hee beganne in these termes.



The Oration of *Lucisque* Embassadour of the *Acarnanians* to the *Lacedemonians*.



On Masters of *Lacedemon*, we are come hither, as sent by the Common-weale of the *Acarnanians*. We conceiue that this our Embassie, is common to Vs and the *Macedonians*: For that in a manner daily, they and wee are Companions in the same hope. And as in dangers wee inuolued together, by reason of their excellency and the greatnesse of their Vertue, to the end that by their forces wee may lue in safety: In like manner the commodity of the *Acarnanians*, is according to the care of the Embassadours, contained in the right of the

the *Macedonians*. Wherefore you haue no cause to wonder, if we make a long discourse of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. *Chlenee* making an end of his Oration, addes a briefe recapitulation of the right by the which you were bound vnto them: For hee hath said, if there bee nothing which hath beene done Since by the *Etolians*, which doth hurt or discontent, after the Succours granted vnto them: or any courtesie done by the *Macedonians*, this present deliberation, is of a iust consideration. If likewise they haue not committed, in producing the things which concerne *Antigonus*, the which formerly haue beene allowed by you, I am of opinion that you are the simplest men in the World, if you renew the Oathes and Accords. For my part, I say you are the simplest men in the World, and take the vainest resolution, if when as there hath beene nothing done according vnto his Speech, and the *Grecians* Affaires remaine such as they were before, when you made the League with the *Etolians*.

But if this cause hath a very different disposition, as I will shewe in continuing my Discourse, I thinke it will appeare plainly, that I say something which will be commodious vnto you, being vknowne by *Chlenee*. We are come hither to that end, being perswaded that we are to speake it, to make it knowne. Wherefore it is necessary, if it may be done, that when you haue heard the calamities which hangs ouer all *Greece*, you should resolve on that which may be honest and fit, and to enter into League with vs in the same hope. If this cannot be done, but at this present you will rest your selues. Yet I hold it necessary, that in Discoursing in few words of this Subiect, (for that the others haue presumed to accuse the House of the *Macedonians*) wee should cleare the ignorance of those, which haue giuen credit to their Speeches.

Chlenee hath sayd that *Philip* the sonne of *Amintas*, Conquered the Principallity of *Thessaly* by the ruine of the *Olynthians*. Contrariwise I am of opinion, that not onely the *Thessalians*, but the rest of the *Grecians* haue beene preferred by *Philip*. Who is there among you, that knowes not that at such time as *Nomarche* and *Philomale*, going to *Delphos*, had vsurped the Gouvernement vniuſly, and rauished the Treasure of the Gods execrably, what great forces they then rayſed, against the which none of the *Grecians* durst once open his mouth publicly. As they were wicked towards God, so they laboured for to vsurpe the Principallity of all *Greece*. At what time *Philip* employing his forces willingly, defeated the Tyrants, and restored the things safely which belonged to the Temple: Deliuering withall vnto the *Grecians* an occasion of liberty, as the effect doeth testifie to Posterity. The *Grecians* did not make choise of *Philip* to be their Commaunder, both at Sea and Land, as hauing offended the *Thessalians*, as this man hath presumed to say, but as a Benefactor vnto *Greece*: Which dignity no man before had euer receiued. It is true, hee came to *Lacedemon* with an Army. This was not by his owne aduice, as you know: But being called and often prest by his Friends and Allies of *Morea*, whom hee obeyed vnwillingly. And when hee arriued there, consider *Chlenee*

The blame of
Nomarche, and
Philomale.

how hee carried himselfe. When it was in his power to make vse of the fury of their neighbours, as well in the spoile of the *Lacedemonian* Region, as in debasing the City; whereby hee should purchase their fauour, but he would not follow this aduice: But terrified both the one and the other, and forced them to make an end of their Quarrell, for their common good and profit. Neither did hee Constitute himselfe a Iudge in this Contention, but established men chosen throughout all *Greece*.

Is this an Act worthy of reproach and reprehension? Thou hast likewise made the same reproach to *Alexander*, as if hee had wrongfully afflicted the *Thebians*: But thou hast made no mention of the punishment which hee inflicted vpon the *Persians*, to reuenge the common outrage done to all the *Grecians*: Nor how hee deliuered you from great miseries, reducing the *Barbarians* into seruitude, and defeating their Succours, with the which they ruined *Greece*, making Warre sometimes against the *Athenians*, and their Ancestors, sometimes against the *Thebians*: and that in the end he made *Asia* subiect to the *Grecians*. As for his Successours, how dares he presume to speake? They haue beene themselves many times the cause of good to some, and of hurt to others, during the Calamities of their time: Against whom some happily may haue cause to remember outrages: But it becomes not you, from whom they neuer diuered any good, but contrariwise persecuted you many times from harme. Who are they which haue called *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius* to subuert the *Acheins*? Who are they moreover which haue made a League, and sworne it with *Alexander* the *Epirote* to ruine *Acarnania*, and to diuide it: Haue not you done it? Who hath sent such Commanders contrary vnto the publique good, as you haue done? Who were not ashamed to intinge the liberties.

Alexander the Epirote.

How hath *Tymeus* sackt the Temple of *Neptune* in *Tasmar*, that of *Artimedes* at *Lafus*? In regard of *Pharigues*, he hath ruined the Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos*. And *Polycrates* that of *Neptune* in *Mantina*. What hath *Latsabe* and *Nicostrates* done? Haue they not infringed the Accords of the *Pambiolates* with *Panegyre*, and practised the cruelty of *Sysbeans*, and *Gallatians*, or *Gasles*, so as nothing hath bene done by the Successours? And when you could not excuse them, you holde it a glory that you haue broken the attempts of the *Barbarians*, falling vpon *Delfos*: Saying moreover that for this cause the *Grecians* ought to giue you thanks. And if they must acknowledge this commodity from the *Etolians*, what honour do nor the *Macedonians* deserue, who imploy the greatest part of their liues continually, to maintaine the safety of the *Grecians* against the *Barbarians*? What is hee that doeth not know that the *Grecians* haue bene continually subiect to great dangers, if the *Macedonians* and the bounty of their Kings had not serued them for a Rampire? VVhereof behold a great Argument: For when as the *Gauls* disdaining the *Macedonians*, had vanquished *Ptolomy* surnamed *Ceraune*, they came presently into *Greece* with *Brennus* Army: The which had often happened, if the *Macedonians* had not had the charge.

charge. And although I could holde a long Discourse of ancient deedes, yet I thinke these presents will suffice. But for that which among other things *Philip* hath done, hee turnes to cruelty the ruine of the Temple: But hee doth not adde their outrage and insolency, which they haue committed in the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, which are in *Dic* and *Dadone*, the which hee should haue spoken first. You relate the wrongs and miseries you haue indured, and make a greater shew then is needfull, passing ouer in silence, those which you haue formerly committed in great numbers: For you know, that euery outrage and wrong that is done, is by all men reiectd vpon those, who haue first done the wrong vniuistly.

As for the deedes of *Antigonus*, I will onely make mention, to the end his Actions may not seeme to you worthy of contempt: neither must you lightly regard a deede of great esteeme. I doe not thinke there were euer so great a benefit seene, as that which hee hath imparted vnto you. It seemes vnto me so excellent, as there cannot be a greater: The which may appeare by this. *Antigonus* made Warre against you, then in giuing you Battaille, he vanquished you by Armes: Hee was in the end Lord of the Country and City, hee might by the Law of Armes haue intreated you roughly: But hee was so far from offering you any outrage, as beside other Benefits, he hath (chasing the Tyrant) restored your Lawes and proper rights. For which Fact ordaining a Testimony to the *Grecians* by publicke praises, you haue called him *Antigonus* your Benefactor and Sauour. VVhat should you then doe? I will tell you, seeing there is hope of your good Audience: The which I will doe, and not without reason, not to charge you with reproaches, but for that the quality of matters forceth mee, to speake that which is necessary in publicke. VVhat shall I then say? That in the former VVarre you should haue embraced the League of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Etolians*: And that at this day you should rather reuinite your selues with *Philip*, seeing hee calls you then with them.

You answere, that in doing so, you shall breake your Accords. But tell me, if you shall commit a greater mischiefe, in leauing the Accord which you haue made in particular with the *Etolians*, then in Transgressing those which concerning all the *Grecians*, are grauen and Consecrated vpon a Pillar? Why doe you so superstitiously sie the disdaine of those, from whom you neuer received any benefit: And beare no respect to *Philip*, nor to the *Macedonians*: from whom you haue the power to hold this Councell? Thinke you that right and equitie, ought to bee preferred to Friends? Yet the Sanctitie is not so great to obserue the Faith reduced in Writings, as the sinne is prophane and execrable in bearing Harred, and making Warre against a publicke body. What the *Etolians* require now of you? But we haue spoken enough of this Subiect, the which would be held by the Ennious, not to concerne the present businesse. I returne therefore to the Continuation and Discourse of the cause which consists in this. If the Affaires be at this day alike, as when you made an Alliance of Warre with them, the

the election of things propounded in the beginning must remaine in you. If they be altogether changed, it is fit you should consider iudiciously vpon that which they require.

I demand of you *Cleonee* and *Gleenee*, what allies had you when as you called these men to a Common warre. Had you all the *Grecians*? With whom at this day haue you communication of your hope? Or to what league doe you iunite these men? Is it not of *Barbarians*? Thinke you this present warre is like vnto the precedent, and not different? You contended then with the *Acheins*, and your kinsmen the *Macedonians*, and with *Philip*, for principality and glory: And now the warre is made by strangers against *Greece* for its seruitude, whom you thinke to draw against *Philip*. Are you ignorant that their forces are call'd in against your selues and all *Greece*? Like vnto those which during a warre retire into their City a greater Garrison then their owne forces for their owne safety, make themselves subiect to their friends, as soone as they are freed from the feare of their Enemy: The *Etolians* thinke the same at this day. Whilst they desire to vanquish *Philip*, and to humble the *Macedonians*, they doe not obserue how they blind themselves with a western fogge, the which happily may bring some darknesse to the *Macedonians*, and in the end be the cause of great B miseries to all the *Grecians*. It is therefore necessary for all *Greece*, to provide for the threatnings of this time, and especially for the *Macedonians*. Otherwise what cause thinke you my Masters of *Lacedemon*; had your Ancestours, when as *Xerxes* demanded by an Embassadour which he sent vnto you Water and Earth, they cast him that was sent into a Well, and cast Earth vpon him: Then taking him out againe, they gaue him charge to tell *Xerxes* that hee had Water and Earth in *Lacedemon*. Moreouer, for what reason did the Company which was slaine with *Leonides*, cast themselves vpon the Enemy in view of all the World? Was it not to the end they might see them vndergoe the danger, not only for their owne liberty, but also for the rest of *Greece*? Consider now, if it be decent and fitting for their posterity, to take Armes, and to make VVarre with the *Barbarians*, in allying themselves with them, against the *Epirotes*, *Acheins*, *Acarnanians*, *Boecians*, *Thessalians*, and in a manner against all the *Grecians*, holding nothing infamous, so as it were profitable. VVhar must they attend that doe such vnlawfull things?

As the *Romans* haue bene vnited to them, so the others haue endeauoured (hauing the said comfort and aide from the *Sclauonians*) to make the war by Sea, and to breake the Accord at *Pyles*: And haue by Land besieged the City of the *Chloriens*, ruining that of the *Cynethiens*. It is true, they first made an Accord with *Antigonus*, in regard of the *Acheins* and *Acarnanians*. But at this day they are Confederate with the *Romans* against *Greece* in generall. These things vnderstood, who doth not suspect the coming of the *Romans*, and detest the fortifnesse of the *Etolians*, who presumed to enter into such a League? They spoile the Vines, and the Island of *Acarnania*, and haue already taken the Citie of the *Tallaneins* and *Anticyra*, which they

they with the *Romans* haue ruined, who carry away their VVives and Children, suffering (as it seemes) the common accidents of those which fall into the hands of strangers in regard of the foile of these miserable people, the *Etolians* enioy it. It were without doubt a very honest and pleasing thing that the *Lacedemonians* should embrace this League, who would haue the *Thebians* alone among the *Grecians* liue in peace, when the *Persians* descended: and haue resolved to make vowes vnto the Gods to vanquish the *Barbarians*.

Your dutie and Honor, my Masters of *Lacedemon*, depends thereon; to the end that hauing recourse vnto your Ancestours, and fearing the coming of the *Romans*, and suspecting the bad intent of the *Etolians*, and putting you in minde of the deedes of *Antigonus*, you may detest the League of the wicked, and flee the amitie of the *Etolians*, allying your selues by a common hope with the *Acheins* and *Macedonians*. And if some of the chiefe yeild not vnto it, at the least budge not, neither make your selues Companions of their Outrages. It is true, that affection to friends is very profitable, if it bee commodiously made: But if it be forced, and finally slow and defective, it hath no comfort; and therefore you must obserue, if onely in words, or else in actions they will keepe their League with you.

A parcell of the River of Euphrates.

Euphrates takes its source and beginning in *Armenia*; running its course by *Syria*, drawing towards *Babylon*, and falls as it seemes, into the Red Sea; whereof the signe is. It looseth it selfe in hollow places vnder ground made in that Region, before it falls into the Sea. VVherefore it hath a different nature to other Riuer. The course of others augment as they passe by many places, and are very high in VVinter, and low in Summer. But *Euphrates* grows very high at the rising of the Canicular, especially in *Syria*, and continuing its course decreaseth. The cause is for that it is not augmented by the concurrence of the winter raime, but by the melting of the Snow: It decreaseth likewise for that it extends vpon the plaine, and is dispersed for the watering of the Land. Then the transport of Armies is slowly made, for that the shippes stay in regard of the burthen, the River beeing low; and finally the swift course of the water is some hinderance vnto the Navigation.



A PARCELL OF the Tenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.

The Coast of
Tarentum.



Even as among the *Grecians*, lies *Rhegium*, *Caunone*, *Locres*, and *Crotone*. Moreover the *Metapontins*, and *Thurins*, possesse this Maritime Region. And therefore they which come from *Sycily* and *Greece*, are (when as they saile vnto any of the said places) by necessity carried to the Ports of *Tarentum*: And are forced to Traffique with their Merchandizes in that Citie, with all the inhabitants of that Coast. Some happily may coniecture, that the Commoditie of this place, proceedes from the abundance and fertillitie of the *Crotoniates*. And although they have some Summer stations of small reuenew, yet it seemes they will challenge to themselves a great fertillitie, and from no other thing but from the fruitfulnessse of the place, which is not to bee compared to the Ports and Region of the *Tarentins*. There is also a Commoditie from

from this place to the *Adriaticke* Ports, at this day great, but in former times greater. All they which failed from high *Penille* vnto *Sipontes* in Front, and were carried into *Italy*, landed at *Tarentum*, and made vse of this City for their Commerce and Trafficke, as in affaires. Then the City of the *Bretunians* was not yet built. Wherefore *Fabius* much esteeming this abode, was addicted vnto it, leauing all other things. All others hold him for a very fortunate man, and that many times, and for the most part, he ended his Enterprizes without reason and accidentally: holding this kinde of men to bee more diuine and admirable, then those which attempt all things by a discourse of reason: Being ignorant withall, that by these words the actions of the one are worthy of Commendations, and those of the other happy and fortunate. Moreover, the one is common vnto the people: But the other is proper to wise and iudicious men, whom we must hold diuine and beloued of the Gods.

Understanding
more commenda-
ble then Fortune.

For my part *Fabius* seemes to me to haue a Nature and disposition like vnto *Lycurgus*, the Law-giuer of the *Lacedemonians*. We must not thinke that *Lycurgus* had beene so superstitious, as obeying *Pisbeas*, he had established the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth: Nor likewise *Publius Scipio* moued with Dreames and Diuinations, had purchased so great a power in the Countrey. But for that the one and the other saw many men not greatly to affect doubtful affaires, nor likewise to presume to vndertake matters that were graue and dangerous without the hope of the Gods: For this cause *Lycurgus* making vse of the same drawne from *Pytheas* in his opinion, hee made them more pleasing and certaine. *Publius Scipio* in like manner had made an impression in many of a conceite of him, that hee executed his Enterprizes by a certaine Diuine Councell: By this meanes he made his men more assured, and willing to attempt difficult things. That he hath brought euery thing to an end by sufficient reason and wisdom, and that for this cause all his actions haue had an end concurrent to reason, will appeare manifest and plaine by the Discourse which I shall hold concerning him.

It is certaine he was bountifull and generous: But as for his industry, sobriety, and vigilancy in his resolutions, no man can conceiue them, but such as haue liued with him, and haue exactly searcht the depth of his disposition: amongst the which was *Lelcus*, who had beene his Companion from his Infancy in all his actions and discourses vnto his Death: for that hee seemes to speake likely things, and conformable to his actions. First hee reports this Noble deede of *Publius*, when as his Father had resolved to fight with *Hannibal* neare vnto the Riuer of *Poe*. For at that time, being as it seemes but seuentene yeares old, going into the Field, hee had receiued from his Father a Troupe of the best and strongest men for his defence and guard.

The disposition
of *Publius Scipio*.

And when he saw his Father in danger, and enuironed by the Enemy, accompanied onely with two or three Horse, hauing receiued a dangerous wound, he began at the first to encourage his company to succour

The courage of
Publius.

his Father : But when they wauered , for the great multitude of the Enemies , hee cast himselfe desperately as it seemes, and charged them courageously. Afterwards when the rest were forced to fight, the Enemies amazed with feare, ceas'd the Combate. Old *Publius* being thus preferred contrary to all hope, hee was the first who (in bearing of them all) called him his Saviour. When by this action the fame of his prowesse and dexterity began, he afterwards engag'd himselfe in greater dangers, whensoever the supreme hope of the Countrey required it by necessity : This was not with a courage relying in Fortune, but of a iudicious Captaine.

Afterwards *Lucius* his elder Brother, aspiring to the Dignity of *Edile*, the which among the *Romans* was the Noblest command of the Youth, and that by custome they made choise of two *Ediles* among the *Patricij*, and that there were many at that time which aim'd at it, he was long before he durst demand it of his Brother. When the Election grew neare, and that he had made a coniecture by the humour of the multitude, that his Brother would hardly obtaine it, seeing himselfe on the other side in great fauour with the people, and might attaine vnto his attempt, if with their consent he undertooke the cause, he fell into this conceit. When he saw his Mother visite the Temples, and sacrifice vnto the Gods for his Brother, and that she entertained a great hope of the future, which she had in singular recommendation, and that his Father being then Commander of the Army in the sayd War, had sayled into *Spain*, he told his Mother that hee had one dreame twice, and that it seemed vnto him that he returned being made *Edile* with his Brother, from the place to goe vnto their house : And that running vnto the doore, hee had saluted them with imbracings. When hee had ended this Speech, the Mother being very passionate with an effeminate affection, and answering I know not what, shee added ; Oh that I might see that Day : will you saies he, that wee make a tryall ? Whereunto consenting, for that she did not thinke he would dare to attempt so great a matter, considering that he was very young, shee required (as it were in sport) that he should presently provide him a long Cloake. For they which stand for government, are accustomed to be so attired. In regard of his Mother, shee had no confidence in his words.

Publius when he had this brane Robe, went suddenly to the place, his Mother being yet asleepe. When the Multitude had receiued him with amazement, as well for this nouelty contrary to all hope, as for the loue and affection they had formerly borne him, and afterwards drawing to the place appointed, he was neare vnto his Brother, many saluted this government not onely to *Publius*, but also to his Brother for the loue of him : and being both of them created *Ediles* in this manner, they returned to their house. When the Mother had receiued the newes, she ran vnto the Gate, and with affection and loue saluted them. Wherefore although that *Publius* disdain'd Dreames, yet it seemed by this action to all those which haue heard speake of it, that he had speech with the Gods, not only sleeping, but much more in the day waking.

Publius Scipio
and his Bro-
ther created
Ediles.

waking. But for that he was bountifull and pleasing in his words, and had well obserued the affection of the Commons towards him, and had accommodated the time to the people and his Mother, hee not onely perfected his Enterprize, but also seemed to haue dispatched it by some Diuine inspiratinn. They without doubt which cannot duely consider the occasions, nor the causes and dispositions of euery thing by the vice of Nature, or ignorance and dullnesse, referre vnto the Gods and Fortune the causes of things which are decided by industry and discrete reason. These things I speake for the Readers, to the end that falling through error into the vulgar opinions of this man, they should not leaue good and commendable graces that were in him, that is to say, his Dexterity and Industry. In regard of that which I speake of him, it will appeare manifest by his actions.

Publius Scipio being then Generall of the Army in *Spain*, calling his Troupes together, he aduised them not to be amazed for the aduentures and disgraces past. For the *Romans* had neuer beene vanquished by the prowesse of the *Carthaginians*, but by the treason of the *Celtiberians* : And the rashnesse of the Commanders seperated one from another, for that they trusted in them : which are things he sayd were then among the Enemies. For besides that they made Warre being farre distant one from another, they offer'd outrages to their Allies, and made them Enemies : And that for this cause some were already sent home: and the rest will speedily (when they shall be assured) come when you haue once past the Riuer, not so much for the good-will they beare you, as to seeke a reuenge for the wrongs receiued by the *Carthaginians*. But moreover the Captaines are in dissention among themselves, and will not willingly ioyne together to fight with you : And being thus diuided, they would be defeated, and fall easily into their hands. Wherefore he perswaded them, that considering these things they should passe the Riuer boldly, promising to giue good order for the rest. When he had vsed this speech vnto the other Captaines, he left his colleague *Marcus* vpon the passage of the Riuer, accompanied with three thousand Foote and five hundred Horse ; to the end hee might succour his Companions being in the Riuer : hee himselfe past with the rest of his Army, holding his intention secret from all the World. Hee resolved things which he did not impart to many men. His resolution was to lay siege to the City of *Carthage* situate in *Spain*, by the way of course : The which euery man might vnderstand, and that it is an excellent presumption of his esteeme, whereof I haue formerly spoken. For as hee was but seven and twenty yeares old, he gaue himselfe first to things which in the iudgement of the World seemed desperate, for the great precedent dangers and misfortunes : leaving all things that were vulgar and easie : and resolved and attempted those which seemed impossible vnto the Enemy, euery one of which required an exact wiledome, knowledge, and vnderstanding.

In the beginning being yet at *Rome*, when hee had considered by himselfe, and enquired diligently of the treason of the *Celtiberians*, and

Arremonstrance
of *Publius Scipio*
to his Army.

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of the diuision in the Armies, what might happen, and what fortune had befallne his Father, he was nothing amazed at the *Carthaginians*, neither did he faint as many usually doe. But after that he vnderstood that the Allies on this side the River of *Ebro*, continued constant in their Friendship, and that the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* were in discord, and opprest the Subiects, hee affected the Warre with an assured courage, having no confidence in Fortune, but in wise Councell. When he arrived in *Spaine*, he moued them all, and hauing enquired of the Enemies actions, he vnderstood that the *Carthaginians* Armies were diuided into three: and that *Mago* made his abode within the Pillars of *Hercules*, at certaine places called *Conies*: And that *Asdrubal* the Sonne of *Scane*, was neare the mouth of a Riuer by *Portugale*; the other *Asdrubal* in the *Carpentins* Countrey held a City besieged: Either of which places were many dayes iourney distant from the City of the *Conetesins*. Studying then whether he should resolve to giue Battaille vnto the Enemy, if it were against all their forces, he should be in danger to be defeated, as well in regard of that which had befallne his Predecessors, as for that their Armies were great. If likewise he laboured to fight with the one, it was to be feared that in flying the Battaille, the other Armies would come, and by this meanes hee should be inclosed, falling into the like Disasters, whereunto his Vncle *Caino* and his Father *Publius* had beene subiect.

Wherefore leauing this aduice, when he vnderstood that *Carthage* was a great ease vnto the Enemies, and would be a great annoyance to him in this Warre, he considered of euery thing, wintering among the *Isles*. When he was aduertised in the beginning that it had Ports which might containe all the Sea-army of *Spaine*: hauing likewise a Maritime situation, spacious and commodious for the *Carthaginians*, for the Navigation which comes from *Lybia*: and likewise for that the Treasure and Baggage for the Army, with all the hostages of *Spaine*, were kept there: adding therunto the great aduantage, for that the Port had not aboue a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, for that they neuer suspected that any man would presume to besiege it, the *Carthaginians* being in a manner Masters of all *Spaine*: and that finally the rest of the people are in great number, yet they were Artizans, Mechanickes and Fishermen, who had no great experience in the Warre: He imagined that his coming to this City would be v unexpected with amazement. He was not ignorant of the situation of the Towne, nor of its fortification, nor likewise of the disposition of the Poole: which things he had learned from Fishermen which had frequented the place: This Poole was generally muddy, and yet wadeable for the most part: and withall the water retired daily about Sun-setting. Wherefore concluding that if he prevailed in his Enterprize, he should not onely annoy the Enemy, but it would bee a great benefit for the Warre: And if his aduice and councell succeeded well, hee might preferue his Subiects as Master of the Sea, if he might once fortifie and strengthen his Army. The which was easie: for that the Enemies were far off.

Leauing

Leauing therefore all other resolutions, hee attends this during Winter.

And when he had once resolved, being of the age we haue mentioned, he concealed his resolution from all the World, (except to *Caino* *Lelyus*): vntill he thought it fit to manifest it. Although that Historiographers giue testimony of this resolution, yet when they come to the end of the action, they attribute this excellent worke to the Gods and to Fortune, and not to him nor his wisdom; without any probable arguments, and the testimony of those which liued with him: A for that *Scipio* himselfe declares plainly in an Epistle which he had written to *Philip*, that making vse of the aduice which we haue mentioned, he had vnderaken the Warre of *Spaine*; and the siege of *Carthage*. Moreouer, commanding *Lelyus* secretly touching the Army at Sea, he gaue him charge to saile about the City. Hee alone was priuie to his designe, as I haue sayd. Himselfe taking the Troupes of Foote-men, marcht speedily. There were in the Army at Land about five and twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand five hundred Horse. Being comē vnto the City on the seventh Day, hee planted his Campe on the North part, and fortified it without with a double Rampire and Ditches from one Sea vnto the other, without doing any thing towards the City. The Nature of the place had fortification enough.

The number of
Scipio's Army
at Land.

Carthage besieged.

The situation
of *Carthage*.

To vnderstand well how this City hath beene besieged and taken, I hold it necessary in some sort to describe the neighbour Countries and its situation. It is seated in *Spaine* about the middle of the Maritime Region, in the Gulfe which hath its aspect towards *Affricke*: whose depth is about twenty Furlongs, and the breadth at the entrance about ten: All this Gulfe makes a kind of Port, where there lies an Island at the mouth of it; leauing on either side a little entrance. And when the Sea is troubled with any torment, then all the Gulfe is calme, but when the Westerne Winds of the Winter Solstice, beating vpon the two entrances, cause the Storme: But as for the other Winds it is not troubled, by reason of the firme Land which enuironeth it. Behind the Gulfe there rises a Cape, whereon the City is situated, enuironed with the Sea towards the East and South, and with a Lake vpon the West and North, so as the space which remains from one Sea to another, by the which the City is ioyned to the firme Land, is not aboue two Furlongs.

In regard of the City, one moiety of it is concave: and towards the South it hath the approach of the full Sea: Finally, it is full of Hills, whereof two are rough and difficult: the other three are very lowe, but strong and hard to passe, whereof the highest bends towards the East, aduancing to the Sea: There the Temple of *Asclepie* is built, Right against the which is another of the same situation, whereon stands a sumptuous royall Pallace, the which some say had beene built by *Asdrubal* affecting a Regall power. The rest of the lesser Hills haue their tops towards the North. That of the thre which lookes directly towards the East, is called *Phesse*: to the which is ioyned that of *Alece*. It seemes that *Phesse* hath beene the

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uentor of Silver mettals, and for this cause purchased diuine honours: The third is called *Crome*. In regard of the Lake ioyning to the Sea: it hath taken its course by the worke of man, for the benefit of Fisher-men, and others trafficking by Sea. But at the breach of the Banke by the which the Lake and Sea are diuided, they haue made a Bridge, to the end that Sumpters and Carts might bring things necessary from the Countrey.

This was the scituation of those places, the *Romans* Campe was fortified in Front, without any prouision as well by the Lake, as Sea on either side. In regard of the space which ioynes the City to the firme Land, he did not fortifie it, for that it was in the midst of his Campe: to the end he might amaze the Citizens, and make vse of it for Skirmishes, and to fallly forth and retire to his Campe. The Wallles in the beginning had not aboue twenty Furlongs: Although that many haue giuen it forty: which is not true. Wee speake not by heare-say, but vpon a certaine knowledge, for that we haue seene the places: and at this day they containe no more.

Scipio hauing drawne his Army together with that at Sea, began to make remonstrances vnto them, without vying any other arguments and reasons, then simply to propound the things whereof we haue partly spoken, and shewing them that this attempt was feazable: and in relating in particular things done by prowess, he extenuated that of his affaires. Finally, he promised Crownes of Gold to those which should first ascend the Wall: and the accustomed rewards to others which should carry themselves openly like brave and valiant men. And in the meane time he assures that *Neptune* had appeared vnto him in sleepe, and had shewed him this kind of attempt to assaile the City: And consequently promised, that during the assault, he would worke so apparently, as the efficacy of his Succours should be manifest to the whole Army. By his remonstrances and euident reasons, together with the promise of Crownes of Gold, and moreover by the prouidence of God, he imprinted a vehement desire and courage in the Youth.

The next day hee drew his ships into the Maritime places, furnished with diuers Engines to cast, whereof he gaue the charge to *Caius Lelium*: And taking at Land two thousand able men with those that carried Ladders, he began the assault three houres after. *Mago* on the other side who had the guard of the City, diuiding his Battalion of a thousand men, leauing the one halfe within the Fort and plants himselfe on the Hill which lookes towards the East: and appoints about two thousand strong men, furnished with Armes which were in the City, to the Gate which drawes to the *Isthmus*, and the Enemies Campe: Commanding the rest to runne vp and downe the Wallles, and to defend them with all their power. When as *Publius Scipio* had caused the Trumpet to sound to the assault, *Mago* caused a fally to be made by the Gate, hoping to terrifie the Enemies, and to frustrate their attempt. As they fought valiantly with those that came marching in Battaille towards the *Isthmus*, there was a braue Combate, every man giuing courage to his Companion. But the attempt was not equal, for that their

Succours

The beginning
of the fight for
Carthage.

Succours were not alike: For that the *Carthaginians* came running forth but by one Gate, within the space of two Furlongs: whereas the *Romans* came suddainly and from many places. *Scipio* restrained his men neare the Campe, to drawe the Enemy farre from the City, being confident that if he defeated this Battalion of Commons, he should subsequently defeat the rest, and that no man would dare to make a fally. It fell out that the Combate was for a time equall: for that on either side they had made choise of their ablest men to make the point. But in the end the *Carthaginians* being repuls'd by the force of those which came running from the Campe, turne head: so as many were slaine during the Combate and retreat. There were many likewise slaine at the Gate.

The carthaginians
are repuls'd.

After this all the people of the City were so amazed, as they which were on the Wallles fled: and the *Romans* had like to haue entred with the Run-awayes. Moreouer, they set vp the Ladders diligently, where as *Scipio* undertooke the danger: the which he did wisely. He was accompanied with three men carrying Targets, (the which couering *Scipio*, hindred the sight from the top of the Wall) defended him thus covered. By this meanes struing vpon the flankes and difficult places, he was of great vse in taking this City. When he saw what was done, being also discouered to all the Souldiers fighting, he gaue them great courage, so as no danger was auoided: and hee employed himselfe cheerefully with the rest (as it was reasonable) in every occasion that was offered to purpose. When the first ascended the Ladders resolutely, the multitude of Defendants did not make the assault so dangerous, as the height of the Wallles. For this cause they which defended it, were more assured seeing the difficulty which happened. For some of the Ladders brake by reason of the multitudes which mounted on them. They also which ascended first, were so dazeled with the height of the Ladders, as if the resistance and defence had beene any thing, they must haue cast themselves downe headlong: And when as any such accident happened, struing to get ouer the Wall, they were ouerthrowne to the ground. And although such things happened, yet they could not repulse the *Romans* from their assault: so as when the first were fallen, their next neighbours step into their places.

carthage assaulted
by the Romans.

But as the day was farre spent, and the Souldiers tired with the toile of the assault, the Commander caused a retreat to be founded. Wherefore they of the City reioyced as if they had repuls'd the danger. But *Scipio* attending the time when the Tide should retire, appointed five hundred men for the Lake with Ladders. In regard of the Gate and *Isthmus*, he set fresh men: and after that he had preacht vnto them, he deliuered them more Ladders then formerly, to the end they might mount vpon the Wallles more thicke. When they had founded to the assault, and that the Souldiers went vp the Ladders with great courage, there grew a great trouble and alteration in the City. For when they thought they had beene free, they saw the danger renewed by another assault. But when they found themselves destitute of Darts, and were heavy for the great number of those which perished, they were dis-

A second assault
giuen to
Carthage by the
Romans.

Q 9 4

contented

contented at that which happened, yet defending themselves no lesse valiantly. Finally, the ebbing of the Sea beganne during the Combare of the Ladders: The height of the Poole was much diminished, by the ebbing of the Tide, the which was great, falling by the mouth into the Sea, so as it seemed incredible to those which saw it without consideration.

Scipio having his guides ready, commands those which he had appointed, to enter and to carrie themselves valiantly. Hee was as fit and industrious as any man, to put courage into his Souldiers, and to make them resolute to whom he preacht. When they obeyed him, and striued thorough the mud, all the Army held that which happened to be done by some Divine providence. Wherefore remembering those things which they had heard, and the prowess of Scipio, they were so inflamed, as they drew to the Gate close and with a violent course, and seeked to breake it open with Hatchets and Axes. The others approaching the V Valls through the mud, and finding the toppe naked of men, they set up their Ladders not onely without danger, but they past the Walls without difficultie. The Citizens in truth were drawne to other places, neither did they thinke that the Enemy would ever assaile the Wall by the Lake. Moreover by reason of the extreame crye and the confused noise, they could neither see nor heare any thing that was done.

The Romans having gotten the V Wall, seeked first vnder colour of making the round, how they might draw the Enemies vnto them. For the effecting whereof their Armes was of great service. Finally, they come to the Gate, where as some going downe cut the barres, others entred from without. In regard of those which made their attempts at the *isthmus* with Ladders, after they had defeated them which defended the V Valls, they leapt ouer, and by this means the V Wall was gotten. As for the Hill situated towards the East, they which entred by the Gate recovered it, chasing away the Guards. When as Scipio saw that there was a sufficient number entred into the City, hee sent many of them according to the Custome, against the Citizens, giuing them charge to kill all they met without taking any to mercy, and not to busie themselves with spoile vntill they had a signe giuen them. The Romans doe this to terrifie them. And therefore wee often see, that when they take Cities by force, they doe not onely kill the men, but they cut their Dogges in pieces, and dismember their other Cattle. Many such things happened in that Citie, by reason of the multitude of Prisoners.

Scipio assailes the fort.

Mago deliueers the fort.

Finally Publius Scipio accompanied with a Thousand men assailes the Fort: whereunto making his approaches, Mago at the first striues to defend it: But when hee vnderstood the Truth of the taking of the City, hee sends men to parley for his safety, and by this means hee deliueers the Fort. This done, a signe being giuen, the massacre ceased, and they fell to spoile. And when as night approached, some remained in the Campe ordained for that end: And the Generall spent the night in the Fort, accompanied with a Thousand men: Appointing the rest

rest being retired from the Houses, by the Captaines of Thousands, to carry the booty to the Ensignes in the market place. In regard of them that were lightly armed, called from the Campe on the Hill, hee sent them to the Easterne parts. The Romans tooke Carthage in Spaine after this manner. The day following after they had carned the baggage of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the substance of the Burgeses and Artizans to the place, the Captaines of Thousands according to Custome, diuided it among their Bands.

Among the Romans this order is obserued touching Cities taken. Sometimes to euery day they number the men, and distributing them according to the greatnesse of the City, sometimes they diuide them by Ensignes. They neuer appoint aboute halfe the Army for this business. The rest remaine in Battaille for the Guard, sometimes they are without, and sometimes within the City, vnto the end they may be alwayes ready. The Army being diuided for the most part in two of Romans, and two of Allies, they which are deputed for the diuision, do euery man bring his booty vnto the Campe. This done, the Millanneers or Captaines of Thousands diuide it equally to them all: Not onely to those which remaine in Battaille, but also to the Guards of the Tents, to the sicke, and vnto all those which are ordained for any publicke seruice.

The order of the Romans in the diuision of the spoile of a Towne.

When they are together in Campe to go vnto the War, they sweare not to commit any fraud in the pillage, and that they keepe their faith according vnto the oath which they haue taken. But wee haue spoken sufficiently heereof in Discourssing of their pollicy. Finally when an Army is thus diuided, one part attending the Booty, and the rest standing in Battaille for their Guards, yet the Romans had neuer any difference through Couetousnesse. For when as none of them are frustrated for the Hope of gaine, and that in the meane time some follow the spoile, and the others remaining in Battaille guard them, no man abandons his Ensigne: The which many times is the cause of great losse and danger to others. Many suffer losse, and are in danger in regard of gaine: For it is apparent, that they which remaine in Campe, or are in Battaille, containe themselves vnwillingly: for that most commonly all the spoile vnder his Command and power which rules, if he be an absolute Monarch: And if he be a Commander, euery man holds that his owne, which may be hidden and purloin'd, although that all things be carefully brought together. And for that most part of men desire booty, and for this cause are in danger, hauing no means to obtaine an absolute Victory, it falls out that they are in danger to lose all. The which happens to many, who although they haue preuailed in their Enterprize, whether they haue cast themselves into the Enemies Campe, or haue taken a City, yet they haue not onely bene repuls'd, but moreover had lost all, and for no other cause but that aboue mentioned. Wherefore Commanders ought to haue nothing in greater recommendation and care, then that whereof wee speake: which is, that (as much as may be possible) this hope may remaine to the greatest part: that if such an accident happens, the diuision may be equal

The Souldiers Oath touching the pillage.

equall to them all. Then the Captaines of Thousands gaue order to the Boory: and the *Roman* Commander hauing drawne together the Prisoners, (which were little lesse then a thousand) hee commands them first to separate the Citizens with their Wiues and Children, and then the handy-crafts-men. This done, hee aduise the Citizens to imbrace the Friendship of the *Romans*, and to remember the fauour which they receiued, and then hee sent them backe to their houses. Whereof some weeping, and others ioyfull for their vnexpected safety, they retire, hauing done their duties to the General.

Scipio's prouidence concerning the Prisoners.

In regard of the Worke-men and Artizans, hee told them, that for the present they were publike Seruants to the City of *Rome*: But if euery one did his duty cheerefully and willingly, he promised them liberty, if the Warre vnder taken against the *Carthaginians* had a good end. Then he gaue charge to the Questor to take the Names of these men, and that he should appoint thirty *Roman* Commissaries, for the whole multitude contained in a manner two thousand. He also made choise of the strongest, and the most flourishing in age and forme, to furnish the Troupes: and fill'd the captiue ships with all the Marriners, exceeding the former one halfe: so as euery ship had in a manner twice as many men. There were eightene captiue ships, and in the beginning they had beene sicke and thirry. To whom he promised liberty if they shewed themselves friends and valiant, and that if in this Warre he should happen to vanquish the *Carthaginians*. When he had declared himselfe in this manner, he made the Burgeses affectionate and loyall, as well to himselfe as to the *Roman* Common-weale: The Worke-men and Artizans are in like manner ioyfull vpon the hope of liberty.

The number of ships that were taken.

But when he had by this supply much augmented the Troupes, in the end he separates *Mago* and the *Carthaginians*. For he had two Senators and fiftene Councillors: whom hee gaue in charge to *Caius Lelius*, commanding him to haue a speciall care. Moreouer, hee calls all the hostages vnto him, which were about three hundred. Then he makes much of the Children, willing them to reioyce, and that within few dayes they should see their Parents. In like manner he perswades the rest to be of good hope, and to write vnto their Cities and Friends, that first of all they had their liues saued, and were well intreated: And that secondly the *Romans* would send them all home to their houses in safety, if their Friends could imbrace their alliance. This Speech being ended, he gaue the most commodious spoiles of the Army to euery one according to his Race and age, as to Children Feathers and Bracelets, D and to young men Swords. When as among the Captiues the Wife of *Mandonin*, the Brother of *Andobale*, King of the *Lebecetians*, had cast her selfe at his feete, demanding with teares that he would haue a better respect to her honesty then the *Carthaginians* had had, being moued with compassion, he demanded of her what necessary things she wanted. Shee was an aged woman, and carried the shew of some great Dignity. And when she held her peace, he calls for those which had the charge of the women, who presenting themselves, and affirming that the

The Wife of Mandonin.

Carthaginians

Carthaginians had furnished the Women with all things necessary: she touching his knees againe, repeated the same words. *Scipio* viewing her, and thinking that they vnto whom he had then giuen the charge, shewed themselves lyers through negligence, commanded the Women not to be discontented, and that hee would giue order to place other Commissaries, to the end nothing should be wanting that was needfull for them. Then staying a little, Capraine she said, thou mistakest my words, if thou dost thinke that I require thy assistance to content the belle.

Then *Scipio* hearing her conceite, and obseruing in her face the vigour of *Andobales* daughters, and of many other Potentates, was forced to weep; for that this Lady discovered her Calamitie in few words. Wherefore when it appeared that he vnderstood her conceit, taking her by the Hand, as he did the rest, willing them to reioyce: promising to haue them in as great recommendation, as his owne sisters and children: and that according to his promise, hee would appoint trusty and confident men to haue the Charge ouer them. Finally, hauing deliuered vnto the Questors all the Wealth found in the publike Treasure of the *Carthaginians*, which amounted to aboute eightene hundred Thousand Crownes: So as ioyning them vnto other twelue hundred Thousand, which the Questor of *Rome* had, the whole summe would be aboute three millions.

At the same time certaine Young men hauing taken a Virgin, passing in the flower of her age, and the beauty of her body all the rest of the Women, knowing that *Scipio* tooke delight in it, they came vnto him bringing this Virgin, and staying him, told him that they presented her vnto him. *Publius* amazed and-wondering at her beauty: if I were (sayth he) a priuate person, there is no gift could be more pleasing vnto me: But being a great Commaunder, there is nothing lesse in my affection: Letting them vnderstand (as it seemes by this answer) that in time of rest and idlenesse, the vse of such things is pleasing to young men: But when affaires do presse, it ingenders in them which vse them, great hinderances both in body and minde: Finally hee thanketh the young men: And calling for the father of the Virgin, hee restored her vnto him, giuing him charge to marry her as he thought good, to some Citizen. By this meanes hauing made shew of the Chastity and modesty of his Heart, he became very pleasing to the Subiects. These things being thus ordained, and the rest of the Prisoners deliuered to the Capraines of Thousands, hee sent *Caius Lelius* to *Rome* to the due Yeares Sacrifices, with the *Carthaginians* and the other prisoners of note, to make knowne in their Countrey, the accidents which had happened.

The chaste and
Wife of Scipio

Many in truth which despaired of the Warre in *Spain*, applied themselves vnto the present in diuers manners, refusing Courage againe, where as the newes was directed publicly. *Scipio* staying some time at *Carthage*, practised the Army at Sea continually: And hee taught the Capraines of Thousands this kinde of Exercise for the Foote-men. He appointed the Souldiers to runne thirty furlongs armed on the first day:

Exercises appointed by Scipio for his Army both at Sea and Land.

day: And on the second they should all furbush and cleanse their armes: And on the third they should rest: But on the fourth they should fight with Swords of Wood covered with Leather, and with plummetts, teaching them to cast Darts: And on the fift to fall to their running, as in the beginning. In like manner he solicited the Artizans and Workmen carefully, to the end that nothing should bee wanting in the true Exercises of Armes. He also appointed part of the Commissaries to this Worke, and went vp and downe daily, soliciting euery man vnto that which was necessary.

Finally, whilst the Armie at Land practised often before the Citie, the Mariners vsed their Exercises at Sea, with their turnings and returnings. And they which should be in the Citie, should furbush, Forge, and Worke: and that all should be carefully imployed to prepare Armes. There is no man but would haue held the City for a shoppe of Warre, according to the saying of *Xenophon*, if he had seene it then. As all things seemed good vnto him, and consequently dispatcht for necessary vse, and that consequently hee had put a Garrison into the Citie, and rampred the Walls, he dislodgeth with his Army, as bending both by Sea and Land towards *Tarragone*, hauing the Hostages with him. He marcht with his Army, as in his iudgement such marches are requisite in all occasions. In the which hee must alwayes accustome the Horse-men, as to mannage a Horse, to handle a Lauelin, and moreover to bound and gallop, and to turne on the right hand or the left. Sometimes they disbanded the Commanders of ten out of the midst of the Army, and they which commanded twenty vpon the two wings: and sometimes they drew them together, and stayed them according to the troups of horsemen vpon the wings: or else they made an extenuation of two wings by an interposition, or by the pollicy of the Captaines of the rearward. In regard of their exercise in a throng, hee sayed it was not necessary, as hauing one course vpon the way.

They must in all alarums bee accustomed to charge the enemy, and to make their retreat, that they should alwayes approach as nimble as they could, marching vnited and in the same order. They must moreover obserue the spaces betwixt the bands, for if the horsemen vndergoing the danger breake their ranks, there was nothing so dangerous nor preiudiciall. When hee had taught them all these things, especially to the Captaines, hee enters into Citties, to inquire first if most of them obeyed the things which had bene commanded them, and finally if they which had the gouernment of Citties, were sufficient to execute the constitutions with iudgement: holding nothing more necessary then the Prudence of Gouernors. These things being thus ordered, hee assembles the horsemen of Citties in a certaine place, and himselfe making certaine bounds and Circles, hee taught them all the managing of Armes. Hee did not stand in the head of the army, as Captaines vsually doe at this day, thinking the first place to belong vnto them. This without doubt takes away the commanders experience, and draws him into danger

A

B

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D

E

It is true that he is seene by them all, but sees not any. It is necessary that the Commander of an Army shew example, not by a Military authority, but by experience of a Captaine, and his prowess in Armes, marching sometimes with the fore-ward, and sometimes with the rear-ward, and sometimes in the Battaille: the which this man did, riding and considering them all, who being doubtfull hee taught, correcting their errors in the beginning: the which seldom happened by reason of the precedent diligence. *Demetrius Phalerius* hath shewed it, saying, that as in buildings where the houles are comprehended vnder one Rooft and ligature, it happens that the continuance is the stronger: So a whole Army is made more firme, in the which all is diligently pursued in particular, and by the Chambers. That which is done at this day, is very like to the gouernment and order of a Battaille. Light things and those which are most vsuall in an Army, many times perish wholly in it. In regard of the Role of those which disband, and are armed with aduantage, the Battallian contains them. Now the *Etolians* fight like a forlorne hope: So doe they of *Morea* their Allies: whereas the *Romans* make head holding the order of a Battallion. And if the others bee repulst, and returning from the Combate perish, the *Romans* retire without losse: and if they varquish, which God forbid, they will make all the rest of *Greece* subiect.

The duty of the Commander of an Army.

A Parcell of Media.

Media according to the Circuite of the Countrey, is the most defensible among all the Potentates of *Asia*, in regard to the multitude and valour of the men, and likewise of the Horses. It doth furnish in a manner all *Asia* with this kinde of Cattell: so as the Royall Races which are bred and entertained there, are of great benefit to the *Medians*. It is also inhabited with *Arabs* in Citties, the which *Alexander* caused to bee built for the guard thereof, by reason of the neighbour-hood of the *Barbarians*: except the *Erbatanes*, whose City is built vpon the Northerly marches of *Media*. Yett is neare the parts of *Asia* which confine vpon the blacke Sea and the *Euxine*.

In the beginning the Royall City of the *Medians* was amongst all the rest the most excellent in riches and sumptuous buildings. It is situated vnder the Mountaine Countreies, and neighbours to *Orontes* without Wallles, hauing onely a Fore that is well furnished, and fortified with great Art. Vnder which is situated the Royall City of the *Persians*. It is a question whether we should speake of it in particular, or be silent. Beloeue mee, it giues a strong argument to those whose intention and custome is to relate rare and admirable things, that to speake some adding much vnto them, which breeds a doubt in those which wilfully receive all that which is our of common fancy.

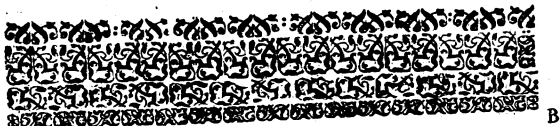
This Royall City hath in greatnesse and circuite almost seven furlonges, and the sumptuousnesse of euery building such, as in the west

The Royall City of the Persians.

R

great.

great abundance of wealth in those that first founded them. For as all the Carpenters worke is of Cedar or Cipresse, yet they haue not left one cloud, but haue lin'd the Ioints, Waincot, and Pillars with the vaults of the Galleries, with plates of Gold and Silver : and in regard of the Vessell it was all of Silver. Yet the greatest part was carried away at the comming of *Alexander* and the *Macedonians* : and the rest vnder the gouernment of *Antigonus*, and of *Seleucus Nicator*, and likewise at the comming of *Antiochus*, when as the Temple of *Enece* had about it many Pillars gilt, and a great quantity of Silver vessels, and finally, there were some small number of Tiles of Gold, A but many more of Silver. Morcouer, there was a great heape of Silver within the Royall City, coyned of the aforesaid things, to the number of about two Millions and foure hundred thousand Crownes.



A Parcell of *Antiochus*, and of his Army into *Hyrkania*.

Antiochus hopes to come vnto those places. *Arfaces* like wife thinks that he dare not passe the Desarts there continuing with so great an Army, especially for the want of Water. It is true that in the said places the Water shewes it selfe vpon the superficies, and that there are many Ditches hauing deepe Wells, but vnkowne to those which did not frequent them. Of which they haue a Tale in the Countrey : that at such time as the *Persians* enioyed *Asia*, this Countrey had in certaine places (in the which formerly there was no Water) fine Springs or Fountains. And therefore as *Tauris* hath many great Rivers, they employed great labour and cost to fill the Ditches from farre, the which succeeded : neither doe they know which vse these Waters, the Spring of these Ditches, nor whence they come. When as *Arfaces* saw him take the way by the Desart, hee resolved to shut vp the Wells and to corrupt them. The King hauing this newes, he dispatcht some from *Nicomedia* with a thousand Horse, who finding *Arfaces* gone with his Army, leauing some Horse-men to fill vp the Ditches. To whom suddainly after their coming they gaue the chase, and then returned to *Antiochus*. The Desarts being past, the King arrived at a City called *Heccatomphilon*, situated in the midst of *Parthyene*. It hath taken its name for that all the passages of the neighbour Countries ioine there : Here he refreshed his Army, and made his reckoning that if *Arfaces* had bene able to my, and made his reckoning that if *Arfaces* had bene able to myne Battaille with him, hee would not haue retired leauing his Countrey,

Many Rivers comes out of *Tauris*.

Heccatomphilon.

Countrey, nor sought other places more commodious for his Army to fight in, then those which are about *Heccatomphilon*. By his departure therefore it is manifest to him that will consider this action, that hee had taken another resolution. Wherefore *Antiochus* resolved to take his way to *Hyrkania*.

But when he was come to *Tages*, and had notice of the difficulty of the places by those of the Countrey, the which hee was to passe vnto the tops of the Mountaines which bend to *Hyrkania*, and that the *Barbarians* held the most difficult places, hee resolved to take a good number of the ablest men, and to separate their Captaines, and to informe euery one of them how to performe the way, and likewise hee appointed Pyoners, marching with them to leuell the way for the Souldiers, Leginaries, and Baggage. This being concluded, he gaue the first Battalion to *Diogenes*, adding thereunto the Archers and Slingers, who from the Mountaines might cast their Darts and Stones : the which held no order of Battaille, but came alwayes in time to the place of danger, and were of great seruice in difficult places. Hee accompanied them with about two thousand *Candiers* armed with Targets, of which *Polixenides* had the charge. In the Rearward hee ordaines the armed men and the Targeteers : The B Commanders whereof were *Nicomedes* of *Chio*, and *Nicolas* the *Ephelen*.

As these men march before, it fell out that the roughnesse and streights of the passage were found more difficult then the King had conceiued. All the length of the ascent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the most part by the deepe Fount of a Torrent, into the which were fallen from the high Rocks Stones and Trees which made the passage inaccessible. To the which the *Barbarians* gaue greataffistance: casting continually Trees which were cut downe, and gathered together great heapes of Stones : and seized (keeping withall the length of all the Valley) on the Hills of aduantage, which might serue them for defence : so as if they had not bene frustrated, *Antiochus* had giuen ouer his Enterprize as destitute of his forces. For as it was necessary for the Enemies to take their way, and to ascend by that Valley, they seized on the sayd places and fortified them. But they did not obserue that it was impossible for the Leginaries to passe there with their Baggage vntill the way were made : for these could not approach or come neare the Confinnes of the Mountaines.

They that were lightly armed and the valiant men, could not ascend the *Leucopetres*. For this cause the Ordinance changed when they were ioined vnto the first Guard of *Diogenes* Troupes who ascended out of the Torrent. Suddainly the Combate began as the accident shewed : *Diogenes* Troupe marching slowly through the Countrey, gaue a rough charge to the Enemy : And in throwing of Darts and Stones prest the *Barbarians*, annoying them much with their Slings which they cast from their Pallisadoe. Hauing chased the first and had taken their place, they gaue charge to the Pyoners to make

Diogenes fights with the *Barbarians*.

R r 2

the

the passage even, the which was presently performed by reason of their great number.

By this means when the Slingers, Archers, and Darters had marched to the higher places, scattered here and there, and sometimes together, seizing on the most commodious places, and the Targeteers held the lower Countrey, marching in Battaille a slow pace along the Torrent: The Barbarians stayed not, but abandoning the place, they drew together on the top of the Mountaines. In regard of *Antiochus* Troupes, it past the difficult passages safely after this manner: But slowly and with great difficulty: They could hardly eight in a Ranke recover the top of the neare Mountaines. And when the Barbarians were there assembled, having an humour they should bee able to keepe the Enemies from gaining the top, there fell out a braue Combate. By these reasons the Enemies were repuls'd, who revniting themselves fought against the Leginaries, and made head against them with great courage and valour.

In the Night the brauest of them turning about recovered the top, and the places lying behind. The which the Barbarians seeing, and suddenly amazed, they turned head. The King is very carefull to restrain the fury of his Souldiers pursuing the Enemy, causing *B* a retreat to be founded, desiring they should enter into *Hyrcania* united and in good order. This kinde of march being ordained according to his will, hee comes to the City of *Tambrace*, destitute of Walles, yet having a royall and large Pallace: where hee camped and besieged it. But when as many, as well Souldiers as of the Countrey had retired to the City of *Syringe*, (it was not farre from *Tambrace*, and was as it were the Capitall of *Hyrcania*, as well for its fortification as for its wealth) hee resolved to rume it by force.

Marching therefore with his power, and planting his Campe about it, he besieged the Citie. The greatest part of his worke was to make platformes in the fashion of a Tortoise. The Ditches were triple, being about seven Fathome and a halfe broad, and foure deepe. Upon either banke there was a double Pallisadoe with a strong out-wall. There were continuall Skirmishes whilst they wrought: from whence they carried from either side men slaine and hurt: for that they fought very valiantly, not onely upon the ground, but also under it in the Mines. But by reason of the multitude of Pyoners and the Kings diligence, it happened that the Ditches were suddenly fill'd vp, and the Walles fell being shaken with the Mines. This done, the Barbarians being confounded, and much terrified and amazed with feare, they kill the *Grecians* which were in the City, and taking their richest stuffer retire by Night. The King seeing this, sends *Hyrbas* with the Mercenaries: with whom the Barbarians fighting, and in the end abandoning the Baggage, retire againe into the City. But when the Targeteers prest them valiantly, not able to beare the burthen being so grievous, they presently yeeld having no more hope.

The Commanders of the Army being desirous to see the Enemies Troupes

The City of
Tambrace.

Syringe besieged by
Antiochus.

Syringe taken
by Antiochus.

A defect in the
Text.

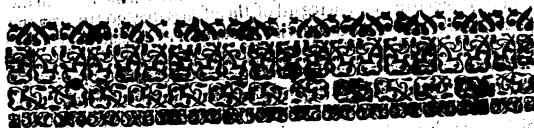
Troupes enuironed on the Hill, they command those which were in the Pallisadoe not to budge: in regard of themselves they goe to view the places, being accompanied with two Troupes of Horle, and some Footmen lightly armed, with thirty executions of Iustice. Certaine *Nu- midians* accustomed to Darts, coming out of the Enemies Fort to lye in Ambush, they had by chance stolne from the Hills: who having notice given them by a Spye, that some were on the top of the Hill higher then they, they prepare themselves and march crosse the Hill, and casting themselves betwixt them and their Campe, they shut them in and take them. *Claudian Marcellus* the Consul was at the first charge wounded, and taken with some others, forcing the rest being wounded to flye into Caues and Pits. The which they of the Campe seeing, they could not relieue them in this danger. For whilst they cryed out and wondred at this accident, and that some bridled their Horses, and others arm'd themselves, the Execution was ended. The Sonne of *Claudian* saved himselfe with difficulty, and contrary to all hope being wounded. Finally, *Claudian* fell into these dangers more through simplicity then by any true iudgement of a Capaine.

For my part I am forced to admonish the Reader of these kind of adventures through the whole tract of our Worke, where I see not onely ordinary Souldiers, but euen Capitaines themselves to haue erred by manifest ignorance. What profit can a Prince or Commander reape, which hath not the knowledge of dangers which hee must auoide, lest the whole Army perish with him? Who knows not that if necessary doth force them to attempt a thing, that a great part of the Troupes must perish before the Commanders seele it? The riyall must be suddenly made not by the Commander. That which they usually say, I did not thinke it: and who would euer haue thought that should haue happened? Seemes to be a great argument of ignorance, and of a weak iudgement in the Commander.

For this cause I hold *Hannibal* among the good Capitaines for many reasons, and which may herein be commended, who hath employed much time in the profession of Armes, and who making vse of iudgement in many and diuers occasions, hath many times by his industry frustrated the Enemies in particular encounters, and was neuer circumuented in such great Battailles: who as it appears hath preserved himselfe with great prouidence. And that with good reason. For the Commander being safe, although all the rest perish. Fortune produceth many occasions by the which the damages received by those miserable accidents may be repaired: But if he perish like vnto a Pilot in a ship, there grows no profit, although that Fortune giue the Victory to the rest against the Enemy: For that the hope of all depends vpon the Commander. I speake these things against those who by a glorious presumption, or a youthfull humour, or by stupidity, or disdain, fall into this inconsideration. One of the said things must of necessity be the cause of these misfortunes.

Claudian Marcellus wounded and taken.

Common excuses of Ignorance and negligence.



Of *Publius Scipio* and of the *VVarre*
of the *Romans* against the
Carthaginians.

A *Publius Scipio* Generall of the *Romans* in *Spaine*, being in the Region of *Tarracona*, had first drawne the *Spaniards* to his Friendship, and made them faithfull, for that he had restored them their hostages, he had in this action *Edemon*, a powerfull Prince for a voluntary assistance: who suddenly after the taking of *Carthage*, and his Wife and Children reduced vnder the power of *Publius*, considering the alteration of the *Spaniards* towards him, he resolved in the beginning to be the Authour, beleueing confidently that by this meanes he might recouer his Wife and Children, and that hee should seeme to ioyne vnto the *Romans* willingly, and not through necessity: The which succeeded accordingly. For when the Army had bene newly sent to winter, he came to *Tarracona* accompanied with his Friends.

A Remembrance of *Edemon* to *Publius*.

Being admitted to the speech of *Publius*, he sayd, that he was wonderfully bound vnto the Gods, that before all the Princes and Potentates of the Countrey, he had retired himselfe vnto him: and that of the rest, some sent and depended on the *Carthaginians*, and in the meane time they sued vnto the *Romans* with ioyned hands: and that for his part he was come not onely to yeeld himselfe but also his Friends. Wherefore if he received him into his Friendship and alliance, he was confident that he should be able, not onely for the present, but also for the future to doe him great seruice. For as soone as the *Spaniards* should see him admitted to his Friendship, and to haue obtained his demands, they will likewise come all to recouer their Friends, and to purchase the alliance of the *Romans*: and that for the future they would imploy themselves with emulation in his other affaires, if their hearts were once possesse with this honour and humanity. He required to haue his Wife and Children, and that being admitted into Friendship, he might returne to his house, where hauing found some good occasion, hee might shew his affection, and that of his Friends towards him and the *Roman* Common-weale. This Speech being ended, *Edemon* was silent. As *Publius* had long expected this, and considered of *Edemon*'s reasons, he deliuered him his Wife and Children, grasping the alliance. Moreouer

ouer during his presence, he drawes the *Spaniard* by many meanes to his Devotion, and imprinted in his followers a great hope for the future, sending him backe to his House. When this accident was divulged, all the *Spaniards* inhabiting within the Riuer (being formerly no friends to the *Romans*) followed their party in a manner with one accord. These things fell out to the content of *Publius Scipio*. After their departure hee sent backe the maritime Bands, seeing no shewe of danger at Sea. Yet he made choise of those that were most seruiciable, and diuides them among the Ensignes, to the end he might make the Bands of foot-men the more compleat.

A *Andomale* and *Mandonin*, men at that time of great power among the *Spaniards*, attended a fit occasion, hauing long carried a secret hatred in their hearts against the *Carthaginians*, although they helde them for their trusty and confident friends: For that *Asdrubals* men (making shew to haue no great confidence in them) they had exacted a great summe of money, and their Wiues and Children for Hostages, whereof wee haue formerly spoken. When as then they imagined they had found a fit opportunity, they retire their Bands from the *Carthaginian* Campe, and in the Night recovered certaine places of great strength, where they might remaine free from all danger. This done, many other *Spaniards* abandoned *Asdrubal*, hauing bene long discontented with the pride of the *Carthaginians*: Hauing recovered this first occasion to shew what friendship they bare them: the which many others had done.

Asdrubal abandoned by many *Spaniards*.

You must vnderstand that the Execution of great matters, and a Victory gotten by force vpon the Enemy, be of great consequence, yet there is required great prudence and Wilddome, to make good vse of things decided by Armes. So as there are more that enioy Prerogatiues, then they which vse them well: The which happened to the *Carthaginians*. For after they had defeated the *Roman* forces, and slaine *Publius* and *Caius Scipio*, father and Vnckle of this *Publius*, of whom we now Treat, thinking that *Spaine* was then in no more danger of Warre, they intreated the Inhabitants roughly. For this cause in steed of friends and Allies, their Subiects were incensed and deadly Enemies. The which fell out iustly. They had an humour that the meanes to Conquer Principallities, differed from that of preserving them. They were ignorant that they keepe their preheminance well, which obserue the same will and humour, wherewith principallities haue bene first Conquered.

D It is manifest and obserued in many, that men are of that Nature, that whereas prosperity offers it selfe, they shewe themselves kinde to their Neighbours, promising hopefull things. But when they haue attained to their desires, then they deale wickedly, and raigne ouer their Subiects as ouer slaues. Wherefore not without reason the affections of Subiects, change with the alteration of their Princes: The which hapned to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal* takes much aduice vpon this accident for the cure of things. The retreat of *Andomale* troubled him. So did the hatred and abandoning of the other Commanders.

R r 4

Finally,

The aduice of
Asdrubal for
the Warre.

Finally, hee was discontented at the coming of *Publius*, whom hee still expected to come against him with his Army. When he saw himselfe abandoned by the Spaniards, and that all in one League retired to the *Romans*, he tooke this aduice. He resolved that in making preparation of a good Army, hee would fight with the Enemy. If through the fauour of Fortune he had the Victory, he would then consider safely and wisely of the rest, but if it should be auerſe vnto him in fighting, hee would retire into *Gaul* with the remainders of the Battaille, and from thence with a multitude of *Barbarians* draw into *Italy*, and ioyne with his brother *Hannibal* vnder the same hope. *Asdrubal* being of this aduice prepares himselfe. *Publius* hauing received *Caius Lelyus*, and vnderſtood the decrees of the Senate, marcheth, hauing retired his Army out of the Garriſons: To whom the Spaniards come at the paſſage, and march with him with willing and ioyfull hearts. *Andobale* had before ſent vnto *Publius*, but when he approached nere vnto this Country, he came vnto him accompanied with his friends: Where after he had ſpoken vnto him, hee concluded the League of friendship which he formerly had with the *Carthaginians*, giuing him to vnderſtand what ſeruite and loyalty hee had obſerued towards him; and finally he expoſeth the outrages and iniuries which hee and his had ſuffered, intreating him to be the Iudge of that which he ſayd: And if he ſeemed to accuſe the *Carthaginians* vniuſly, hee might certainly know that he would neuer keepe his faith to the *Romans*: If being forced for the neceſſary reſpect of many iniuries, hee had deſiſted from his affection, yet he had good hope that ioyning to the *Romans* to keepe his faith firme with them. After he had viſed many ſuch Speeches, he made an end.

Andobale ſpeaks
to *Publius*
Scipio.

Publius anſwer
to *Andobale*.

Publius ſaluted
King.

The Spaniards
ioyne with the
Romans.

To whom *Publius* anſwering, ſayd, that he belieued it, and had vnderſtood the outrages of the *Carthaginians*, which they had viſed to other Spaniards, and their laſciuiouſneſſe towards their Wiues and daughters. Of whom notwithstanding he hauing taken many, reduced rather into the eſtate of Captives and ſlaues, then Hoſtages, hee harſh kept them with ſuch honeſty, as the Parents themſelues could not haue done. And when as *Andobale* and his Company conſeſt it, and making an obeſtance vnto him, they ſaluted him as King, the aſſiſtants obſerued thoſe words. *Publius* bluſhing, commands them to be of good hope, promiſing them they ſhould finde curteſie and fauour with the *Romans*, and preſently deliuer them their Daughters: and the day following makes an accord with them. The principall Articles of their Accord was, that they ſhould follow the Roman Princes and obey *D*

These things thus concluded, they returne vnto their Campe, and come with their Army to that of *Publius*, and making Warre with the *Romans*, they march with them against *Asdrubal*. The Commander of the *Carthaginians* ſtaying nere to *Catolone*, faſt by the City of *Babylis*, and nere vnto the Mines of Gold and Siluer, he changed his Campe when he was aduerted of the coming of the *Romans*, ſo as he had the Riuer at his backe in manner of a Rampire: and in front and

on

on the ſides a Palliſadoe with a ſufficient depth for the Fortification: there was finally a length in the Vallies ſufficient to put them in battaille. And as for the ſide of the Hill there were viſually men. When as *Publius* approacht, he was ready to hazard the Combate: although hee were in doubt ſeeing the advantage and force of the places, where the Enemy lay in Campe. But when he had contained himſelfe two daies, and was in feare that *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſcon* coming, he might be inuironed round, he reſolued to fight and to hazard a battaille: Making therefore another Army; he labours to gaine the Palliſado. In regard of thoſe that were lightly armed and the choiſe footmen, he ſends them to the ſide of a Hill; giuing them charge to aſſaile, and to view the Enemies forces.

And when that this was done with great Courage, the Commander of the *Carthaginians* attends the euent from the beginning. But when he ſaw his men preſt, and in danger by the courage of the *Romans*, he drawes his Army into the field, and plants it nere the ſide of the Hill, relying vpon the opportunitie of the place. At the ſame time *Publius* ſends his braueſt men to ſuccour thoſe that were in danger; and ſtayed the reſt ready: He takes the one halfe and aſſailes the Hill vpon the left ſide of the Enemy, fighting against the *Carthaginians*: And deliuer the reſt to *Lelyus*, giuing him charge to aſſaile the Enemy on the right hand. When this was done, *Asdrubal* drawes his Army out of the Fort. He had hitherto kept it, relying vpon the fortified places, having an opinion that the Enemies durſt not aſſaile him. But for that this charge of the *Romans* came vnexpected, hee puts his Army into Battaille later then was needfull.

The *Carthaginians*
aſſailed by
the *Romans*.

The *Romans* vndergoing the danger of the fight, whileſt that the Enemies were not yet vpon the Wings, they not only aſſailed the Hill without danger, but in approaching ſlew thoſe which croſt them, whileſt that the Enemies made ready their battaille: forcing thoſe to turne which prepared themſelues and made head against them. When as *Asdrubal*, according to his firſt reſolution, ſaw his Army giue backe and ſhamefully repulſ'd, hee had no will to fight vnto the laſt gaspe. Taking therefore the Treſure and the Elephants, and all thoſe hee could draw together in the flight, he retires to the Riuer of *Tagnus*, and to the Hills or the *Perinee* Mountaines, and to the *Gauls* inhabiting there. *Scipio* held it not fit to purſue the Victory ſuddenly, doubting the coming of the other Commanders: Finally, he gaue the boorie of the Fort to the Souldiers.

The deſeate
of *Asdrubal*.

The day following, he drawes together all the Priſoners, whereof there weren Ten thouſand ſoore, and two Thouſand horſe, to diſpoſe of them. All the Spaniards of that Country which were allied vnto the *Carthaginians*, come and ſubmit themſelues to the fauour of the *Romans*. And when he had giuen them audience, they ſaluted *Scipio* as King. The which *Edecon* beganne when he did his obeſtance; and after him *Andobale* with his friends. *Scipio* at that time regarded not their words but was ſilent: But when after the Battaille all ſaluted him as King, he was moued therewith, ſo as hee forbade it. Drawing

Scipio ſaluted
King of the
Spaniards.

all

The Commenda-
tion of Publi-
us Cornelius
Scipio.

all the Spaniards together, he told them that he would be truly Roy-
all, and so held; but hee would not be called a King by no man living.
This done, hee ordained they should call him Chiefe or Commander.
It is not without cause, that we may iustly commend the magnanimity
of this man: By the which being yet young, hauing the fauour of For-
tune such, as all the Subiects had him in so great esteeme, as they fa-
luted him by so excellent a name, yet hee was alwaies so continent, as
hee would not accept of this will and humour of the Subiects. But he
will wonder much more at the excellency of his magnanimitie, if hee
lookes to the last daies of his life: when besides the valiant exploits
which hee hath done in *Spaine*, hee hath ruined the *Carthaginians*, and
made subiect vnto the *Romans* many good Countries in *Lybia*, from the
Phoenician Altars, to the pillars of *Hercules*. Hee hath also ruined *Asia*,
and the *Assirian* Kings. Finally, hee hath reduced to the obedience of
the *Romans* the best and greatest part of the World. And therefore if
hee had pleased hee might well haue embraced the opportunity to v-
surpe a royall power, in these Countries which hee hath inuaded and
taken. The disdain of such things (as *Scipio* hath wisely done) sur-
passeth not onely humane nature, but a diuine. This magnanimity doth
so much excell other men, as no man would demand of the Gods a
greater fauour: I meane then a Crowne, the which hee hath so often
refused, being deliuered vnto him by fortune, and hath had his Country
in more esteeme, and his owne honour then the great command of a
royall power. Hee gaue leaue to all the Spaniards, being set a part,
to returne into their Country without ransom, except three hundred horse
whereof hee gaue the choise to *Andebale*, giuing the rest to those which
had not any. Finally, being now seized on the *Carthaginians* Campe,
hee stayed there in regard of the fertility of the Country, expecting the
Carthaginian Commanders which were remaining: hee also sent forces
to the toppes of the *Perence* Mountaines to watch *Asdruball*, and then
when the season was come hee retired to *Tarracena*, to winter his
Army there.

Hee returns to the History of the Grecians.

As the *Etolians* lifted vp their hornes for the new hope and confi-
dence they had in the *Romans*, and the arrival of *Attalus*, they
amazed all the world, making Warre by Land as *Attalus* and
Publius did by Sea, for this cause the *Acheims* intreate *Phillip* to suc-
cure them, for in truth they not onely feared the *Etolians*, but also
Machims, for that he had seized vpon the *Argiue* Mountaines with
an Army, the *Boecians* fearing the enemies Army at Sea, require a com-
mander and succours. The *Negrepontins* demanded instantly some pro-
vision against the enemy, the like did the *Acarmanians*, there was also
an Embassadour from the *Epirotes*, they said likewise that *Scordilaide*
and *Pleurate* assembled their Armies, and that moreover the *Thracians*,
who confine vpon *Macedony* would indeauour to assaile it if the King
should retire from thence, in regard of the *Etolians*, they had seized
vpon

vpon the straights of *Thermopiles*, and fortified them with Ditches,
Pallisadoes, and a great Garrison, hoping they should be able to keep
in *Philip*, and wholly to stoppe vp the passage in succouring his Allies
within *Pyles*.

These aduentures seemes worthy of Consideration, and not with-
out reason by the Readers, in the which is the true Experience and
practise of Princes according vnto their Corporall power. For as in
Hunting Beasts are mooued with their Forces and Power, when they
are engaged in an apparent danger, so it befalls Princes: the which they
might then discover in *Philip*. Hee dismisseth all the Embassadours,
promising them to doe what possibly hee could. His whole inclinati-
on was the Warre, expecting by what meanes and against whom hee
should first beginne. But when the forces of *Attalus* were come a-
gainst him, and had assailed the Iland of *Peparethon*, hee sends men
to guard the City: And dispatcheth *Polpharnes* with a small Army
towards *Phocaea* and *Beocia*, and *Menippus* to *Chalcis*, and the other
Negreponts, with a thousand Targetteers, and five hundred *Agrians*.
In regard of himselfe, hee went to *Scotase*, whether he Commanded
the *Macedonians* to repaire.

When he had newes that *Attalus* Army had taken the route of *Nicea*,
and that the Chiefe of the *Etolians* assembled at *Heraclaea*, to conferre
of the Affaires of the Warre, hee parts from *Scotase* with his Army,
and made hast to dissolue their Assembly. Hee arrived too late, yet
hee wasted their Corne, and after that hee had spoiled the Inhabi-
tants about the Gulfe of *Enee*, he returned, leaving his Army at *Scotase*,
and taking his way to the *Demetriade*: With his ablest men and
the royall Wing, hee stayed there expecting the coming of the E-
nemy. And to the end nothing should bee vnkowne vnto him, hee
sends to the *Peparethians*, and *Phociens*, and likewise to the *Negreponts*,
giving them charge to make him a signe by fire of all things
that should be done, vpon the *Tise* which is a Mountaine in *Thessaly*,
which in regard of the places is very commodiously situated. But as
this manner of signe by fire, is of great commodity for the Warre, and
hath formerly not bene vsed, I doe not hold it good to passe it, but in
this passage to make some reasonable mention. No man is ignorant
that opportunity and occasion are the principall parts in all things: But
much more in the profession of Warre, to bring enterprises to an end.
But among those things which are vscfull, fires are of great efficacy,
They vse them at this day, and are the cause of some opportunities,
to be able to aduertise him who hath the care of that which is done, al-
though it be three or foure dayes distant, or more: To the end that by
the signe of fire, they may suddainly giue succours vnto them that de-
mand it, although that in former times they haue held it of small mo-
ment, for that the most part knew not how to vse it. But the vse
ought to bee ordered and settled vpon certaine and determinate agree-
ments. But whereas things which they will signifie are not resolutely
set downe, they cannot make vse of these fires, as those are wherof wee
will speake.

If the Army at Sea were come to *Orea*, or *Peparethon*, or *Chalcis*, they might signifie it to those, with whom this hath bene resolved. But if any of the Cittizens will turne their Coates, or practise a Treason or Murder within the City, or any such thing as hath usually happened, and yet cannot be diuined (matters which happen suddainly and vnlookt for, haue neede according to the occasion, of Counsell and aide) yet it may be signified by fire. For of those which consideration cannot prevent, they cannot make any Conclusion. *Enes* seeking to correct this kinde of doubt and perplexitie, hath in few words made A the Commentaries, of the institution of the heads: And hath abundantly comprehended for the vnderstanding, the summe of those things which are required; the which may easily be discovered by this speech, saying: That they which will giue notice by the aduertisement of fire of any of great and pressing businesse, must make prouision of pots of earth, whose breadth and depth must be equall, and they must haue three foote in depth, and one and a halfe in breadth: Then hee must make slender Corkes in the mouth of it; in the midst whereof hee must tie them in equal parts of three fingers distant; and in euery part a great Circumference, in the which are also painted the most vulgar and generall things which happen in the profession of Warre. As by B the first, that Horse-men are suddainly entred the Countre: In the second, that foote-men armed; in the third, that men lightly armed: And consequently in others, that foote and Horse-men, or an Army at Sea, and that there is Corne. You must in this sort paint the things which do usually happen in Regions, according to the providence and C time of the motions of Warre.

This being done hee Commands to obserue dilligently the pots of the one and the other, so as the pipes may bee equall and runne equally: And when the pots shall be full of Water, they must put in the Corkes with stickes, and then let the pipes runne together. This happening it is apparent, that all being equall, the Corkes of necessity abate D the Water runnes, and the stickes hide themselves in the Vessels. When these things are equally ordered, and they are to vse them, then they must transport them to the places, where the one and the other are to obserue the fires, and then must set them on either side vpon the Vessels. Finally, in what thing fouer that any portraite of the stickes shall fall, hee ordaines they should set vp a light which must continue vntill the Deputies answer him with the same. And when both fires are discovered, then hee must take them away and suffer the pipes to runne. But as for the falling of the Corke and the stickes, that which of the Images shall approach vnto the brinke of the pot which wee will let you see, hee orders that they shall set vp a light: and that they should stoppe the pipes, and see what image of those which are figured vpon the stickes comes to the brinke.

This may be done when as all the things which they manifest, are of either side moued with the same dilligence. That which may be in some sort by a light set vp by agreement to serue for an aduertisement, vnlesse they be vnderdetermined: For it is impossible to see fu-

ture

The aduise of
Enes touching
signes by fire.

future things, or that that bee figured vpon the stickes which wee foresee. Finally if by Fortune any vnexpected accident happens, it is certain that it cannot be declared by this inuention: Nor any thing of that which is figured in the stickes be determined. They cannot giue aduertisement of the number of Horse-men or of foot, or of ships, nor of the quantitie of Corne. For wee cannot dispose of things, whereof the knowledge cannot be made before they be done. And by consequence how can any man resolve of succours, if he knowes not the multitude A of the Enemies, and the place where they are? How can a man worke safely, or otherwise? Or how can hee plot any Enterprize, which knowes not the number of the Enemies, nor the quantitie of Corne which is come vnto them from their Allies?

Another kinde
of aduertise-
ment by fire in-
uenced by Cle-
menes and De-
mocrates.

A latter kinde hath bene inuenced by *Clemenes* and *Democrates*. In regard of that which is vulgar and of ready vse, we haue determined: the which may aduertise exactly all that which is necessary to bee knowne. The vse whereof requires dilligence, and an exact obseruation; and it is in this manner. You must diuide the Letters according to their order in five parts, every one consisting of five: But in the ende there shall want one, which is no matter of Consequence. And when B as they which shall make vse of lights for an aduertisement, shall prepare five little Tables, and write vpon either of them the parties according to their order, and then they agree together, that hee which giues the aduertisement, shall set vp the first lights and two together, which shall not bee taken away vntill the other hath answered in like manner. This serues to the end that by this light they may vnderstand, that they are discovered. These others being taken away, they must shew the first which are on the left hand, and declare by the Table the things whereunto they must haue a care. As if the first Table he lifted C vp, it signifies one: if the second two, and so consequently. They must also lift vp those which are on the right hand, after the same manner, to aduertise what letters he shall write that takes the light: When they which haue agreed together vpon these matters, come vnto the place, they must first haue a Dioptré, having two Cauels: to the end that hee that is to lift vp the light right against it, may see the place both on the right hand and left.

The Tables must bee fixed straight and by order, neere vnto the Dioptré, and the places on the right hand and the left must bee separated ten foote, and the height of a man. Moreover they must be careful that the lights may be visible when they set them vp, and likewise D hidden when they take them downe. These things being thus prepared on eyther side, and that they haue an intent to giue some aduertisement, as that a hundred Souldiers are retired to the Enemy, they must first vse the Dictions which by the small Letters may signifie that which we haue said; as that a hundred (*Candyots*) haue abandoned vs. The letters now are lesse, and yet that is signified. This which is written in the Table will shewe it selfe thus. The first letter is thus *, the which is in the second part and second Table: they must also set vp the lights vpon the left hand, to the end that he which hath the charge, may vnder-

Kyōros.

stand

stand

stand that he must looke to the other Table. Then on the right hand he must set vp fire, to let him know that this is the fifth Letter on the right hand, the which hee which obserues the lights, must write in the Table. Then wherefore hee must lift vp two on the right hand, which signifies the second of the fourth part: For this cause hee that obserues the Lights, writes the letter, and so consequently of the rest. By this meanes whatsoeuer happens, it may be certainly knowne, following this inuention. Moreover they must haue many lights, for that there must be two to euery Letter. And if any one doth duly obserue these things, which serue to this vse, that which is required may be done. Moreover, they which make vse of these two inuentions, must giue order when as they will vse them, to be able to giue full and certaine signes. Whosoever please, may easily know in many kinds how great soeuer the difference of the sayd things make shew of, and which they haue bene accustomed to obserue. For many things not onely difficult, but which seeme impossible hauing gotten the succession of time and custome, become most easie.

There are many and diuers examples which deserue credite; but the most excellent is that which happens in the Arte of reading. If any one instructs a man without Experience, and not accustomed to read, although hee be industrious, and that finally hee produceth an infant bred vp to it, and that a Booke being giuen him hee appoints him to read the Contents, it is manifest that the other will not beleue, that hee can know first how hee may by the looking of it read euery letter, know their powers, and how they ought to be ioyned, forth at either of the said things require much time. Wherefore when he hath not attained this Art, and sees this little Boy continue with one breath fixe or fixe lines, he would neuer easily beleue, but that hee hath formerly read the Booke. And if moreover he hath a good pronounciation, and obserues the points, aspirations, and pauses, he will not be perswaded and beleue no more.

Wherefore wee must not disdain any thing that is profitable, in regard of the euident difficulty: But we must apply our selues to that which makes all good things comprehensible to men, and namely in those wherein most commonly the supreme safetie doth consist. Wee haue vnderaken to speake these things, according vnto that which we haue promised in the beginning. For wee haue said that all Speculations haue so preuailed with vs, as for the most part they are methodicall Sciences. Wherefore it is a very profitable portion of a well composed History.

Of



Of Antiochus.

A



He *Aspiens* dwell betwixt *Oxus* and *Tanais*: Of which Riuer, the one falls into the *Hyrcanian* Sea, and *Tanais* into the Lake of *Meotis*. They are Nauigable for their greatnesse: So it seemes wonderfull how the *Tartarians* passing *Oxus* aswell by foote as Horse-backe, come into *Hyrcania*. There are two opinions conceived: The one is credible, the other strange although possible. *Oxus* draws his Springs from Mount *Concasus*, but augmented much in *Bactria* by the descent of smaller Riuer, it passeth by a violent Course by the Country of *Pedia*. There it falls into a Desert, and runs with a violent streame, thorough certaine Rockes and Pits, for the great number and vehement beating of the places lying vnder it, so as its violence ouer-flows the Rocks in the lower Countries about a Furlong. By this place neere vnto the Rocks the *Aspiens*, as they say, passing the Riuer both on Foot and Horse-backe, descend into *Hyrcania*. The other opinion hath a more propable reason, saying, that for that place hath great Ditches, into the which this Riuer falls with its force, shee makes hollow and opens the bottome by the violence of her Course: And by this meanes the Riuer takes its course vnder ground, for a small space, and then riseth againe. The *Barbarians* hauing experience hereof, passe there on Horse-backe into *Hyrcania*.

When as *Antiochus* was aduertised, that *Euthideme* was about *Tagure* with an Army, and that a thousand Horse kept the passage of the Riuer of *Aria*, hee proceedes and resolues to besiege it, hauing no more confidence in his resolution. And when he was within three daies journey of the Riuer, he marcht the two first slowly: And on the third hauing fed his men, hee causes his Campe to march at the breake of day: Then taking the Horse-men and his strongest souldiers, with a thousand Targetteers, he makes hast in the night. Hee had vnderstood that the enemies Caualery was at the guard of the Riuer in the day time, but at night they retired to a City some twenty Furlongs off. When hee had performed the rest of the way in the night (for those Countries were conuenient for Horse-men) hee past the Riuer at the break of day with the greatest part of his Army. The *Bactrian* Horse-men being aduertised by their Scouts, crye out and fight with the Enemy vp on the way.

The King seeing that hee was to maintaine their first Charge, giues Courage to those which had bene accustomed to accompany him in

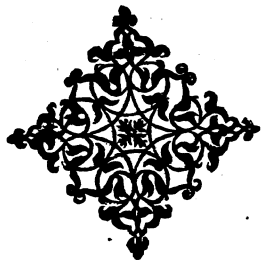
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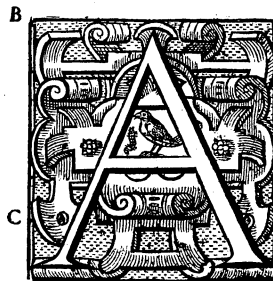
A skirmish of
the *Bactrians*
with *Antiochus*.

such encounters, which were two thousand Horse: and commands the rest to cast themselves betwixt both, with their Troupes put into battaile as of custome. Finally, hee fights with the *Bactrian* Horse which presented themselves. *Antiochus* seemed in this danger to haue fought more valiantly then his men: so as many perished on either side. Yet the Kings men defeated the first troupe of Horse: But when the second and the third charged them, they were repuls'd turning their heads basely. But when as *Etole* had giuen charge to the great power of the Horse to march in Battaile, he freed the King and his Company, terrifying the *Bactrians* who were in disorder, and put them to flight. Wherefore when they were charged by all the *Etolians*, they ceased not to sic vntill hauing made a great losse they were ioyned vnto *Euthideme*. And when as the Kings Horse-men had made a great slaughter, and taken many in the City, they presently retired, and planted their Campe neere the River. It happened that in this same Combate *Menippe* was wounded and dyed, loosing some of his Teeth with a blow: Finally, hee purchased a renowne of Valour.

After this Combate *Euthideme* retired with his Army to *Zariaffe* a City of the *Bactrians*.



A PARCELL OF the Eleuenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.



Asdrubal did not allow of any of these things. Bur (seeing the Enemies march in Battaile) when as matters changed not, hee caused the Spaniards and *Gauls* that were with him to fight. Setting the Elephants in Front, beeing ten in number, and after hee had ioyned the Bartillions close, vnited, and in length, and had put all the Army in battaile in a short time, casting himselfe in the midst of the Ordonance neere to the Elephants, hee assailes the Enemy vpon the left flank, hauing resolved to

die in that battaile. The *Lybian* presents himselfe with great Courage to the enemy, and in charging fights valiantly with his troupes. *Claudius Nero* one of the Consuls, appointed for the right side could not ioine with the enemy, nor yet inclose them, for the vneuenesse of the ground: wherein *Asdrubal* trusting, he had charged the enemy on the left hand. Wherefore as he was perplexed and in doubt, for that he lost time, hee learned what he had to doe. Taking therefore the Souldiers of the right wing, he goes beyond his Campe neere vnto a passage behind the Battaile and on the left hand, and giues a charge vnto the *Carthaginians*, neere vnto the wing where the Elephants had their station. At that time the Victory wauered. For in truth the danger was equall of both sides, considering that neither *Romans*, Spaniards, nor *Carthaginians* had any hope of safety remaining, if they were frustrated of their intention. Finally, the Elephants were of vse to both of them in the fight: For

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when

when they were inclosed in the midst, and assailed with Darts they aswell brake the ranks of the Spaniards, as of the *Romans*. But when as *Claudius* Troupe had charged the enemy in the rear, the Combate was vnequall, for the charge given vnto the Spaniards both in Front and behind. So as it happened that in the beginning of the Combate, there was a great slaughter made of Spaniards: So likewise there were sixe Elephants slaine by the force of the men they carried: the other foure brake their rances: being alone and destitute of their Indians they were taken.

And when as *Asdrubal* had bene formerly and vnto his ende an able man, hee lost in fighting valiantly his life, worthy to be commended. Hee was brother to *Hannibal*, who vndertaking the Voyage of *Italy*, gaue him the Conduct of the Warres of *Spain*. And afterwards being practised by many encounters against the *Romans*, hee hath indured many and variable Fortunes: And in this also that the *Carthaginians* sent Commanders to succcede him, hee alwaies carried himselfe like a man worthy of his Father *Barca*, bearing vnto the ende like a man of Courage all disgraces and losses. Wee haue declared these things in regard of the precedent. But now we will decide the last Combats, in that which seemes worthy of Consideration.

Seeing before our eyes many Kings and Commanders which hauing great Combates concerning their whole estates, haue alwayes cast their eyes vpon the most excellent Actions, and of Consequence; and who often enquire and Discourse how they shall helpe themselves in euery good Fortune: And who moreouer care not for mischances, nor consider of the meanes, nor that which they are to doe in euery action and euent: For that this other is in their hands, and this requires a great preparation. And therefore many hauing bene vanquished, carry themselves poorly by their basenesse and inconsiderations: Although that the Souldiers haue many times fought valiantly, and with good direction: And haue by this means dishonoured their precedent actions, making the rest of their Liues infamous. It is an easie thing for him that will know how many Commanders faile, and are frustrated heerein, and that there is much difference betwixt man and man. Precedent times haue afforded many examples in these things. In regard of *Asdrubal* he was no lesse prouident in dangers, then for his safety, whilest he had any hope conformable to reason, to be able to do any thing worthy of his Predecessours. But when as Fortune had deprived him of all hope for the future, and had concluded him to his last end: omitting nothing for the Victory, nor that which concerned the preparation and danger, hee carried himselfe like a man of prouidence: And although that all was in danger, yet hee obeyed the present time, neither did he suffer any thing vnworthy of his Predecessors. Behold the reason which I haue deliuered concerning those which apply themselves to the manning of Warre: to the ende that vndertaking dangers rashly, they draw not them into despaire which are vnder their Charge, nor by desire of an infamous life, they make their deaths dishonorable and blame worthy.

The

The *Romans* hauing gotten the Victory by force, presently brake the Pallisadoe of the Enemy, and kill like Sacrifices many *Celts* sleeping in Drunkenesse vpon their Maistresses, and assemble together the rest of the Prisoners: By the which there did accrew nine score thousand Crownes to the Common-weale. There died in this Bataille as well of *Carthaginians* as *Gauls*, neare ten thousand men, and about two thousand *Romans*. Some Nobles among the *Carthaginians* were taken, the rest were slaine. When this Newes came to *Rome*, they were scarce beleueed for that they desired wonderfully to see it done, but as there came many men declaring not onely what had bene done, but euery thing in particular, then the City entered into an immoderate ioy: all the Temples were adorned, and fill'd with Sacrifices and Oblations: Finally, they grew so confident and assured, as at that time they did not thinke that *Hannibal* (whom they had formerly so much feared) was in *Italy*.



An Oration to the *Etolians* of the Warres of *Greece*.

My Masters the *Etolians*, I thinke it is very manifest that King *Ptolomy*, the Citizens of *Rhodus* and *Constantinople*, with those of *Chio* and *Miteline* make no great accompt of your League. It is not the first nor the second time that wee haue treated with you of Peace: But euen at that time when you moued Warre, applying your selfe vnto it, and embracing all occasions, wee haue not ceas'd to admonish you. Now we conjecture the ruine of your selues and the *Macedonians*, and for the future we are in care for your health and for all *Greece*. As fire thrust into a Forrest is no more in his power that hath kindled it, but consumes all that it encounters: Being moreouer governed by the Winds, and by the consumption of the Forrest, and that many times it sweepes away suddenly the Incendiary himselfe: so the Warre being once inflamed by some, ruines them first: Then it runnes without reason, destroying all things it encounters, agitated by rashnesse, and the headlesnesse of those which kindle it, as it were driven by the Winds. Wherefore my Masters the *Etolians*, seeing that the Islanders, and the *Grecians* which inhabite *Asia*, doe often sue vnto you: that disdaining Warre, you would make choise of Peace, for that the case concerns you: resume your fences, consenting with those who with reuerence admonish you. If with some good fortune you did marriage a Warre which

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were

were profitable, commodious, and glorious (it is that vndoubtedly which they expect most therein) according to your first intention and designe of euents, they might with reason pardon you as men of great courage. This Warre is altogether infamous, full of ignominy, and cursed, is it not necessary to say and deserue it? Advice without doubt should be freely given, you will heare (if you be wise) my words patiently. It is much better for you to be preferred with a commodious reprehention, then in hearing pleasing words, to perish the first soone after: and then subsequently the rest of Greece, let your ignorance before your eyes. You say you make Warre against Philip for Greece, to the end that being preferred they should not obey his Commandments: But in truth you make Warre to its ruine and defeat. It is that which your accord with the Romans declare, the which in the beginning consisted in writing, but now they are scene in actions. The letters were then dishonourable vnto you, but at this day they are visible to the eye, and manifest by your workes. Finally, Philip carries the Name, and is made the colour of this Warre: although hee suffers nothing that is grievous: But as he hath many Allies in *Morea*, as the *Beocians*, *Negrepontins*, *Phociens*, *Locrines*, *Thessalians* and *Epirotes*, you haue concluded against them vnder conditions, that the bodies and moueable goods should belong to the Romans, and the Cities and Countries to the *Etolians*.

But as you are Lords of this City, you would not endure they should offend any Free-man, nor set fire of your City, holding such actions cruell and barbarous: and yet you haue made a League, according to the which you haue deliuered the rest of Greece to Barbarians as your owne by gift, by an outrage and a most ignominious iniustice. These are the things which in the beginning you vnderstood not: But at this day you are made manifest vnto the World by the misery of the poore *Oretins* and *Eginettes*, for that Fortune hath of purpose rais'd your ignorance vpon a Theater. The beginning of this Warre and of the actions which happen are such. But what can wee expect more, if in the end all things succeed according to your desire: shall it not be a beginning of great miseries to all the *Grecians*? Beleeue me, that after the Romans haue ended the Warre in Italy (the which will soone happen, *Hannibal* being shut vp in a Corner of *Bruttia*) they will employ all their forces against Greece, vnder colour to giue succours to the *Etolians* against Philip, but the truth is to make all Greece subiect: the which will soone be manifest. For whether they are resolu'd to carry themselves like honest and honourable persons, hauing the Victory, the thanks shall be theirs: If otherwise they shall haue the profits of the Defeates, and the power ouer them that escape. Then you will call vpon the Gods, when as none of them or any man will offer to assist you. You should then in the beginning fore-see all things: This was lawfull for you. But as many future things are out of humane prouidence, now at the least you should take a better aduice, hauing scene the event of this Warre. I intreate you and exhort you not to enuy your owne safety and liberty, nor that of the rest of Greece.

And

An accord be-
twixt the Ro-
mans and the
Etolians.

And when by his Speech (as he conceived) somewhat moued the opinions of many, *Philips* Embassadour entred: who leauing the things which might be spoken in particular, he sayd, that he had two points in charge: That if the *Etolians* brake the peace, he was ready to appeale vnto the Gods, and to the *Grecian* Embassadours there present, that they were to be held for the Authors of those things which hereafter should fall vpon Greece, and not Philip. Glory saith he, doth much amaze the Enemy, but a reasonable preparation of Armes is of greater seruice for necessity. Then they should doe that which is necessary, if they transerre the diligence and care which they haue at this day for their apparrell, to the preparation of their Armes, obseruing in their apparrell the ancient negligence. For by this means they may giue order for their priuate course of life, and preserve their Common-wealth. And therefore (saith he) it is not needfull that he which giues himselfe to Armes, and to the profession of Warre, should looke when he pines on his Boots, whether they be handsome, and if his strops and pinables be braue: nor whether his Cloake and Iacket be rich, when he must put on a Head-peece. Beleeue me, the danger is manifest which they must expect, which haue an exteriour shew in more commendation then things necessary. Finally, it were fit they should consider, that this curiosity in habits fauoured of a woman, I meane that is not much chaste: whereas the charges in Armes and seuerity, restraîne a good man, desiring to preferue himselfe and his Countrey.

All the assistants found this Speech so good, in wondring at the aduice of this remonstrance, that after they were gone out of the Court, they pointed at those that were richly clad; forcing some to leaue the place: and finally, they prepared themselves to Armes and to make Warre accordingly. Behold how one sole Oration pronounced by a man of esteeme and in season, not onely retires men from great vices, but also incites them to great Enterprizes: But if he which giues good aduice, leads a life answerable to his words, it is necessary that his counsell should purchase credit: the which happened in this man. He was sober and simple in his apparrell and liuing, and in the vsage of his body. Finally, he was of a pleasing speech without enuy and rancour. He studied wonderfully to be found veritable in all his life, and therefore when he vsed any ordinary speech, the Auditors gaue him great credit. And as his life serued for an example in all things, so the Auditors had no great neede of any long Discourse. Wherefore he hath often in few words, by his credit and knowledge in things, ouerthrowne the long speeches which seemed to haue beene deliuered sufficiently by the Enemies. When the Councell was ended, euery man retired to his Countrey: And in commending as well the man as his words, they had a conceite that they could not doe amisse vnder his government.

Finally, *Philopemen* went speedily to the Cities to make preparation for the Warre. Then he trained vp a multitude assembled: and when he had not employed eight Moneths in the preparation of these forces, he leads his Army to *Mantineia* to fight with the Tyrant for the liberty of all *Morea*. *Machabides* likewise taking courage, and thinking

Philopemen
makes Warre
against *Macha-*
bides, Tyrant
of *Laconia*.

thinking to prevail over the *Acheins* at his pleasure, giues the *Lacedaemonians* to vnderstand the things that were then necessary, as soone as hee was aduertised of the assembly of the *Tegians* at *Mantinia*: Then suddainly the next day at Sun-rising he takes his way towards *Mantinia*, marching on the right wing with the Legionaries, and placing the Mercenaries on the right and left, going a slow pace in the beginning of his voyage: He addes moreover Charlots carrying a great abundance of instruments of Warre and Crof-bowes.

At the same time *Philopomen* hauing diuided his Army into three, A he caused the *Sclauonians* and *Corsets* to goe forth by the Gate which tends to the Temple of *Neptune*, and withall the strangers and strong men: then by that which lookes to the West, the Legionaries: and the Horse-men of the City by the next. Moreover, he seized (with the best of his aduenturers) of a little Hill lying right against the City, the which extends vpon the way of strangers and the Temple of *Neptune*. And ioyning the *Corsets*, he lodgeth them on the South, ordering the *Sclauonians* in a place neare vnto them. Then casting the Legionaries behind them in a round, he lodgeth them in the space neare the Ditch which drawes to *Neptunes* Temple, by the midst of the *Mantiniens* Plaine, and ioynes vpon the Mountaines neare vnto *Elisafastens*. He orders moreover vpon the right wing the *Acheian* Horse-men, of which *Arisbonete* of *Dymee* had the leading: and vpon the hee had all the Strangers, hauing their distinct Ordonance amongst them.

When the Enemies Army approacht, he comes to the Legionaries, admonishing them in few words, but with the efficacy of the present danger. But most part of his words were not heard: for the multitude prest the cause so much for the affection they bare him, and the impetuosity of the people, that the Army as it were moued with a certaine diuine fury, perswaded him to worke without feare. Finally, C he endeauoured (if time would haue permitted him) to declare vnto them diligently, how this present danger concerned some in regard of infamy and a base seritude, and others in regard of liberty alwayes memorable and glorious. Moreover, *Machanides* instructs first the Battalion of the Legionaries which they call *Orthis*, that it should fight with the right wing of the Enemies. Then he marcheth, and after he had gain'd a meane space, makes the forme of a Snail, and drawes his Army in length, putting his right wing in Front to the left of the *Acheins*. In regard of the Targetteers, he placeth them before the whole Army with some space.

Philopomen seeing his attempt, who thought by the Targetteers to D glue a Charge to the Legionary Bands which offended the Souldiers, and caused a great alarm in the Army, so as hee delayed no longer, making vse in effect of the *Torrentins* at the beginning of the Combate neare to *Neptunes* Temple, vpon the Plaine which was commodious for Horse-men. *Machanides* seeing this, is forced to doe the like, and to cause the *Torrentins* (which were with him) to march. Finally, they fought valiantly in the beginning. But when those that were lightly

The order of
Philopomen's
Battaille.

The order of
Machanides' Army.

lightly armed, preuailed something ouer them that were weaker, it fell out in a short time that the Combate began of either side betwixt the forreine Souldiers. And when as they had ioyned together, and had fought long like braue men, the danger was equall, so as the rest of the Armies, expecting the issue of the Battaille, could not fight there, for that many times both the one and the other in fighting, exceeded their first station. Yet the Tyrants souldiers had for a time the better, considering their multitude and dexterity, with their Armes and Experience. The which did not happen without cause. For as the multitude in Comminalties, is more cheerefull in Combats in Warre, then the Subiects which are Enemies to Tyrants, so strange Souldiers taking pay of Monarches, excell those of Common-weales. And as some Subiects fight for liberty, and some are in danger of seritude, some also of the Mercenaries fight for a certaine profit, others for the defence of their Liues. But a popular power puts not her liberty into the hands of Mercenaries, after they haue defeated their Enemies: Whereas a Tyrant the greater Enterprize he makes, the more souldiers he hath need off. For as he doth more outrages, so he hath more watchers ouer his life.

The safety then of Monarches consists in the good affection, and B forces of his forreine Souldiers. Wherefore then it hapned that the forreine Souldiers fought with such great Courage and Resolution, as the *Sclauonians* and *Horacites* being in front of them could not indure their Charge: flying all as repuls'd towards *Mantinia*, leauen Furlongs distant. Then that which some men held in doubt was made plaine and certaine. It is manifest that many actions in Warre breed Experience of things, so do they ignorance. It is a great matter for him that hath purchas'd Authority in the beginning, to extend it farther: But it is a farre greater matter to fixe vpon him whose first attempts haue not bene successfull: and to consider the indiscretion of the unfortunate, and to obserue their faults.

You shall oftentimes see that they which seeme to haue the better, are within a short space frustrated of all in generall: And againe, they which at the first were beaten, haue by their industry restored all: the which appeared then betwixt these two Princes. For when the bands of Souldiers which the *Acheins* had wauered, and that the left wing was broken, *Machanides* leauing his good Fortune and the Victory of those of the Wing, and to assaile the others in Front, and finally to attend the Victory, he did nothing of all this, but scattered with the Mercenaries, without order like a young man, he pursued the Chase, as if feare had not bene able to pursue those which fled vnto the Gates. The Chiefe of the *Acheins* employed all his power to stay the Mercenaries with cries and perswasions, calling to the rest of their Commanders. But when he saw them forcibly repuls'd, he was not amazed if they turned head, or despairing, abandoned the place, but he with-drew the Wing which charged and pursued them. And when the place where the danger was, was abandoned, he sent presently to the first Legionaries, that they should couer themselves with their

The safety of
Monarches.

their Targets; and in keeping order he went speedily before. Being come suddainly to the place abandoned, hee defeated the pursuers, hauing great aduantage vpon the Enemies battailion. Hee likewise perswaded the Legionaries to haue a good Courage and resolution, and not to budge, vntill hee gaue them order to march close in Battaille against the Enemy. And as for *Polybius* the *Megalopolitaine*, hauing gathered together the remainder of the *Sclauonians* which had turned Head, with the armed men and the Strangers, he enioynes him to haue a great care to keepe the Battallion in good order, and to looke to those which were retired from the Chafe. The *Lacedemonians* likewise resuming Courage and strength, for that they were esteemed the most valiant, charged the Enemies with their Iauelings without Command.

And as in this pursuite they were come vnto the brinke of the Ditch, and had no more time to returne, for that they were in the Enemies hands, and that finally they forsooke and disdained the Ditch, for that it had many descents, and was drie and without Trees, they ranne into it without any discretion. As this occasion offers it selfe against the Enemy, *Philopomen* hauing fore-seene it long before, he then Commaunded all the Legionaries to aduance with their Iauelings. And when as all the *Acheins* with one resolution had cast themselves vpon the Enemies with horrible cries, hauing formerly broken the battalion of the *Lacedemonians*, descending into the Ditch, they turne Head with great Courage against the Enemy which held the higher ground. It is true, that a great part was defeated as well by the *Acheins* as their owne men. That which I haue spoken happens not by chance, but by the prouidence of the Commaunder, who had suddainly made this Ditch. *Philopomen* fled not from the Battaille as some had conceiued: But considering and aduising dilligently like a good Commaunder of all things in particular, that if *Machanides* should lead his Army thither, it would happen that by ignorance of the Ditch, he would fall into danger with his Battailion, as it succeeded in Effect. And if considering the difficulty of the Ditch, hee should seeme to feare and turne Head, hee should then be wonderfully frustrated of his Enterprize and Designe, for that hee should haue the Victory without fight, *Machanides* beeing defeated by a vnfortunate disaster. It had happened to many which had undertaken a Battaille, that finding themselves insufficient to ioyne with the Enemy, some in regard of the diaduantage of places, others for the multitude, and some for other causes, and by this same meanes D shewing and expressing themselves in their flight to bee of little Experience, some hoping to be stronger vpon the Reare, and others that they might escape the Enemy safely. Among the which were these Commaunders.

But *Philopomen* was not deceived in his fore-sight: by whose endeavour it happened, that the *Lacedemonians* made a speedy flight. And when hee saw his Legions to vanquish, hee laboured to bring that vnto an ende which remained of an absolute Victory. Which

was

was, that *Machanides* should not escape, and therefore knowing him to be at the pursuite of the Chafe, on that side of the Ditch which lay towards the City with his Mercenaries, had not bene retired and with drawne, he attends his comming. But when as *Machanides* flying after the Chafe, saw his Army turne head, and hearing that all hope was lost for him, he laboured with his forreine Souldiers in turning head, to escape thorough the Enemies dispersed, and scatted in their Chafe. Whereunto they likewise hauing regard, staid with him in the beginning, feeding themselves with the same hope of safety. A But when as at their comming they saw the *Acheins* keepe the Bridge vpon the Ditch, then all amazed they abandon him and fled, euery man looking to his owne preferuation. And when the Tyrant despaird of the passage of the Bridge, he went directly to the Ditch, and endeauours to finde a passage.

Philopomen knowing the Tyrant by his purple Robe, and the capture of his Horse, leaues *Polybius* there, and giues him charge to keepe the passage carefully, not sparing any of the Mercenaries, for that most commonly they fauour and support the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. In regard of himselfe, he takes *Polyene*, *Cyparisset*, and *Simie*, of whom he then made vse, marching against the Tyrant and his Company on the other side of the Ditch. *Machanides* had at that time two men with him, that is to say, *Anaxidamus* and a strange Souldier: When hee prest his Horse to take a certaine commodious passage of the Ditch, *Philopomen* doubling vpon him, gaue him a mortall wound with a Iaueling, and soone after another, killing the Tyrant valiantly. The like happened to *Anaxidamus* by the Horse-men which marcht with him. The third man despairing of the passage, escaped the danger by flight, whilest they slew the other two. After their death *Simies* Company stript them, and brought away the Head and Armes of the Tyrant, to make his death knowne vnto the Troupes: whereby they might with more diligence pursue the Enemies into their City: the which serued much to moue the Commons. For by this meanes they reduced the City of *Teges* vnder their obedience: after which prize they camped neare vnto the Riuer of *Erota*, after they had made themselves Maisters of the Champion Countrey. And as they could not chase the Enemy out of their Countrey for a long time, they then wasted all the *Lacedemonian* Prouinces without feare, hauing lost few men in Battaille, and the *Lacedemonians* about foure thousand, besides many Prisoners, and the taking of all their Baggage and Armes.

Machanides
slaine.
Anaxidamus
slaine.

Teges taken

Tt

Of



Of Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

The excellency
of Hannibal.



And therefore who will not wonder at the government, vertue and power of this man, in his valiant exploits of War decided in Field, having regard to the length of time, and knowing *Hannibal* as well in Battails as encounters, as in sieges of Townes, alterations, and euents of times, and in the fullness of all the Enterprizes and resolutions, according to the which hee hath made Warre in *Italy* against the *Romans* for the space offeuenteene yeares, and hauing neuer broken vp his Campe, but kept it still entire as vnder a good Leader, and commanded so great a multitude either without mutiny towards him or among themselves, although he did not employ in his Army men of one Nation, nor of one Race. He had vnder his command *Lybians*, *Spaniards*, *Pheicians*, *Italians*, and *Grecians*: among the which the Lawes nor customes, nor the Language had any thing common. But the industry of the Commander made this great multitude of different Nations obedient to the Commandments of one man, according to his desire: although the Euents were not alwayes answerable, but diuers: and that many times Fortune smiled vpon him, and was sometimes opposit. These things considered, you may safely say (in wondring at the vertue of this Commander, in that which concerns this point) that if hee had first assailed the other Countreies of the World, and then the *Romans*, he would haue preuailed in all that he had attempted. But seeing at this day hee hath begun the Warre against those which hee should haue assailed last, hee hath made both the beginning and the ending.

Asdrubal hauing drawne together the Souldiers from those places where they had wintred, prepares for his voyage, and camps neare vnto a City called *Elinge*, building a Pallisadoe on the side of the Mountaine, with plaine spaces before, fit for skirmishes and encounters. Hee had three score and ten thousand Foote, foure thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants. *Publius Scipio* on the other side defends *Marum Inimio* to *Loebis* to receive the Bands which hee had leuiet: being three thousand Foote and fise hundred Horse. In regard of the other Allies, he accompanies them, taking his way to the place appointed.

When hee was come to *Camlongue*, and to the places which were about *Beyle*, and had ioyned his Army with *Marum*, and with

Diuers Nations
vnder the lea-
ding of Hanni-
bal.

Asdrubal camps
necreto *E-
linge*.

Publius Scipio
drawes his Ar-
my together.

with the Troupes of *Colichante*, he fell into a great perplexity for the apparent dangers. For in truth he had not a sufficient *Roman* Army without the forces of the Allies to hazard a Battaille. It seemed an vn- safe thing, foolish, and rash for those which put their hope in the forces of their Allies to hazard a Battaille. But as he was for a time in suspence, and that the affaires concluded that he must vse the Allies; he came to fight with the *Spaniards*: to the end that by this meanes he might make the Enemy imagine that hee fought with his whole Army.

A This being resolu'd, he marches with all his Troups, being forty fise thousand Foot, and about three thousand Horse. And when he was neare the *Carthaginians*, so as he might well be discouered, he camps about certaine little Hills right against the Enemy. *Asdrubal* thinking to haue found a fit time to charge the *Romans* in Camping, he fell vpon their Campe with the greatest part of his Horse-men, and *Massinissa* with the *Numades*, hauing a conceite to surprize *Scipio* suddainly. But he hauing formerly fore-seene the future, he layd an Ambush of Horse-men behinde a certaine Hill, equall in number to those of the *Carthaginians*: who charging by surprize, many in the beginning turning head, in regard of this vnexpected Charge of the *Romans*, fell from their Horses, others affronting the Enemies fought valiantly. But for the dexterity of the *Roman* Horse-men in fighting, the *Carthaginians* being troubled and discontented, after some little resistance gaue backe, retiring in the beginning in good order: But when the *Romans* pursued them, they tooke their flight vnder the Campe. This done, the *Romans* assure themselves the more to vndergoe the danger: and the *Carthaginians* did the contrary. The dayes following they draw their Armies into the Plaine which lay betwixt them, and making skirmishes as well of Horse-men, as of their most valiant Foote, and trying one another they resolu'd to Battaille.

It seemed then that *Scipio* had practised a double stratagem. For when he saw *Asdrubal* slow in ordering of his forces, and to put the *Lybians* in the midit; and the Elephants vpon the two wings: Then as hee was accustomed to obserue the opportunity of the time, and to make head against the *Lybians* by *Romans*, and to mingle the *Spaniards* vpon the wings, on the day which hee resolu'd to fight, hee doth now the contrary, giuing by this meanes great comfort to his forces for the Victory, and weakening the Enemy. Presently at the Sunne-rising he giues all the Souldiers notice by men appointed, that all they which were to fight armed, should stand before the Pallisadoe. This done, when they had obeyed him cheertfully, for the hope they had conceiu'd for the future, he sends the Horse-men before, and the ablest Souldiers, giuing them charge to approach the Enemies Campe, and that in skirmishing courageously they should begin the Battaille. For his part, he marcheth at Sun-rising with the Foot-men. And being come into the midit of the field, he drew his Army in Battaille after another forme then he had bin accustomed. For he put the

Asdrubal charg-
eth the *Ro-
mans*.

A suddaine
charge of the
Romans against
the *Carthaginians*.

The double poi-
nt of *Scipio*.

Scipio puts his
men in battaille
with the
Spaniards.

Spaniards in the midst, and the *Romans* vpon the wings. When as the Horse-men approacht the Pallisadoe, and that the rest of the Army was in sight and ready, the *Carthaginians* had scarce time to arme.

Asdrubal puts
his men in Bat-
taile.

Asdrubal being then forced to drawe the valiantest of his men to field against the *Romans*, being yet fasting without preparation and in haste both the Foot-men and Horse-men: and to plant his Army of Foot-men not farre from the Mountains, and the Ordonance in the Plaine as they had beene accustomed. The *Romans* stayed some time: but for that the day was well advanced, and that the Combat of either side A was vncertaine and equall, and that there was danger that they which should be prest, turning head, would retire vpon their Battalions, then *Scipio* retiring the Skirmishers by the space betwixt the Ensignes, he diuides them vpon the wings after those which had beene formerly appointed. Then he giues order to assaile the Enemy in Front, first to the Iaelings, and then with Horse-men: and being a Furlong from the Enemy, he commands the *Spaniards* which were in Battaile, to march in the same order, and that they should turne the Ensignes vpon the right hand, and they of the left doing the contrary. And when he began on the right side, *Lucius Marcius* and *Marcus Iunius* led three B braue Troups of Horse-men on the left hand, and before were those which were lightly armed and accustomed to the Warre, with three Bands of Foot-men (the *Romans* call a Band of Foot-men a Cohort) to whom the Targeteers ioyned on the one side, and the Archers on the other.

In this sort they marched against the Enemy, making by this meanes an attempt with effect, considering the continuall repaire of those which ioyned with them by files. As by chance these men were not farre from the Enemy, and that the *Spaniards* which were on the wing were farther off, as they which marched a slow pace, they C make an attempt vpon the two Battalions of the Enemy, drawne in length with the *Roman* forces, according to that which had beene resolved in the beginning. The following alterations (by the meanes whereof it happened that they which followed, ioyned with the former, encountering the Enemies in a direct line, had betwixt them diuers orders) so as the right Battalion had on the left side the Foot-men mingled with the Horse. For the Horse-men which were on the right wing, mingling with the Iaelings of the Foot lightly armed, laboured to inclose the Enemies. The Foot-men on the other side couered themselves with their Targets. They which on the left hand were in the Troups charged with their Iaelings, and the Horse men accompanied with the Archers with their full speed. By this motion there was a left wing made of the right wing of the Horse-men, and of the most valiant Souldiers of the two Battalions: But the Commander made no great account, being more carefull to vanquish the enemy with the other Battalion: wherein he had good iudgement. We must know things as they are done, and use a fit obseruation according to the occasion offered.

By

By the charge of these men the Elephants assailed by the Archers, A and the Horse-men with Darts and Iaelings, and tormented of all sides were wounded, making as great a spoile of their Friends as of their Enemies. For they ran vp and downe and ouer-threw men of all sides, breaking the *Carthaginian* Battalions. In regard of that of the *Lybians* which held the middle part, and was of great seruice, it stood idle vnto the end. For not able to succour those which on the wings abandoned the place, by reason of the *Spaniards* charge: nor remaining in their station, doe that which necessity required: for that the Enemies which they had in Front, did not giue them Battaile.

It is true that the wings fought for a time valiantly: Considering that all was in danger. And as the heate was vehement, the *Carthaginians* brake, seeing that the end of the Combate succeeded not according to their desire, and that their chiefest preparation was hindered: The *Romans* on the other side had the aduantage both in force and courage: and in that principally, that by the prouidence of the Generall the best furnished among the *Carthaginians* were made vnprofitable. Wherefore *Asdrubal* being thus prest, retired in the beginning with a slow pace from the Battaile: Then turning in Troupe, he recovered the neighbour Mountains. And when as the *Romans* pursued them neare, they posted to their Pallisadoe. If some God had not preferred them, they had suddainly lost their Fort. But for that the disposition of the Aire changed, and the raine fell continually with violence, the *Romans* could hardly recover their Fort.

And although that *Publius Scipio* had sufficient experience of the Warre, yet he neuer fell into so great a doubt and perplexity, the Text. which happened not without reason. For as wee may fore-see and preuent exterior causes and discommodities of the Body, as cold, heate, labour, and wounds, before they happen: and cure them when they come: being on the other side difficult to fore-see those which proceed C from the Body, and are hardly cureable when they happen: we must iudge the same of policies and Armes. It is true, there is a speedy meanes and helpe to preuent the Warres and Ambushes of Strangers when they are contriued: But against those which the Enemy doth practise in the State, as seditions and mutinies, the Phisicke is difficult, and requires a great dexterity and singular industry in the government of affaires. But in my opinion one aduice is necessary for all Armies, Cities, and bodies politique: which is, that in that which concernes the things aboue mentioned, they neuer suffer too much sloth and idleness: especially in time of prosperity, and the abundance of all things necessary.

Scipio as a man of excellent diligence; and consequently industrious, The wisdom of *Scipio*. and aduise to manage great affaires, propounded a certaine course to decide the present combustions, after he had assembled the Captaines of thousands. He gaue order that they should promise vnto the Souldiers the restitution of the victuals and taxes: and to giue credit to his promise, they should leaue the ordinary taxes ordained in Cities diligently and openly for the reliefe of the whole Army, to the end

it might be apparent that this preparation was made for the institution of their Victualls. And that moreover, the Milleniers should command the Commissaries of the Victualls, and admonish them to haue a care, and to take charge of the Victualls: and that conferring among themselves, they should make knowne, if part of them or altogether would vndertake it. He sayd, that they must consider of that which was to be done. The others thinking of the same things, had a care of the Treasure. And when as the Milleniers had made knowne the things which had bene ordaind, *Scipio* being aduertised, imparted vnto the Councell that which was to be done. They concluded that they should resolute on the day when they were to appeare: So as the people should be sent backe, and the Authors severely punished: who were to the number of fise and thirty.

And when the Day was come, and the Rebels there present, as well to obtaine pardon, as for their Victualls, *Scipio* secretly commands the Captaines Milleniers, that they should goe and meete with the Rebels, and in choosing fise of the chiefe of the Mutiny (euery man carrying him selfe courteously at their encounter) they should bring them to his Pavillion: if this could not be done, yet at the least they should conuay them to the Banquet, and to this kind of assembly. And as for the Army which was with him, he gaue them notice three dayes before, to make prouision of Victualls for a long time: as if *Andobale* should goe to *Andobale* to fight: whereof the Rebels being aduertized, they were the more assured. They expected to enioy a great power, if (the rest of the Army being separated) they were admitted about a Commander, when they approacht neare the City, he commands the other Souldiers, that being prepared the day following, they should come forth at the breake of day. In regard of the Milleniers and Captaines, he giues them charge that after their coming forth of the City, they should stay the Souldiers in Armes at the Gate, hauing first lodg'd the Baggage: and that afterward they should diuide themselves by the Gates, and haue a care that none of the Rebels should escape. They which were appointed to receiue them, ioyning to those which came vnto them, entertained the offenders courteously according vnto that which had bene enioyned them. Their charge was to seaze vpon these men, at such time as they should be set at the Banquet, and to keepe them bound: So as not any of the Company being within should goe forth, but onely he that should aduertize the Commander what had bene done. Wherefore when the Milleniers had performed their Charge, the Generall seeing in the Morning following those to be assembled in the place which were assigned, he causeth an Assembly to be called. When the aduertisement was giuen, they all came running as of custome, whether it were with a desire to see the Commander, or to heare those things which were to be spoken of the present affaires. *Scipio* sends to the Milleniers which were at the Gates, and commands them to bring the Souldiers that were armed, and to enuiron the whole assembly: Then marching forth, he amazeth them all at the first sight. A great number in truth thought

publius Scipio
assembles his
Army.

thought that he was not well disposed: But when contrary vnto their opinions they found him found and safe, they were amazed at his presence. Finally, he vsed this Speech vnto them, saying, that hee wondred for what cause some of them were offended, or vnder what colour they were moued to attempt a Rebellion.

There are three causes for the which men presume to fall into a mutiny against their Princes and Countrey: VVhich are, when as they blame their Gouvernour, and indure them vnwillingly; or when they are offended with the present Government; or vpon a conception in their opinions of a greater and better hope. I demand of you, sayth he; which of these three hath moued you. Are you angry with me that I haue not deliuered you Victualls? It is not my fault. For you haue not wanted any Victualls vnder my Leading. It is the error of the *Romans* which haue not yeilded that vnto you now, which hath bene formerly due vnto you? Should you then accuse your Countrey, so as you should Rebel and become its Enemy, then being present to speake vnto me, and to intreate your friends to assist you? The which in my opinion had bene much better. It is true, a pardon may bee giuen vnto Mercenaries, if they abandon those from whom they receiue pay: But it is not fit to pardon such as carry Armes for themselves, their Wiues, and their Children. For it is euē like as a man should come vnto his Father, and charge him that he had villanously cozened him in matters of money, and kill him from whom he holds his life. Haue I oppress you more with toiles and dangers then the rest; giuing them more Commodities and profits then vnto you? In truth you dare not speake it, neither can you conuince me although you durst attempt it.

Three causes
of the peoples
mutiny against
Princes.

I cannot coniecture the cause for the which being incensed against me, you haue attempted this Rebellion. I would vnderstand the occasion from your selues. I thinke there is not any man among you that can alledge or pretend any thing. You cannot, in truth, be sad for the present. When was there euer greater abundance of all things, nor more prerogatiues of the City of *Rome*? When was there euer greater hope for Souldiers then there is at this day? Peraduenture some one of these desperate men will thinke that at this day the profits are greater in shew, and the Hope better and more firme with the Enemy. Which are they? Is it *Andobale* and *Mandonius*? Which of you doth not know that as they first falsified their Faith with the *Carthaginians* coming to vs? And that now againe they declared themselves our Enemies, inuiolating their oath and Faith? Were it not an honest and commendable thing, that in giuing them your Faith, you should become Enemies to your owne Countrey? And yet you haue no hope in them to enioy *Spaine*. You were not sufficient being ioyned to *Andobale* to fight with vs, neither yet alone. Whereto then did you ayme?

I would know it from your selues, if you haue put your confidence in the Experience and Vertue of the Captaines which now are appointed you, or in the Rods and Maces which march before them, where-

of there is no honesty to vse any longer Discourse. But in truth there is nothing of all this, neither can you inuent any thing against me nor your Country. Wherefore I will answer for Rome and my selfe, propounding those things which seeme reasonable to all men, which is this, the People and all the Commons are such as they are easily deceived and moued to any thing. Wherefore it happens to them as to the Sea. For as the Sea of it selfe is without offence, and safe to those which make vse of it : And if it be tormented with the violence of the Winds, it is such vnto Saylers as are the Winds wherewith it is beaten : The Commons in like manner are made like vnto those which gouerne them, which are their Commanders and Councillors. And therefore now I suffer all your Leaders unpunished, promising that hereafter I will quit all reuenge : But as for those which haue beene the Authors of the Rebellion, I beare them an implacable hatred : for this cause we will punish them conueniently for the crimes which they haue committed against their Country and vs.

And when he had vied this Speech, the Souldiers that were in Armes and round about, made a great noise with their Swords in the Porches, and presently the Authors of the mutiny were brought in naked and bound. Finally, the multitude grew into a great amazement for the horror of the Executions which were done in their sight : so as when as some were whipt, and others executed, they moued not an eye, nor any man spake a word, remaining all amazed and terrified by these accidents. The Authors of these mischiefes being whipt and flaine, and drawne through the midst of them : the rest were assured in common by the Commander and Princes, that no man hereafter should be punished by any man for the remembrance of this fact. Wherefore they came all to the Milleniers, and sweare absolutely to obey the Commandments of the Princes, and not to consent to any thing against the City of Rome.

When as Scipio had corrected the Mischiefe newly growne, hee settles his Army in its former estate. Then suddainly drawing it together within Carthage, he made his complaints of the rashnesse and wickednesse of Andobale towards them : and after he had made a long speech of his disloyalty, he incensed the hearts of many against the sayd Potentate. Finally, he put them in minde of their encounters against the Spaniards and Carthaginians, whilst they were vnder the Carthaginian Commanders : Of whom (as they had bene alwayes victorious) there was no cause he sayd, to be in doubt or feare, but that comming againe to fight with the Spaniards vnder Andobale, they would be defeated. Wherefore he sayd he would make no more vse of the Spaniards to fight, and that hee would vndergoe the danger with the Romans alone : to the end it may be manifest to all the world, that wee haue not chased the Carthaginians out of Spaine with the helpe of Spaniards : but by a Roman vertue, and that by our owne dexterity wee haue vanquished them with the Celtiberians.

This Speech being ended, hee perswaded them to liue in Concord, and that they would vndertake this present danger, ifeuer they vnder-

The inconsistency of the people.

A punishment of the Mutineers.

Scipio's Speech to his Army.

tooke any with great assurance. In regard of the meanes of the victory, he assures them that with the helpe of the Gods he will take order. The Commons conceited to great a courage and confidence, as all of them carryed a countenance like vnto those which beheld their Enemies, and prepare to fight. His words being ended, hee sent backe the assembly. The next day hee raised his Campe and marcheth : and being come on the tenth day to a Riuer, he passeth it foure dayes after : then he plants himselfe before the Enemies, hauing recovered a certaine Plaine betwixt his Campe and theirs. The day following he sent forth towards the Enemy vpon the Plaine, some Cattell which followed the Army : and commands Caius to keepe certaine Horse-men in a readinesse, and to the Chiefe of the Milleniers, to prepare Archers and Slingers.

When the Spaniards had fallen suddainly vpon the Cattell, he sent certaine Souldiers that were Archers. The Combat beginning, and the Souldiers running vnto it on either side in good numbers, there grew a great Skirmish of Foot-men neare vnto the Plaine. When a fit occasion was offered to assaile the Enemy, and that Caius had his Horse-men ready as he had commanded him, he chargeth the Foot-men, and repulseth them from the Plaine, to the places neare vnto the Mountaines, to the end they might be scattered, and flaine in great numbers. When this happened, the Barbarians were moued, fearing that being vanquished in skirmish before they came to the Battaille, they should seeme to haue fainted, wherefore at the Sun-rising they drew their Army in good order to Field, preparing for the Battaille. Publius Scipio was ready to giue it : But when hee saw the Spaniards descend without reason into the Plaine, and not onely to put their Horse-men in order, but also their Foot, he stayed, to the end that a greater number might assemble in this order of Battaille, hauing confidence in his Caualtery, and much more in his Foot-men, for that they should come to an equal Combat, and fight hand to hand : and that the Armes and men which he had, were more excellent then the Spaniards. But for that it seemed necessity prest him, he directed his Army against those which were in Battaille against the Mountaine : drawing foure Cohorts out of the Campe towards those that were defended into the Plaine.

Finally, Caius Lelius led his Horse-men against the Enemy, by the Hills which come from the Campe vnto the Plaine, and chargeth the Spaniards Horse in the Reare, and in fighting stayes them, to the end they should not succour their Foot. The Enemies Foot being destitute of the helpe of their Caualtery, in whom hauing put their trust, they had descended into the Plaine, were forced and annoyed in the Combat, the which likewise happened to the Horse-men. For when as (inclosed in the streight) they could not fight at ease, their decrease was greater then that of the Enemy : for that their Foot-men were on the side, and their Enemies in Front, and their Horse-men were charged in the Reare. The Combat being after this manner, they which descended were in a manner all defeated : They which were ioyning vnto

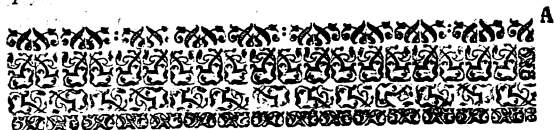
Scipio layes a bait for the Enemy.

The Spaniards put themselves in Battaille.

The order of Scipio's Battaille.

A defeat of the
Spaniards.

vnto the Mountaine fled. They were the most valiant and the third part of the Army: with whom *Andobale* escaped, recovering a certain Fort. *Scipio* hauing ended the Warres of *Spaine*, drew to *Tarragona*, to carry a great triumph of ioy, and a glorious Victory to his Countrey. Desiring them to be present at the Creation of Consuls, hee sayles to *Rome* being accompanied by *Caius*, deliuering the Army to *Iunius* and *Marcus*, hauing giuen order for all the affaires of *Spaine*.



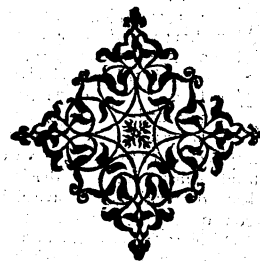
Of King *Antiochus*.

IT was in truth *Enthydemes Magnes* to whom he answered, B saying that *Antiochus* laboured to chafe him out of his Kingdome vniustly: and that he had not rebelled, to the end he might enioy the Principality of the *Bactrians*. And when he had vsed a long speech tending to that end, hee intreated *Telemus* that by his meanes he might obtaine a truce, and that he would informe *Antiochus*, that hee did not enuy his royall Name: For that if he did not yeeld to his accords, neither of them should liue in safety. For there was a great descent of *Tartarians*, which would be dangerous to either of them: and if they entred the Region, it would vndoubtedly be reduced vnder the subiection of *Barbarians*. C These words being ended, hee sends *Telemus* to King *Antiochus*. When the King had long ruminated to what end this businesse would tend, he heard the proposition which was made by *Telemus* concerning a truce.

When *Telemus* was returned, going and comming often from the one to the other, *Enthydemes* in the end sent his Sonne *Demetrius* to confirme the Accord. Whom when the King had receiued graciously, and holding the Young man worthy to reigne, as well for his outward shew as for his excellent dexterity of Eloquence, hee first promisseth to giue him one of his Daughters, and to his Father the Name of King: D Finally, after hee had past in writing the Pactions and Accords sworne, he raiseth his Campe, and sends *Victor* als freely to his Army.

When hee had receiued the Elephants which *Enthydemes* had sent, hee passeth Mount *Caucasus*: and after that hee came into *India*, he renewed the League with *Sophasine* King of the *Indies*: where after he had receiued an hundred and fifty Elephants, and had againe giuen *Victor* to all his Army, he marcheth with all his forces. Moreover, he

he sends *Androsthenes* the *Cyzecanian* to receiue *Gaza*, which by the accord was deliuered vnto him by the King. And when hee had past *Arabeia*, and the Riuer of *Erymanthus*, hee arrived in *Carmania* by *Draigene*: where he wintred, for that Winter approached. This was the end of *Antiochus* Voyage which he made by the high Countreies, by the which he drew to his obedience not onely the *Satrapes* and Gouernours of the high Countreies, but also the Maritime Cities: and the Potentates inhabiting neare *Tauris*: Finally, he hath assured his Reigne, making by his confidence and good industry all his Subiects amazed. For he seemed by this Voyage worthy to reigne not onely ouer the *Asiatiques*, but also ouer the *Europians*.





A PARCELL OF the Twelfth Booke of the

History of POLYBIUS.



Ho will wholly commend the Excellency of this Region. In regard of *Tymus*, thou maist with reason terme him ignorant, not onely of things concerning *Lybia*: but also a Child and without vnderstanding, and also subiect to a foolish ancient report, according to the which we haue heard that *Lybia* is all sandy, dry, and deserts. The like they sayd of Creatures: And yet it hath so great abundance of Horses, Sheepe, and Goats, as I know not where we may finde the like in the World: For that many people of *Lybia* make no vic of the fruits which procede from the hands of man, but liue with Mares Milke. Moreouer who doth not know the multitude and force of Elephants, Lyons, and Panthers, and consequently the beauty of Bugles or wilde Oxen, and the greatnesse of Ostridges: whereof there are none in *Europe*, and yet *Lybia* is full of such things: whereof *Tymus* being wholly ignorant, he deliues as it were of purpose things contrary to truth.

As he hath liyed in matters concerning *Lybia*, so hath he done the like of the land of *Cyrrus*. Whereof making mention in his Second Booke, he saith, that it abounds in Goats, Sheepe, and wilde Oxen, and moreouer in Stags, Hares, and Wolves, with some other Beasts: and that the men are much giuen to Venery, and spend their whole liues therein. When as in the said land there is neither wilde Goate, Oxe, Hare, Wolfe, nor Stagge, nor any such kinde of Beast: Except Foxes, Conies, and wilde Geese. It is true, that a Coney scene a farre off, seemes like vnto a Leueret: But when they hold it, it diffis much, as well in sight as in taste. It breeds and liues most commonly

The manner of
the *Lybian* li-
uing.

The land of
Cyrrus not well
knowne by *Ty-
mus*.

in the ground. For this cause all the Beasts of this land seeme wilde, for that the Keepers cannot follow them, in regard this land is woody, hilly, and steepe: But when they will draw them together, staying in commodious places, they call them by a Trumpe, and euery one runs to his owne. Finally, it sometimes they which come into the land, see Goats or Oxen feeding alone, and seeke to take them, they will not come at them, but flye from them as strangers: and when the Keepers discovering those which come from the ships, sounds his Trumpe, they make haste and runne vnto him: which put ignorant men in conceite, that the Beasts of this land are wilde, whereof *Tymus* hath made dreames, writing impertinently.

It is no great wonder, that they obey the sound of the Trumpe. For they which breed Swine in *Italy*, haue no Hogheards which follow them after the manner of *Greece*: but going before them a litle space, they sound their Trumpe, and the Swine follow them behinde, running after the sound. These Beasts are so accustomed euery one to his Trumpe, as it is a wonder and in a manner incredible to thole that shall heare speake of it. For it happens that for the abundance of Swine, and other things necessary, the troupes are in such great numbers in *Italy*: especially in the ancient and among the *Tyrrhenus* and *Ganles*: so as of one breeding there are sometimes about a thousand. Wherefore they send them generally according to the age by troupes in the Night: So as many being sent together, they cannot keepe them according to their kinde, and they mingle as well going and passing, as in their returne.

For this cause they haue inuented the sound of the Trumpe, to the end that when the Swine mingle, they may separate them without difficulty. When as the Hogheards march one way, and the other another, in sounding the Trumpe, the Swine part of themselves, euery one following his owne Trumpe with such great heate, as it is impossible to stay them, or to hinder their course. But when in *Greece* they mingle, hunting and running after Fruites, hee that hath the greatest number and retires soonest, carries with his owne the next, and sometimes steales them, he that hath the charge not knowing how he hath lost them: for that the Swine stray far from their Hogheards whilest they run greedily after the Fruits of Trees, when as they begin newly to fall. But we haue spoken sufficiently.

It hath often been my chance to goe to the City of the *Locrines*, and to deliuer them that which was necessary. I haue made them free from the Warre of *Spaine* and *Dolmacia*: to the which by accord they were subiect by Sea to the *Romans*. Wherefore they haue done vs all honour and countesse, in acknowledging to be freed from this trouble, danger, and charge. Wherefore I am more bound to praise the *Locrines*, then to doe the contrary. Finally, I haue not omitted to deliuer and write the History of the Collony, which hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that *Aristotle* is more veritable then that which *Tymus* reports. I am of their opinion which maintaine the renoune of this Collony to be ancient according to the saying of *Aristotle*, and

The manner of
breeding Swine
in *Italy*.

The City of the
Locrines.

The Collony of
the *Locrines* ac-
cording vnto
Aristotle.

and not of *Tymens*: for the which they produce these arguments: First that all things which haue bene famous among them for their Predecessors, are come from women and not from men: so as (by way of example) they are held amongst them for noble, which haue taken their name from a hundred Families. These are the Families which the *Locrines* made choise of, before they went to make a Collony: whereby it might happen, that by Oracles they cast Lors vpon the Virgins to send them to *Troy*: Whereof some went in Collony, and their posterity was to bee held Noble, and termed of the hundred Families.

Againe, for that which concerns him whom they call *Philephore*, they haue made this report: That when as they chased the *Sicilians*, who then inhabited that part of *Italy*, the Nobles and Chiefe men then honoured the Sacrifices, and tooke many of the customes of the Countrey: so as they hold nothing of their Paternall, in obseruing that from them: and in correcting they haue ordained that they should not make any of their Sonnes *Philephore*, but onely a Virgine, in regard of the Nobility which came from Women. There was not, neither is it said, that their hath bene any pactions or accords made betwixt the *Locrines* and the *Grecians*. In regard of the *Sicilians*, they had all that we haue made mention of. They say, that when they came first into *Sicily*, they which then held that Region where they now dwell, being amazed and receiuing them with feare, made an accord with them: which was, that they should maintaine Friendship, and enioy the Countrey in common as long as they should tread vpon the Earth, and carry a head vpon their shoulders. And when this kinde of Oath was made, they say, that the *Locrines* did put earth into their shooes, and secretly hid the heads of Garlick: and hauing thus sworne, and finally cast the Earth out of their shooes, and likewise the heads of Garlick, soone after they chast away the *Sicilians* out of the Countrey. This the *Locrines* did say.

A defect in the Text.

As a Rule although it hath lesse length and breadth, yett it retaines still the Name, if it hath that which is proper to a Rule: So they say, if it be not straight and hauing the property of a Rule, it must rather be called by some other name then a Rule: In like manner they hold that if the Commentaries of Historiographers which failing either in Disioun or vse, or in any other of the parts which are proper vnto them, obserue the truth, they deserue the name of a History: But if that failes, they are no more worthy of that name. For my part, I confesse, that such Commentaries are to be held for true: and I am of this opinion in every part of our Worke, when I say, that euen as when the Bones are separated from a living Creature, it is made vn-vsefull, so is a History: For if thou takest away the truth, the rest will bee but a vaine Narration. We haue sayd, that there were two kinds of lies, the one through ignorance, the other which is deliuered wittingly. The pardon is easie for those which through ignorance stray from the truth, and they are to be hated deadly which lie willingly. As men of iudgement resolving to reuenge their enemies, doe not first obserue what their

Neighbour

Neighbour deserues, but rather what they must doe: the like we must thinke concerning detractors, nor caring for that which the Enemies ought to heare, but to obserue carefully what it is fit to speake. They which measure all things according to their choller and enuy, must of necessity faile in all, and stray from reason, when they speake otherwise then is fitting. Wherefore we doe not seeme vnnaturally to reprove the speeches which *Tymens* hath held against *Demochares*. In truth, hee neither deserues pardon nor credite with any man, for that in wronging him openly, hee straiues from reason, in regard of his naturall bitterness. Neither doe the iniuries against *Agathocles* please mee, although he were the most cruell man liuing. I speake of those whereof hee makes mention in the end of his History, saying, that *Agathocles* had bene a publike *Sodomite* in his younger yeares, and abandoned to all infamous and vild persons: and so to other foule villanies which hee addes.

Tymens reprehensible.

Agathocles cruell.

Moreouer, hee sayth, that after his death his Wife lamented him in this manner: *Why haue not I thee, nor thou mee?* In regard of the speeches which he hath held of *Demochares*, some will not onely cry out, but wonder with reason at his excessive Rage. That *Agathocles* had necessarily by Nature a great prerogative, it is manifest by the Discourse which *Tymens* hath held. Hee came to *Sarragoffe*, flying the Wheele, Smoake, and Clay, being eightene yeares old: And when hee was come for this cause, sometime after he was Lord of all *Sicily*: Hee also drew the *Carthaginians* into great extremities, and ended his life with the Name of a King, after that he had growne old in this gouernment. It is not then necessary to say, that there had some things happened to *Agathocles* which were great and excellent, and that hee had had great power, and great forces to execute all these things: And that a Historiographer must not onely deliuer vnto posterity those things which concerne the blame, and shew the accusation, but also those which touch the praise of the man. This is the property of a History: But this Childe blinded with his owne rancor, in his relation augments through hatred his offences, omitting wholly the vertues: being ignorant that it is no lesse blame worthy then a lye in those which write the Histories of Actions.

It happened saith he, that as two young men contended for a Seruant, that he was somewhat long with a Friend: And when as the other two dayes before came out of the Countrey, in the absence of the Master the Seruant retired speedily into the house: and that afterwards the other knowing he came thither, seizing on him, brought him into Question, saying, that the Maister of the house ought to giue Caution. For the Law of *Zaleucus* was, that hee deserued a suite to whom hee had made the retreat. And when as the other sayd, that according to the same Law hee had also made the retreat, for that the Body was parted to come vnto the Potentate: he saith, that the Princes were in doubt vpon this businesse, and called *Cosmopole*, referring themselves to him in this cause. Who interpreted this Law, saying that the retreat hath alwayes beegone him who had the last, or for a time possessed the thing debated

A parcell corrupted.

Zaleucus the Law-giuer.

Cosmopole.

V u 2

without

Two kinds of vnruth.

To enuill, &c. To enuill, &c. To enuill, &c.

without contradiction. But if any one spoile another by force, and had retired it, and that subsequently he which first enjoyed it, termes himselfe the maister, this is no true possession. And when as the Young man discontented at this sentence, sayd, that it was not the sense of the Law, *Cosmopole* protested, and offered the Condition, if there were any man that would speake any thing touching the sentence or sense of the Law established by *Calisthenes*. The which is such, that the Capitaines Millicens were there appointed with Halberds to hang men, they consulted vpon the sense of the Law: if any one drew the sentence of the Law to a bad sense, hee was strangled in the presence of the Millicens. This Speech being pronounced by *Cosmopole*, the Young man answered, that the Condition was vain, for that *Cosmopole* had not aboue two or three yeares to liue, (for hee was aboue fourescore and ten yeares old) and that he according to reason had the greatest part of his life remaining. For which witty and pleasant Speech hee escaped the severity of the iudgement: and the Princes iudged according to the aduice of *Cosmopole*.

Wee will make mention of a certaine expedition of *Watre*, which hath bene very famous, and decided in a very short time: In the relation whereof *Calisthenes* hath erred in that which doeth most import: B I speake of that which *Alexander* had past the streights, which they call the Ports of *Chilia*; and that *Darius* tooke his way by the Ports which they call *Menides*, and drew with his Army towards *Chilia*. And when he vnderstood by the Inhabitants, that *Alexander* tooke his course towards *Syrie*, hee followed him: and when he approached vnto the streights, hee Camped neare vnto the River of *Pyre*. Finally, that the compass of that place was not aboue foureteene Furlongs from thence, and from the Sea vnto the hilly Countreys, and that the sayd River falls into the Sea, transeing the said places: First by the sides of the Mountaine ending at the Plaine, and then by the Field hauing his Banks rough and not easie to come vnto.

These things supposed, he sayd, that when *Alexander* turning head, came neare vnto *Darius*, his aduice and that of his Princes was to order his Battaille within his Campe as hee had formerly done, and to helpe himselfe with this River as with a Rampire, for that it ran neare vnto his Campe. Finally, he ordered his Horse-men vpon the Sea-shore, and vpon their Reare the Mercenaries: so as neare vnto the River they were ioyned in one; and the Targetteers were placed in the Mountaines. It is a difficult thing to consider how hee ordered these before the Battalion: seeing that the River past neare vnto the Campe, the multitude likewise being so great. They were as *Calisthenes* sayth, thirty thousand Horse and as many Mercenaries.

It is an easie thing to know what space will containe these: For they order their Rankes according to the true vse of eight in a great Troupe of Horse, euery one requiring a space in Front, to the end they may turne easly. To eight hundred of which a Furlong sufficeth, and

ten to eight Thousand, and foure to three Thousand five hundred: So as this space of foureteene furlongs, is fill'd with twelue Thousand Horse. If then he hath ordred all this Troupe of Horse in Battaille; it wants not much but being tripled, the order hath bene made without any space betwixt. In what place then hath he ordered the multitude of Souldiers, but in the Reare of the Horse-men? But hee will say no, and that they fought with the *Macedonians* at their first comming. Of necessitie there must be an vnicing made, seeing that the order of the Horse-men held the moiety of the place towards the Sea, A the other towards the Mountaines being kept by the Mercenaries. Hereby we may inferre, how close the Horse-men were vnited, and what space there must be from the River vnto the Campe. Then hee sayth, that when the Enemies approached, *Darius* being in the midst of his Armie, called vnto him the Mercenaries and their Wing. But we may doubt how this is spoken. For it is necessarie that the Horse-men and Mercenaries should be ioyned about the middest of this same place. When as *Darius* was in the midst of his Mercenaries, how hath he call'd them? Finally hee sayth, that the Horse-men of the right Wing fought with *Alexander* at his first comming: and that hee receiued them valliantly, and fought with them in front, and that B the Combate of cyther side was very furious.

In regard of that which was spoken by him that the River was in the middest (as a little before we haue deliuered) hee hath forgotten himselfe. Finally, he writes things of *Alexander* like vnto these. He sayth that hee past into *Asia*, accompanied with fortie Thousand foot, and foure Thousand five hundred Horse. And as he would haue advanced, there came vnto him out of *Macedony* other five Thousand foote, and eight hundred Horse: And although that for the affaires of his long absence, he had left three thousand foote, and three hundred Horse, yet he had fortie two thousand remaining: These things C presupposed, hee sayth that *Alexander* was aduertised of *Darius* descending into *Skilia*, so hee was not aboue a hundred furlongs from him, and that he had alreadie past the streights of the Countrey, and for this cause turning head he repast them againe, putting the great Battalion in Front, then the Horse-men, and after all the rest of the baggage of the Army.

And when he came afterwards into the plaine, that all the baggage being packt vp, hee commaunded that being mingled with the Battalion, they should make their rankes, containing first about two and thirtie in number, then of sixteene, and of eight neere the Enemy. D These Speeches haue lesse reason then the former. For as the furlong contains in these spaces sixteene hundred men, when a rancke is of eighteene men, so as they be euery one separated a Fathome, it is manifest and doth plainly appeare that the ten will containe sixteene Thousand men, and twentie double the number. The which may easly appeare, for that when as *Alexander* ordered his Army by sixteene men in a rancke, it was very necessary that the place should bee of twenty Furlongs, and yet all the Cauallerie remained and

A seuerer sentence.

A witty answer of a Young man.

Of the Voyage of *Alexander* against *Darius* *Calisthenes*

The reprehension of *Calisthenes*.

ten thousand Foote. Finally, hee saith, that hee led his whole Army in Front against the Enemies, being yet forty Furlongs off. But that is so strange, as wee can hardly imagine any thing more insensible. Where shall wee finde such spaces in the Champion Countrey even in *Cilicia*, that a Battaille set in order, holding twenty Furlongs in breadth, and forty in length, may march in the Front? There are so many hindrances to order this forme of Battaille, as they can hardly be numbred. Moreover, the sayings of *Calisthenes* give no sufficient arguments to purchase credite. For hee saith, that the Torrents which fall from the Mountaines, make so many and such great Moores and Fens, as A he assures vs that a great number of *Persians* perished there in the flight. But would *Darius* suddenly shew himselfe against the Enemy? Is there nothing more easie then a Battalion broken and scattered in Front? But how much more easie is it to order a Battaille in a convenient passage, then to leade an Army directly to fight, being broken and scattered in woody and crooked places? And therefore it were better to leade an Army close and vnited, and double rather then Quadruple.

By this meanes it would not be impossible to finde the meanes to passe, and to put the Battaille in order, and with ease, if hee might by his Scouts discover the coming of the Enemy. But *Calisthenes* besides the rest, orders not the Horse men in Battaille, when he led the Army in Field, being in Front, ording the Foote-men equally. It is also a strange thing when hee saith, that *Alexander* being neare the Enemy, comprehended the order of his Battalion of eight for a Ranke: So it is manifest that necessarily the length of this Battalion contained the space of about forty Furlongs. But if they haue beene (as the Poet said) close together, so as they haue beene ioyned one to another: Yet it would be necessary, that the place should containe Twenty Furlongs. And yet he saith, there were but fouretee: and that in such sort, as one part was towards the Sea, and a moiety of the Army vpon the right hand: and that moreover all the armed men had place sufficient on the side of the Mountaines, to the end they might not be suppressed by the Enemy holding the borders of the Hills.

Wee know well that he makes a crooked order within: But we also leaue out ten thousand Foote, which exceeds the meanes which he hath giuen: So as the length of this Battalion according to *Calisthenes*, hath want of about twelve Furlongs, in the which it is necessary that thirty two thousand men, consynning arestraint of thirty in a Ranke being ioyned, haue beene there comprehended. Hee saith, that this Battalion was ordred after the Rate of eight in a Ranke: These errors doubtlesse cannot be defended, for that which is impossible in it selfe, is not worthy of credite. As often as wee haue respect vnto the spaces due vnto euery man, and to the length of all the place, and to the number of men, the lye were not excusable. It were losse of time to reapeate all his fooleries.

He saith, that *Alexander* thirsted after a Battaille against *Darius*, and that *Darius* was of the same opinion in the beginning, and afterwards

wards chang'd his resolution. Hee doth not shew how they knew one another, nor what order they obserued in their Army, nor whether *Darius* past: Neither finally, how the Battalions came to the Riuer side, seeing it was crooked and high. Without doubt wee cannot believe that *Alexander* committed so grosse an error: seeing that from his Infancy hee had gotten so great experience and practise in the Art of Warre. Wee must rather thinke that the Historiographer could not through ignorance discern things possible from the impossible in these affaires. But wee haue spoken sufficient at this time of *Ephorus* and *Calisthenes*.

An excuse of
Alexander vpon
Calisthenes

First hee is of Opinion, that they must aduertise those of the Councell, that the Trumpets awakes sleepers during the Warre, and Birds in the time of Peace. Finally, hee saith, that *Hercules* instituted the Olympicke Combats, and the truce and abstinence from Warre: and that by this meanes hee hath shewed a signe of his will. In regard of those against whom hee made Warre, hee annoyed them all through necessity, and for Command: but hee was neuer wittingly the Authour of any harme to man. Hee consequently brings in *Iupiter* angry with *Mars*, and saying,

Most sure thou owest to mee the least good-will
Of all the Gods that haunt Olympus Hill:
Thou tak'st no pleasure but to warre and fight,
In brawles and quarrels is thy chiefe delight.

Hee Writes likewise, that the Wisest of the Diuine Gods sayth thus,

Bad Citizens who will not when they may,
Stoppe ciuill strife: fall often so decay.

And that *Euripides* is of the same Opinion with this Poet; when hee saith,

Blest Peace, the best of Goddesses that be,
Oh how much in my heart I honour thee!
If thou deny thy presence by delay,
I feare grim Death will snatch mee hence away.
Haste then that I may surely be blest
With sports and ieuels that adorne a Feast.

Hee sayth moreover, that Warre is very like vnto a Disease, and Peacet to Health. The which doth comfort and recreate the sicke: whereas in the other the sound perissh. Finally, that old men are buried by young according to the order of Nature: But in the Warre the contrary happens. And that it is a strange thing, that there is no

The Warre like
vnto a Disease.

safety during the War no not in Cities, and that during peace it extends to the limits of the Country.

He deliueres other things like vnto these. As the by nature we haue two, as it were Organs, by the which we conceiue and consider, that is, hearing and seeing, and that the Eye is more certaine: According to the opinion of *Heracles* (the Eyes are more certaine then the Eares) *Tymon* hath inquired of things by the one of them, which is the Eare, although a proper object yet of lesse Effect. Hee hath bene wholly estranged from the testimony of the Eye. For this cause hee vsurped that which depends on Hearing: The which hee hath had in some sort by the Commentaries of others. In regard of that which he hath by inquisition, he hath erred grossly, as we haue formerly declared.

It is an easie thing to Discouer the cause why hee fell into this opinion. For that doubtlesse such things may be sought for in Bookes without danger or trouble, if a man hath no other thing in recommendation, or if it be in some Citie abounding in the multitude of Commentaries, or may retire himselfe to some neere Librarie. Finally the pursuit of this study, and the inquisition of that we seeke, ioyning thereunto the iudgement (without any bad affection of curiosities) of ancient Historiographers, requires likewise great employment and charge: But it is of great seruice, containyng the greatest part of a History, the which is apparent in those which Write Commentaries.

Ephorus sayth, that if it had bene possible to bee present at all Actions, this Experience had bene more excellent then all the rest. *Theopompus* sayth, that hee is a very good Writer of the actions of the Warre, which hath had Experience of many dangers; and he a vehement Orator which hath bene partaker of many ciuill Controversies. The like happens to Physicians and Pylots. The Poet moreover speaks more properly of these things: For when hee desires to shew what he should be that is appointed for the Conduct of a Warre, he sayth, propounding in these termes the person of *Ulysses*.

*Speake Muse of him, so wise to understand,
Who so farre' T rauell'd both by Sea and Land.*

Then following:

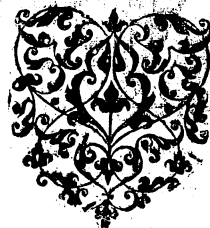
*Who hath scene many Cities, Townes, and Nations,
'And suffred much in his long Peregrinations.*

*Who after many dreadfull Battails: past,
Neptunes rough fury did escape at last.*

In

In my opinion the maiesty of a History requires such a man. *Plato* likewise sayth, that men are then happy, when as Philosophers reign, of Kings play the Philosophers. For my part, I am of opinion, that the vigour of a History is then in force, when as they endeavour to write Histories, which are practised in the Warre, not lightly as it happens at this day, but holding their being thereabout all things necessary, and sitting there to attend continually: of the truth of which I will not write, Iudge that a haile, and storme in deeds and actions, is necessary for the writing of a History. If this were done, there should not be found so many things vnkowne in Historiographers, among the which *Tymon* hath had the least care in the World, hauing liued out of the Country pootely in a certaine place, and (as it were of purpose) disdainyng that which concernes both ciuill and warlike affaires, hee reapes a certaine glory by a naturall affection of error, so as he hath purchased the prerogative of a Historiographer. And that he is such a one, it is easie to shew doing such things. For he sayth in the Poem of his Sixt Booke, that some are of opinion that the Stile of a Demonstration or Historical language, requires something of greater vnderstanding and more industry: Finally, he affirms this opinion to be first attributed to *Ephorus*. But for that he cannot answer sufficiently to him that speaks these things, he strives by

a conference to parrallell a History
with demonstration
Orations.





A PARCELL OF the Thirteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.



The *Acheins*
free from fraud

The *Acheins* avoide it much. For they were estranged from deceipts towards their Friends to advance their power, as they would not vanquish their Enemies: holding it neither noble nor firme, if they did not vanquish by prowesse and in open fight. Wherefore they ordained among themselves, that no man should make use of hidden Armes, thinking that an open Combat hand to hand was the true determining of Warre. Finally, they declared themselves vnto their Enemies, and signified the Warre, when they are once resolved to vndergoe the danger of a Battaille; the like they did of the places where they would decide it.

But at this day they say, hee is no good Commander that executes any enterprize of Warre openly. There is yet remaining in the *Romans* some Reliques of the ancient humour in such affaires. They signifie it before

S the desires of such as are troubled with the Dropic are neuer satisfied, nor taken away by any exteriour humour, if the interiour disposition of the Body be not cured: So the concupiscence to haue much is neuer satisfied, if the vice which lies in the heart be not by some reason corrected. There falls out something like in the Desire of fraud, which no man living will confesse to be royall: although that some at this day hold it necessary to manage affaires by deceit for to reigne:

before, and they seldome use any Ambushes, fighting readily hand to hand. Let these words be spoken against the affection which is much more ready, then is needefull, in malicious practises, policies and ambushes among Princes, as well in affaires of Warre as Policy.



Of Philip.

B Philip had instructed and commanded *Heraclides* to consider how he might annoy and ruine the *Rhodian* ships, and had sent an Embassadour to the *Candians* to draw them and to incense them to make Warre against them. *Heraclides* was a man fit for malicious practises, thinking likewise that *Philips* Commandment being accepted would be gainefull, soone after when he had considered thereon, he sail'd against the *Rhodians*. This *Heraclides* was borne at *Tarentum*, issued from a Race of Artizans, but wonderfully given to villanies and malice. First he prostituted his Body publickely in his younger yeares: and as he afterwards grew subtile, he had the charge of the Register, being to the poore seuer and audacious, and towards Great men a flattering Courtier. Yet hee was chafte out of his Countrey, as if he had sought secretly to deliuer the City of *Tarentum* to the *Romans*, when he had no power in the government: Hee was an Architect, and by reason of some building of the Walles, he had in his hands the Keyes of a Gate which bends to the Mediterranean Coast. But when hee was retired to the *Romans*, and had againe written to *Tarentum* to *Hannibal*, and had sent thither, he fled to *Philip* being discouered, and fore-seeing what would succeed: with whom hee had so much credite and authority, as he was in a manner the Author of the subuersion of a great Kingdome: But the nature of the greatest of the Goddesses seemes to shew the truth vnto men, and to giue them great forces: so as although shee be oppos'd by all men, and that sometimes all kind of perfwasions accompanied with lies bee arm'd against her, yet shee slips I know not how of her selfe into the fantasies of men, so as sometimes she suddainly raiseth her forces: and sometimes after shee hath bene long hidden, shee comes to light and discouers vntruth.

When as *Nabis* Tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, had three yeares enjoyed the Principality of *Lacedemon*, he had not attempted anything, neither durst he make tryall: For that lately *Machanides* had bene slaine by the *Acheins*: But hee laid the first foundations of a long and grievous tyranny. He utterly ruined some of the *Lacedemonians*, banishing

Heraclides
malicious.

The vices of
Heraclides.

The force of
truth.

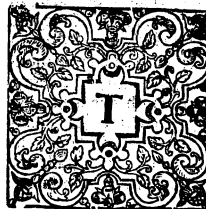
Nabis Tyrant
of the *Lacedemonians*.

ing those which were Noble or Rich, or had any honour from their Ancestors, giuing their substance and Wiues to other Noble men, and to Mercenaries. Who were Murtherers, Theeues, Robbers, and breakers of houses. Finally, this kind of men (to whom the Country was forbidden, in regard of their wickednesse and villanies) were by him carefully drawne together from all the parts of the Earth, of whom he held himselfe Prince and King. He had Lancers for the garde of his Body, by whom it plainly appeared that his wickednesse and power would be of long continuance. Besides the said things hee was not satisfied with the banishments of Citizens, but moreover he left not any place safe for Fugitiues, nor any certaine refuge. He slue some vpon the way, sending after them, and kill'd others in their returne. Finally, in Cities (where the Fugitiues did remaine) he hired houses neare vnto them by men not suspected, sending *Candots* thither: who making holes in the Wall, slew them with Arrowes, or at the Windows, the Fugitiues standing there, or else being at their Meate in their houses: so as these miserable *Lacedemonians* had no place of refuge, nor time assured.

He hath by this meanes ruind many. He drest vp an Engine, if it may be so term'd: It was the Image of a Woman richly attired, the forme whereof was like vnto the Wife of *Nabis*, and very well painted. When he called any Citizens, meaning to exact money from them, at their first entrance he viued courteous and milde speeches, speaking of the feare of the *Acheins* neare vnto the City and Region: He likewise declared the multitude of Souldiers which hee entertained for their safety, and finally the charges hee was at for the Gods, and the publique good of the City. If by this Speech he perswaded them, then he had them ready at his deuotion; but if any one refusing would not giue care vnto him, hee added these words: peradventure thou canst not perswade thy selfe: Yet I thinke this *Apege* (which was the Name of his Wife) will doe it. After this speech the Image was presented: and when hee rose out of his Chaire, hee embraced it as his Wife, and approacht it neare vnto his bosome. This Image had the Elbowes and Hands full of Nails vnder the garment, and likewise neare the Pappes, and when hee toucht the backe of the Image with his hand, he extended it vnto the breast, and led it by the handling of Instruments: and by this meanes hee forced the Image in a short time, to pronounce any kind of voyce. Vpon this occasion hee ruined many of those which refuse to obey him.

Apege the Wife
of Nabis

A PARCELL OF the Fourteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.



He Consuls were carefull of these affaires; *Publius Scipio* wintered in *Affricke*, who being aduertised that the *Carthaginians* *Prica* besieged prepared an Army to Sea, hee did the like, yet omitting nothing concerning the Siege of *Eysarthe*: neither did hee wholly despair of *Siphax* or *Syphax*, sending often vnto him, for that their Armies were not farre distant, perswading himselfe that hee might retire him from the alliance of the *Carthaginians*.

Hee despaired not but that hee was now glutted with *Pedisa*, for whose sake he held the *Carthaginians* party: and in like manner of the friendship which he had with the *Phenicians*, as well for their naturall discontent against the *Numidians*, as for their preparation both against God and Men. Whilest hee ruminated of many things with a variable hope for the future, for that hee feared a danger by Strangers, knowing that the Enemy encreased much, hee resolved in the end vpon this occasion. Some of those which hee had sent to *Syphax*, related vnto him, that the *Carthaginians* besides their Winter-tents, had their Lodgings made of Wood and Leaues, and among the *Numidians*, the Princes had them of Reeds, and they of the Cities there assembled of Leaues: Some being of the Ditch and Pallisadoe, and others without.

X x

Scipio

Scipio having a conceite, that if hee assailed their Campe by fire, it would bee a surprize vnexpected by the Enemy, and of great effect for him, inclining *Asdrubal* to the assault, hee proceeded with his Embassadours, which hee sent to tell *Syphax* of Peace: so as the *Carthaginians* should have no time to take the *Romanes* off guard: and that either of them would take the which they held: which thing being lawfully heard, hee had accepted: but at that time hee advertised the *Romanes* of the Embassadours words, that the resolution made by them was not impossible. So as *Syphax* having great hope, sent word partly often: This doubt, there were many and frequent Embassies.

It happened that sometimes they met without Guards, and *Scipio* alwayes fear men of great iudgement with his Embassadours: for whome hee had prepared Military habits, which were base, poore, and ferule, to discover and view the enties and illues of the two Campes. There were in truth two: the one of *Asdrubal*, containing thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse: the other which was *Syphax*es, was of *Numidians*, having ten thousand Horse, and about fifty thousand Foote. There had the approach more easie, and the Lodgings more fit to burne: for that the *Nu-* *midians* used no Timber nor Earth, but onely Reeds and Canes to make their Lodgings.

And for that the Spring was come, *Scipio* having inquired of all the preparations of the Enemy, hee causeth his shippes to stowe, and puts Engines into them as it were to besiege *Byzarthe* by Sea. Moreover, hee seized vpon a Hill neare vnto the City with about two thousand Foote, to the end hee might put a conceite into the Enemy, that all this was done for the Siege: Yet in truth hee made this Guard, vntill hee might haue an opportunity to execute his Enterprize, to the end that the Armies being out of their Camps, the Garrison of the City should not dare to sally forth, nor assaile the Pallisadoe being neare, nor bessege those which were there in the Guard.

This preparation being ready, hee sent to *Syphax*, to demand of him if hee would conclude the Articles, and whether the *Carthaginians* did like of them: and that hee should propound nothing more concerning the accord, giving also charge to the Embassadours not to returne without answer vpon these Differences. Being come vnto the *Numidian*, their charge being heard, hee consented, for that *Scipio* was ready to conclude this Accord: and withall the Embassadours told him, that they would not depart before they carried backe an Answer from him.

But being in great feare and doubt that the *Carthaginians* would not give consent, hee sent with all speede vnto *Asdrubal*, aduertising him of that which was treated, with many persuasions to accept of the Peace. *Syphax* was negligent and carelesse, and suffered the *Numidians* which he had drawne together, to lodge without the Campe.

This

This *Scipio* did in shew, but hee was carefull of the preparations. And when as the *Carthaginians* had aduertised *Syphax* to conclude the accord, reioycing thereat, he signified it presently to the Embassadours: who being returned to their Campe, acquainted *Scipio* with that which the King had done. These things being heard, hee presently sends backe an Embassie to *Syphax*, to tell him, that hee liked well of the accord, and desired a peace: but the Senate and Councell were not of that Opinion, saying, that they would pursue their Enterprize. The Embassie came to *Syphax*, and declared these things vnto him. *Scipio* had sent these Embassadours, to the end hee should not seeme to haue broken the accord, if during a parley of Peace, hee should attempt any Enterprize of an Enemy: conceiuing that hauing signified this vnto the Enemy, whatsoever he should doe would be blamelesse. *Syphax* was much discontented with this newes, considering the hope hee had of a Peace: Hee goes to *Asdrubal*, acquainting him with that which the *Romanes* had signified vnto him: whereupon doubting, they consulted how they should carry themselves, but they were farre from knowing the resolution and designe of the future accidents. As for standing vpon their guard, or to beleue that any disaster or misfortune were at their Gates, they had no thought thereof.

It is true, their whole intent was to draw the Enemy into the Plaine. *Scipio* gaue many presumptions by his preparation and summation, that hee had some Enterprize against *Byzarthe*. Finally, about Noone he sends for the Captaines Milleniers, whom hee held for his loyall Friends, and acquaints them with his intent, giuing them charge, that an houre after Dinner they should put the Army in Battaille before the Pallisadoe, when as all the Trumpets according to custome had giuen the Signe. The *Romanes* haue a custome, that during the repast, all the Trumpets and Clairons sound before the Generals Tent: to the end that during that time they should set watches in conuenient places. When hee had retired his Spies which hee had sent vnto the Enemies Campe, hee conferres and examines the Reports of the Embassadours, and considers of the approaches of the Campe, making vse therein of the aduice and councill of *Mas-* *sanissa* for the knowledge of the places. And when as all things were ready for the Execution, hee marcheth with his Army directly towards the Enemy, the first Watch being changed, leaving a sufficient number to guard the Campe. They were therefore Fur longsoff.

And when they were come vnto them about the end of the third Watch, he deliueis halfe the Army to *Caius Lelius*, with all the *Nu-* *midians*, giuing them charge to assaile *Syphax* Campe, and perswading them to carry themselves like braue men, and not to attempt any thing rashly, holding for certaine that the more their fight is hindered by darkenesse, the more courage and confidence they should haue to finish Nocturnall assaults. Finally, hee assailes *Asdrubal* with the rest of the Army. Yet his purpose and resolution

X x 2

was

The Campe of
Asdrubal of
30000. Foote
and 3000.
Horse.

The Campe of
Syphax of 10000
Horse, and
50000. Foote.

A custome of
the *Romanes* dur-
ing their re-
past.

Mas-
sanissa.

Scipio drawes to
the Enemies
Campe.

*Lelius affailes
Syphax his
Campe by fire.*

was not to put it into execution, before that *Lelius* had first set fire of the Enemies. Being thus resolved, hee marcheth a slow pace. *Lelius* on the other side diuiding his Army into two, affailes the Enemies suddenly. But as the lodgings were built in such sort, as if they had of purpose benee destinated for the fire, where the first had cast the fire, and consumed all the first Tents, it fell out so as they could not succour this Disaster: Both for that the lodgings stood close together, and for the abundance of stufte wherewith they were built. *Lelius* stood still in Battaille: But *Masaniissa* knowing the Countrey, placed Souldiers vpon the passages, by the which they which fled from the fire, must retire. Not any of the *Numidians* vnderstood that which was done, nor *Syphax* himselfe, thinking this fire had benee accidentall. Wherefore they goe rashly out of their lodgings and Tents, some being yet asleepe, and others drinking: So as many were crusht in peeces by them at the fall of the Pallisadoe, and many were burnt: In regard of those which fled the flames, they were all flaine, falling into the Enemies hands, not knowing what should befall them, nor what to doe.

When at the same time the *Carthaginians* saw this great fire and high flames, thinking the *Numidians* Pallisadoe was on fire, some went presently to helpe them: all the rest ran out of the Campe without Armes, standing before their Pallisadoe amazed, they expected what the end would be. When as things succeeded according to *Scipio's* intent, he falls vpon those which were come out of the Campe, and pursuing others into it, hee presently sets fire on their lodgings. The like happened to the *Phenicians*, as well by fire as by other miseries and misfortunes, whete with the *Numidians* were afflicted.

But when as *Asdrubal* had discovered by the euent, that this fire of the *Numidians* was not accidentall, but by the policy and courage of the Enemy, hee ceased suddenly from giuing Succours, making haste to saue himselfe, for that there was little hope remaining. The fire suddenly waikted and consumed all: There were no more passages for Horses, Sumpters, and men, among the which some were halfe dead, and burnt with the fire, others were terrified and amazed, so as they which made preparation to defend themselves valiantly, were hindered, neither was there any meanes of hope, by reason of the trouble and confusion.

The like happened to *Syphax* and to the other Commanders. But either of them escaped with some few Horses: the rest of the Troups of Men, Horses, and Sumpters, perished miserably by this fire. Some were ignominiously flaine by the Enemy after they had fled the violence of the fire, and defeated not onely without Armes, but naked and without apparrell. Finally, all the place of these Campes was full of howling, horrible cries, feare, and vniuall noise: and moreouer with a violent flaming fire: Either of the which had benee sufficient to amaze and terrifie humane Nature, and the rather for that these things happened contrary vnto all hope. Wherefore it is not possible

for:

for any man living to imagine this accident, considering the greatness: for that it hath exceeded the policy of all precedent actions. And although that *Scipio* hath performed many deeds of prowess and valour, yet this seemes to be the most excellent and hardy of them all. At the break of day, the Enemies being some defeated, and others fled with amazement, hee gaue charge to the Commanders to pursue the Chase.

The Chiefe of the *Carthaginians* budg'd not in the beginning, although he were aduertised by many: The which hee did, relying vpon the fortification of the City. But when hee saw the Mutiny of the Inhabitants among themselves, hee fled, accompanied with those which had escaped with him, fearing the coming of *Scipio*. Hee had five hundred Horses, and about two thousand Foote. The Inhabitants being agreed, yeelded themselves to the *Romans*. Whom *Scipio* pardoned, abandoning the spoile of two Neighbour Cities to the Souldiers. These things being thus decided, hee returned to his first Campe. The *Carthaginians* were discontented, that the hope which they had conceiued in the beginning, had succeeded so contrary. They expected to haue besieged the *Romans* (inclosed within the Fort of *Byrath*, where they had wintered) as well by Sea as Land. And when they had all their preparations ready, they were not onely destitute of their Campes, so inconsiderately deliuered to their Enemies, but it seemed they should all perish with their Countrey: For this cause they were amazed with great feare and faintnesse of heart.

And when as the affaires prest them to consider prudently of the future and eminent danger, the Senate was full of doubt, and of diuers confused thoughts: Some sayd, they must send to *Hannibal*, and call him out of *Italy*, for that all their hope consisted in that Commander, and the Army which hee had: Others were of aduice they should send to *Scipio* to obtaine a truce, and to parley of an accord and agreement: some would haue them to be of good courage, and to leaue an Army, and finally to send to *Syphax*. He was fled farre vnto *Abbe*, drawing together those which escaped from the danger: which aduice was resolved. Wherefore they leue men, and send to *Asdrubal* to that end, and likewise to *Syphax*, intreating him to giue them Succours, and to obserue the conuentions according to their first purpose, promising him that their Commander should presently ioyne with his Army.

The *Roman* Generall followeth the Siege of *Byrath* the which hee did the rather, for that hee was aduertised that *Syphax* continued in his first resolution, and that the *Carthaginians* leuiued a new Army. For this cause hee raised his Campe and besieged *Byrath*. When hee had diuided the spoile, hee chased away the Merchants vpon good aduice. For the Souldiers carelesse of the present commodity of goods: for that the hope of profits which grew by their good fortune was apparent, they had intelligence with the Merchants.

It seemed very fit to the King of *Numidia* and his Friends, as

Xx 3

the

*Scipio takes
Asdrubals Campe
on fire.*

The flight of
Asdrubal.

The *Carthaginians*
and Senate hold
a Councell.

Scipio attends
the Siege of *Byrath*.

4000. Celtiberians come to succour the Carthaginians.

the first fight, that they should retire to their houses: But when the Celtiberians arrived neare unto *Abbe*, who being entertained, were about foure thousand men, the Carthaginians grew assured, and by little and little recovered their spirits, relying vpon these Troupes. Moreover, when as *Pedisea* the Daughter of *Asdrubal*, and Wife to *Syphax*, (of whom we have spoken) intreated him with all affection that he would not abandon the Carthaginians for the present: The Numidian yielded to her intreaties. The Celtiberians put no small hope into the Carthaginians. For although they were but foure thousand, yet they sayd, they were ten thousand. Finally, they promised to bee insupportable in the fight, as well for their courage as their Armes. The Carthaginians growne proud with this common bruite, were more confident to recover their Campes.

Finally, they set vp their Pallisadoe within thirty dayes neare vnto the Plaine called the Great, and there they planted their Campe, accompanied with the Numidians and Celtiberians, being in number thirty thousand men. When the newes came vnto the Romans Campe, *Scipio* presently prepared to part. And when he had sent to those which held the Siege before *Byfarthe*, and to the others which were at Sea, informing them what they were to doe, he marched towards the Enemy, having all his Bands furnished with the most valiant men. Being come on the fift Day to this great Plaine, and approaching neare the Enemy, he camped the first Day vpon a Hill, thirty Furlongs distant from them, the Day following hee descends into the Plaine, sending the Horse-men before within seven Furlongs, and there sentes his Campe againe.

After two Dayes expectance, when they had skirmished of either side to come to a Battaille, either of them in the end drew to Field, and put their men in order. *Scipio* first of all placeth in Front his forlorne hope, according to their custome: After which he appoints the Principals, and in the third place the Triarij in the Reareward. As for the Horse-men, he orders the Italians on the right hand, and *Massinissa* with the Numidians on the left. *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* set the Celtiberians in the midst, against the Roman Bands, the Numidians on the left hand, and the Carthaginians on the right. Suddainly when the Combat began, the Numidians were repuls'd by the Roman Horse-men, and the Carthaginians (as they had often before) losing courage, were overthrowne by *Massinissa's* Company. Yet the Celtiberians fought valiantly against the Romans: for they had no hope of safety remaining for the ignorance of the places, neither yet if they were taken, considering their vniust Warre. For seeing that *Scipio* during the Warre of *Spain*, had not offended them, it seemed against reason, and a disloyalty to give succours to the Carthaginians. But when the Wings began to giue backe, they were in a manner all slaine, being inclosed by the Principals and the Triarij. Thus the Celtiberians perished, who were a great helpe to the Carthaginians, not only in the fight, but also in the flight, for if they had not entertained the Romans, and that the Chase had beene suddainly followed, few of the Enemies had escaped: but

The order of Battaille of the Roman Army.

The order which *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* held.

The beginning of the Battaille.

The defeat of the Celtiberians.

but as their resistance caused the Day, *Syphax* retired safely with his Horse-men into his Countrey, and *Asdrubal* to *Carthage*, with the rest which escaped. When as the Roman Generall had given order for the spoiles and Prisoners, calling a Counsell, he consulted what he was to do. Whereupon it was thought fit that *Scipio* should with part of the Army assault the Townes, and *Delius* with *Massinissa* accompanied by the Numidians and part of the Roman Army pursues *Syphax*, and not giue him leasure to make any new preparations. These things thus resolved they separate themselves, and some goe against *Syphax*, A with their Souldiers, and the Generall against the Cities: whereof some yeilded to the Romans for feare, and others being forced by siege. At that time the whole Region wauered and were ready to revolt, having beene cruelly tormented and vexed during the length of the Wars of *Spain*.

In regard of *Carthage*, as formerly there was great inconstancy, so now there was greater trouble and combustion, for that having heard and sene this Wound the second time, they grew desperate in themselves. It is true that they among the Councillours which seemed to haue greatest Courage, commaunded that they should saile against those which laid siege to *Byfarthe*, and to make a triall if they might raise the siege, and to fight with the Enemy at Sea, as being ill furnished. They required also that they should send for *Hannibal*, and relie vpon that hope: and that there was reasonable occasions of safety by these two attempts. Some said, that the time would not allow it, and that they must fortifie and furnish the Citie for a siege: And that being of one consent, the accident would minister occasions. Some also aduise to make an Accord and League, whereby they should free themselves of the eminent dangers.

As there were many opinions vpon this businesse, they confirme them all together. Wherefore this was their Resolution, they that were to saile into *Italy*, parting from the Senate should go presently to Sea: The Pylots likewise should prepare that which concerns the ships: And the rest for the safetie of the Citie, hauing a daily care for particular things. But when as the Roman Army was enriched with bootie, and that no man made any resistance, *Scipio* resolues to send the greatest part of the bootie to the first baggage: And taking the ablest and most actiue Bands to seeke to force the Enemies pallisadoe. He therefore (hauing a good courage,) seated his Camps in view of the Carthaginians. He had a conceite that by this meanes hee should amaze and D terrifie them.

The Carthaginians hauing in few daies given order for all the Equipage, ViQualls, and munition of their Shippes, they meant to weigh Anchor, and to execute their Resolution. *Scipio* came to *Tunis*: and although that they which had sied thither kept the approaches, yet he tooke it. *Tunis* is distant from *Carthage* fixe score Furlongs, and is to be sene in a manner by all the Citie: Moreouer it is strong as well by Nature as by Art: The Carthaginians imbarked, and came to *Byfarthe*.

Syphax retires in safety.

The aduise of the Romans.

The pursuit of the Romans against *Syphax*.

Discours opinions of the Carthaginians concerning their Warre.

Tunis taken by *Scipio*.

When hee perceived his covered Shippes, well provided to carry the instruments, and conveniently to raise the siege, but ill appoynted for Combat at Sea, and that those of the Enemies had bene during the Winter instructed and prepared; he was out of hope to make head against them, and to come to fight: Yet he prepared the covered Vessell, and impured them with three or foure racks of Merchants ships.

The remainder is wanting.



A PARCELL OF the Fifteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS.



Cipio was impatient, that the meanes to get Victualls was not only taken from him, but there was plenty with the Enemy: But he seemed to be much more grieved that the Carthaginians had broken their Oath and Accord, making War againe. Wherefore hee made choise for Embassadours of *Lucius Servilius, Lucius Citinus, and Lucius Fabius*, and sent them to speake vnto the Carthaginians vpon this late Addition, and also to signifie vnto them, that the people of Rome had confirmed their Accords, for they had lately brought Letters vnto Scipio containing the said Articles. When the Embassadours were come to Carthage, they were first brought vnto the Senate, and afterwards to many others, where they discoursed freely of the present Affaires. First they put them in minde, how their Embassadours being arrived at Tunis, and were come into the assembly of the Councell, they had not only Sacrificed to the Gods, in bending downe to the ground, as other men are accustomed to do: But moreover (prostrating themselves humbly) they had kist their feet: And when they were risen againe, had acknowledged their faulte to haue broken the Accord concluded in the beginning with the *Romains*, and that for this cause they confest, that they were not ignorant, that they were iustly tormented, and that they increased that by the Fortune of Humanes, they might not be forced to suffer things that were not to be repaired, and that by this meanes their indiscretion and rashnesse would make the *Romains* bounty Commendable. The Embassadours say, that at the repetition

Lucius Servilius, Lucius Citinus, and Lucius Fabius sent Embassadours to the Carthage.

A demonstration of the Roman Embassadours to the Carthaginians.

repetition of these things, the Chiefe and Councillors which were then present in Counsell, were amazed and wondred, with what impudence they forgot things that were then spoken, and durst in manner breake the Covenants sworn. It is in a manner manifest, that vpon the confidence they had in *Hannibal* and his forces, they had presumed to do these things, but inconsiderately. Finally, it was apparent to all the World, that flying the last yeare out of all *Italy*, and being shut vpthrough their sinnefull in the Countrey of *Lucania*, and in a manner besieged, they are fallen this day to that as they are hardly in safety: And although that as Victors they would present themselves, and trie with vs the fortune of the Warre, who haue vanquished you in two following Battails, yet they must not hold the future for certaine: Nor yet thinke of the Victory, but rather feare to be frustrated againe. And if that hapned, to what Gods would they make their prayers and vowes? In what Language would they speake, to moue the Victors to a Commiseration of their calamitie? Seeing that with reason all hope would be taken away, aswell with the Gods as men. These things thus propounded, the Embassadors forthwith depart.

Some of the *Carthaginians* were of opinion that the Accord should not be broken: The greatest part aswell of Burgeses as Senators, disliked that to the Accord there were some grieuances added, and they were much discontented at the hard reprehension of the Embassadors. Moreover they could not restore the shippes which had beene broken, nor repay the Charges. They were likewise fed with no small hope of *Hannibals* Victory. One part of them were of opinion to send away the *Roman* Embassadors without answer. The Burgeses (whose intention was howsoever to renew the Warre) consulting among themselves praized in this manner. We must (said they) giue order that the Embassadors may be safely sent backe to their Campe. Wherefore they presently prepare two Gallies for their returne. But they aduertize *Asdrubal* Chiefe of their Army at Sea, intreating him to keepe some vessels ready neere vnto the *Romans* Campe: to the end that when the Marriners should abandon the Embassadors, these other should board them, and cast them into the Sea. The Army at Sea had ioyned to the *Romans* vpon the flat neere vnto *Byzarbe*.

When they had acquainted *Asdrubal* with these things they dismissthe *Romans*: And giue charge vnto the Marriners of the Gallies, that when they had past the Riuer of *Maere*, they should suffer the *Romans* to Saile towards the Mountaine; for from thence they might visibly discover the Enemies Campe. When the Marriners had Conducted the Embassadors, and according to their charge had crost the Riuer, they turne head, hauing bid the *Romans* farewell. *Lucius* in truth suspected no harme, but thinking to be thus left at Sea by the Marriners through disdaigne, he was much incensed. Whilest they sailed alone, the *Carthaginians* present themselves with three Gallies, which assaile the *Roman* Quinquereme, notable to annoy it nor board it, through the great resistance which they made: And that fighting in Front and

vpon

vpon the flanke, they annoyed the Souldiers with great slaughter of these: until being scene by those which spoiling the Maritime Countrey, came running from their Campe to the Sea shore, they rattle the Gallies a thort. It is true, many of the Company were slain; but the Embassadors escaped beyond all hope.

These things hapning, the Warre was againe renewed with greater violence and cruelty then before. The *Romans* intended with great Courage to vanquish the *Carthaginians*, seeing the faith violated. The *Carthaginians* likewise fearing themselves guilty of that which they had committed, were carefull not to fall into the Enemies subiection. Their courages being such, it was apparent that this must be decided by a Battaille: For this cause not only *Italy* and *Affricke*, but also *Spainie*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, were troubled and rauished in their iudgements, attending the end. And when at the same time *Hannibal* was destitute of Horses, he sent to one *Tycheus* a Numidian allied to *Syphax*, who seemed to haue the most valliant of all the *Affrican* horse, perswading him to giue him succours, and hee should be a sharer in the Action, knowing that if the *Carthaginians* vanquished, his Principallity would remaine safe and intire. But if the *Romans* prevailed, his life is selfe will be in danger, in regard of the ambition of *Massinissa*. Being thus persuaded, hee comes vnto *Hannibal* with about two Thousand Horse.

When as *Scipio* had fortified his Fleete at Sea, and left *Bebias* for Lieutenant, he spoiled the Cities, refusing to receiue any that offered themselves willingly, making them slaues, and shewing the indignation which he had conceived against the Enemies in regard of the faith broken by the *Carthaginians*. Finally, he sends continually to *Massinissa*, letting him vnderstand how the *Carthaginians* had broken the Accords, intreating him to assemble the greatest Army that possibly he could, and to ioyne with him, according vnto their conuentions. *Massinissa* after the conclusion of the Accord, was gone with an Army accompanied with ten Ensignes of *Romans*, aswell Horse as foote, not only to recouer his owne Countrey, but also to seize vpon those of *Syphax* with the helpe of the *Romans*. Finally it hapned that the Embassadors sent backe from *Rome* Landed at that time at the maritime Pallisado of the *Romans*: Suddainly *Bebias* sends his men to *Scipio*, and retaines the *Carthaginians*, being sad and supposing to be in wonderfull danger.

When as they were aduertized of the cruelty of the *Carthaginians* towards the *Roman* Embassadors, they helde not themselves secure from punishment. When as *Scipio* vnderstood what had beene done, that the Senate and people of *Rome* had confirmed the agreement which he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and that they were ready to do that which he aduised them, he was wonderfull glad. Moreover, he commands *Bebias* to send backe the *Carthaginian* Embassadors to their Houses with all fauour and carterie: Vising therein a good aduice (in my opinion) with a wise consideration in what great extreme his Country held their faith with Embassadors. Hee made his reckoning

A Conspiracy
of the Cartha-
ginians against
the Roman Em-
bassadors.

Hannibal sends
to *Tycheus*.

Scipio Lieutenant
named as *Scipio*.

The Carthagi-
nian Embassa-
dours stayed by
Bebias.

ning, that the punishment deferred by the *Carthaginians* did not merit so great a respect, then that which the honour of the *Romans* required to be done. Wherefore restraining his Choller and indignation, conceived for the offence of the *Carthaginians*, hee laboured to obseue that which they say in the Prouerbe, *That wee must cleaue vnto the duties of our Elders.* By this meanes he wonne the hearts of all the *Carthaginians*, and surmounted *Hannibal* and their madnesse by his Loyalty.

The *Carthaginians* prete Hannibal.

When as the *Carthaginians* saw their Townes forced, they sent to *Hannibal* that hee should delay no longer, but present himselfe vnto the Enemy, and decide their affaires by a battaile. *Hannibal* hearing these things, made answere to those that came vnto him, that hee would consider thereon, and make choise of a fit time, to the end he might not seeme negligent. Some daies after hee raiseth his Campe from *Adrumetum*, and marching hee Campees neere vnto *Zama*, which is a Citie five daies journey from *Carthage* towards the West. From thence he sent three Spies, desirous to know where the *Romans* camp, and how they gouerne things which concerne the Situation of a camp. When these Spies were brought to *Scipio* General of the *Romans*, he was so farre from punishing them, as others vsually doe, as contrariwise he gaue charge to a Capitaine Millenier, to shewe them plainly what soeuer was done in the Campe. Which being done, he demaunds, if the Commissary had shewed them all things carefully. The which when they had confest, he sent them backe with Visualls and Guides, commanding them to relate carefully vnto *Hannibal* what they had seene.

The Cleuency of *Scipio*, vnto *Hannibal* his Spies.

This Action causing *Hannibal* to wonder at the magnanimity and confidence of the man, hee conceived an humour to parly with *Scipio*. The which when he had resolved, he sent a Trumpet, saying that he desired to Treat with him concerning all their differences. *Scipio* hauing heard this from the Trumpet, consented, saying, that hee would signifie vnto him the place and the howre, when and where he would parly. These things being heard by the Trumpet he returns vnto his Campe. The day following *Massinissa* arrives with fixe Thousand foote, and almost as many Horse: Whom when as *Scipio* had interained courteously, and shewed him great signes of fauour, for that hee had made all those subiect which had formerly obeyed *Syphax*, hee forth with raiseth his Campe: And when hee came vnto the City of *Margara*, and had found a commodious place, and had appointed the warring within a Bows shot, hee planted his Campe there: And from thence he gaue notice (by certaine conuenient Messengers) vnto the Chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, that hee was ready to parly about their differences.

The coming of *Massinissa* to *Scipio's* Camp.

The which *Hannibal* hearing, he presently marcheth with his camp, and approaches so neere, as he was within thirty furlongs of the *Romans*: Sitting downe vpon a certaine Hill, which besides the Warring, was for all other things commodious and sufficient enough: In trueth it was something farre, and therefore troublesome vnto the Souldiers.

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The day following the two Commanders, accompanied with some few Horse-men goe out of their Camps, and againe they separate themselves from their Companies, meeting alone in an indifferent place with an Interpreter. *Hannibal* began first in these termes. I wish sayd hee, the *Romans* had neuer desired any thing out of *Italy*, nor the *Carthaginians* out of the limits of *Affricke*: either of them no doubt haue great bounds, and as it were limited by Nature. And as wee haue made Warre, first for the difference of *Sicily*, then againe for *Spaines* and that finally, Fortune being auerfe against vs, our Countrey hath bene in danger, and wee are now in perill: The question is, whether there be any meanes to end this present difference after we haue pacified the Gods.

The enterview of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*.

Hannibal's Speech to *Scipio*.

For my part I am ready, hauing made tryall how inconstant Fortune is, and how by little and little shee inclineth sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as if she were gouerned by Children: I am in doubt in regard of thee, as well for thy great youth, as for that all things haue succeeded according to thy desire, as well in *Affricke* as in *Spaines*, hauing neuer yet felt the violence and fury of Fortune, so as happily thou dost giue no credit to my words although they bee true. Yet consider the condition of these things, which not onely concerne our Ancestors, but euen our selues. I am that *Hannibal*, who after the Battaille neare vnto *Cannes*, being Lord in a manner of all *Italy*, approached neare vnto *Rome*, and planted my Campe within forty Furlongs, studying what I should doe with you and your Countrey.

Now I come into *Affricke* to thee a *Roman*, to conferre with thee of my safety, and of that of the *Carthaginians*. I pray thee consider this, and grow not proud, but courteously conferre of the present affaires: that is, that thou wouldest choose of good things the greatest, and of bad the least. What man of iudgement will make choise of the danger which is neare him, if hee obserue it well? For the which if thou obtainest the Victory, thou shalt much increase thy glory, and that of thy Countrey: whereas if thou beest vanquished, thou shalt vitterly lose through thine owne fault all thy pompe and magnificence, and precedent commodity.

But to what end doe I vse these words? To this, that all that for the which wee haue formerly contended, may remaine to the *Romans*, as *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spaines*: and that the *Carthaginians* in regard thereof may neuer make Warre against them. The like also to be done of the other Ilands which lye betwixt *Italy* and *Affricke*, and let them belong to the *Romans*. I belecue confidently, that these accords and agreements will hereafter bring safety to the *Carthaginians*, and to thee and the *Romans* great glory and honour. Thus much spake *Hannibal*.

Scipio answering to these things, the *Romans* sayd, they haue not bene the Authors, but the *Carthaginians*, of the Warre which hath past for *Sicily*, nor of that of *Spaines*: whereof they must know that *Hannibal* had bene the chiefe Author, and that the Gods

Scipio's answer to *Hannibal*.

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are witnesses, whom I pray to impart the vertue, not to those which are the Authors of our-rages, but to those that defend themselves. Yet I consider what the Nature of Fortune is, and with all my power haue searcht into humane affaires. If before the *Romans* passage into *Affricke*, and that parting out of *Italy* thou hadst propounded these accords, I am of Opinion thou hadst not bene frustrated of thy hope. But now thou hast abandoned *Italy* against thy will, and that being in *Affricke*, we haue held our Campe in the open Plaine, it is manifest that matters are much changed. Withall (which is a great matter) A we are come hither, thy Citizens being partly vanquished, and suing for a peace, we haue past in writing the accords that were sworn, in the which (besides that which thou now propoundest) these Articles were comprehended: that the *Carthaginians* should haue no co-tered vessels, that they should pay three Millions of Gold, restore the Captiues without Ransome, and giue hostages. These were the accords which past betwixt vs: for the which wee and they came to the Senate and to our people. Wee haue protested that that these accords thus reduced to Writing seemed good vnto vs: The *Carthaginians* intreated that they might enjoy the said agreements: The Senate obeyed, and the people in like manner gaue their consent therunto.

Articles com-
prehended in
the Accords
past betwixt
Scipio and the
Carthaginians.

The *Carthaginians* after they had obtained what they had demanded, haue transgressed and broken the accords. What remains now to be done? Be thou in my place and iudge. Shall wee take the grieuances out of the conditions, to the end you may suffer no punishments for the transgression, and that you may be taught hereafter to preuaricate against your benefactors? Or else hauing obtained that which you demand you should not be bound vnto vs? But what? When thy people now in suing had obtained their request, they presently intreated vs as Enemies, after they had conceived some little hope of thee. If the burthens had bene too heavy, they might haue required an abatement from the people: and if they had remitted any Articles of the accord, the Senate doubtlesse would haue made no long delay. But to what end tend our words? Submit your selues and your Country to our protection, or vanquish fighting. *Hannibal* and *Scipio* hauing discoursed after this manner, being of contrary opinions retire.

The day following at Sunne-rising, they put their Armies into Battaille, whereof the *Carthaginians* were to fight for their safety and for *Affricke*, and the *Romans* for the vniuersall Empire. What is hee who considering these things can without compassion heare the relation: No man shall euer finde more warlike Armies, nor more fortunate Commanders, nor more excellent Wrestlers in the Stratagems of Warre, nor greater rewards propounded vnto them by Fortune. For they which should obtaine the Victory, should not onely be Lords of *Affricke* and *Asia*, but also of all the other parts of the World which are at this time mentioned in Histories: the which soone after succeeded, *Scipio* put his Army in Battaille after this manner.

First

First he ordred those that were lightly armed by certaine spaces: after whom he placed the Bands of the Principals, and not according to the spaces of the first Ensignes, as the *Romans* had bene accustomed, but distant one from another, in regard of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants: and vpon the Rearer hee appoints the Triarij. As for the Wings, hee gaue charge of the left to *Caius Lelium* with the Italian Horse-men: and the right to *Massinissa* with all the *Numidians* that were vnder his charge. Finally, hee fill'd the spaces of the first Ensignes with forked Iauelings: to whom he commanded to begin the Skirmish: and if they were repuls'd and forc'd to giue backe by the violence of the Elephants, that they which should bee separated, should retire by the straight spaces to the Rearer of the Army: and they which should be enuironed, should retire to the Ensignes by the crosse spaces.

The order of
Scipio's Bat-
talle.

These things being thus ordred, he makes an Oration in few words to his Army, and yet proper for the euent of the affaires. He intreats them to remember their precedent Battailles, and to behaue themselves like braue men, worthy of the *Roman* Name, setting before their eyes, that hauing the Victory they should not onely be Lords of all *Affricke*, but moreover they should purchase the Empire and government of the rest of the World. If the fortune of the Warre succeeded otherwise, thee which dyed fighting valiantly, should haue an honourable graue, hauing died for their Countrey: whereas they that should turne head, should liue the remainder of their daies in great ignominy and misery, for there is no place in *Affricke* that can shelter them in their flight, finally if they fall into the *Carthaginians* hands, they which haue any iudgement vnderstand well what the euent will bee: and God forbid that any of you should make trial of it, when as fortune propounds vnto vs great rewards of euery side, shall wee not bee the most simple Idiots in the world, if when of good things they present the best vnto vs, wee choose with a desire of life the worst of bad? wherefore in propounding these two, either to vanquish or dye, hee encourageth them to march against the enemy, for being in this humour, they must with a dispaire of life, alwayes vanquish their enemies in making head. *Scipio* inflamed the hearts of his Souldiers after this manner.

Scipio's Speech
to his Army.

In regard of *Hannibal*, hee placed his Elephants before the whole Army, being about foure score: and then about twelue thousand Mercenaries, which were *Gentualis*, *Minorquins*, and *Maurusians*: After which hee placed the Inhabitants of *Affricke* and the *Carthaginians*. After all which hee orders those which hee had brought out of *Italy*, and separates them from the rest about a Furlong. Hee fortified the Wings with Horse-men, ording the *Numidians* on the right, and the *Carthaginians* on the left. Hee commanded euery Leader to encourage his Souldiers, to the end they might put their trust in him, and the Troupes which hee had brought out of *Italy*. Hee likewise commands the *Carthaginian* Captaines to acquaint their men with the miseries which would befall

The order of
Hannibal's Bat-
talle.

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befall their Wiues and Children, if this Battaile succeeded otherwise than they desired. The which they effected. *Hannibal* likewise came to them which hee had brought with him, and intreates them with a long speech to remember their mutuall and common life, for the space of seuentene Yeares : That they should thinke of the many Battailes which they had fought with the *Romans*, in the which they had bene alwayes Victors, and had neuer left them any hope of Victory. But hee intreated them chiefly, that amidst the encounter they should set before their eyes the infinite prerogatiues : Namely, the Battaile which they gained, fighting against the Father of this present *Roman* Commander, neare vnto *Trebia* : Then that which was against *Flaminius* : and also towards *Cannus* against *Emilius* : the which hee sayd, were neither for the number and multitude of men, nor according vnto their forces worthy to bee compared to the present danger.

When he had vsed this Speech, hee commands them to looke vpon the Enemies in Battaile, telling them that they were not onely fewer in number, but they were scarce the least part of those which then fought against them, and that they could not compare with them in forces. And as the others were before invincible, they had fought cheerefully and stoutly, and that of these some were the Children of men, and the others the Reliques of such as had bene often defeated in *Italy*, and had so many times shewed them their heeles. Wherefore he was of aduice that they should not doe any thing to the prejudice of their glory and fame, nor of their Commander : But in fighting courageously, confirme the opinion which was conceived of them to be invincible. Behold the Speeches or such like which they held vnto their Armies. When as all things necessary were ready for the Combat, and that the *Numidian* Horse-men had skirmished long : *Hannibal* commanded those which were mounted vpon the Elephants to charge the Enemy.

But when the Trumpets and Claires sounded, some of them being amazed, turn'd head, and went violently against the *Numidians*, which were come to succour the *Carthaginians*. Finally, the left Wing of the *Carthaginians* was left bare by *Massinissa's* Company. The rest of the Elephants fighting with the luelings in the midst of the Battalions, without doubt endured much, so likewise they annoyed the Enemies : vntill that being amazed, some going forth by the spaces were taken, as the Generall had giuen order : Others flying on the right hand, and wounded by the Horse-men, passe in the end the place of the Battaile. And when the Elephants were thus dismayed, *Lelyus* charging the *Carthaginian* Horse-men, repulseth them in such sort, as they some turned head, the Chafe being pursued by him.

The like did *Massinissa*. Whilst these things are in action, the two Battalions come to fight with a slow pace, and wonderful great courage, except those which were come out of *Italy*, who budge not out of their place. When they came to affront one another,

The beginning of the Battaile by the Elephants.

The strength of the Battaile.

another, the *Romans* crying after their Countrey manner, and making their Targets found with their Swords, fought with their Enemies. The Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* cast forth darts confusedly, for it was not the same found, nor the same voyce, but diverse languages : for they were men drawne from diuers Countreies. And when as this Battaile was fought with great courage, and man to man, so that the Combatants could not helpe themselves with their faultings nor Swords, the Mercenaries fought in the beginning with great courage and dexterity, and wounded many *Romans*. The *Romans* also trusting in their good order and Armes, laboured much to goe on.

And when as they which were in the Reare of the *Romans*, gave courage to the first in following them, and the *Carthaginians* not coming on to succour their Souldiers, but staying behinde safely and for want of courage, the *Barbarians* declined. Wherefore when they saw themselves abandoned by their Companions, in retiring they fell vpon those which stood still and slew them : the which forced many *Carthaginians* to dye valiantly. For when they were slaine by the Mercenaries, they fought boldly as well against their owne men as against the *Romans*. In which combat (as they fought after a horrible manner like furious men) they made no lesse slaughter of their owne then of the Enemies. By this means they fell confusedly vpon the Troups that were lightly armed. The Captaines of the Principals seeing this accident, charg'd their Battalions. The greatest part of the *Carthaginians* and Mercenaries were slaine, as well by them as by those that were lightly armed.

In regard of such as escaped and fled, *Hannibal* would not suffer them to mingle with the Battalions, commanding their Captaines to ranke them before, and forbidding moreover to receive such as approach : wherefore they were forced to retire vpon the Wings, and without them. But for that the place betwixt the two Armies was full of blood and dead bodies, this put the *Carthaginian* Generall into great difficulty, and was a great let for him to charge againe. For the instability of the dead which were bloody and false vpon heapes, with the confusion of Armes which were fallen among the dead, they were to haue a troublesome passage which marcht in Battaile. Yet the wounded being carried backe, and a recreate being sounded by the Trumpets which followed those that were lightly armed, hee puts his men before the fight in the midst of the Enemy : In regard of the Principals and Triarij, hee giues order that being closely ioyn'd, they should march crosse the dead bodies vpon the two Wings.

When they were equall with those that were lightly armed, the Battalions charged one another with great violence and courage. It happened that for the multitude, courage, and equal Armes of either side, the Combat was long doubtfull. They that were slaine, dyed euery man in his Ranke with a braue emulation, vntill that *Massinissa* and *Lelyus* returning from the chafe of the Horse-men, had by

The great fury of the fight.

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The victory of
the Romans a-
gainst the Car-
thaginians.

Hannibal flies
to Admetum.

Hannibal van-
quished by for-
tune.

good fortune, rallied their men together, with whom charging vpon the Rere of those which were with *Hannibal*, a great number of them were defeated in Battaille, and some of them charged which fled: For the Horse men were dispersed of all sides, and the Country was plaine and Champion. There died about thirtie hundred *Romans*, and twenty thousand *Carthaginians*. The Prisoners were not much lesse. This Battaille in the which they fought for the Emperie, and which by the sayd Commanders was iudged the vniuersall victory to the *Romans*, had this end. And whereas after the fight, *Scipio* pursuing the *Carthaginians*, had onerthrowne their Palliadee, hee returned to his Campe. *Hannibal* recouered *Admetum*, still running with some few Horses. Hee had done his duty in this Battaille, not omitting that which was requisite for a good an expert Capitaine.

For first he laboured to diuert the eminent danger by a parley with *Scipio*. 'Tis the duty of a man which doth not wholly relye vpon valour, but distrustful Fortune, to fore-see things which contrary to all opinions doe usually happen in a Battaille. And afterwards coming to the Combat, he so carried himselfe, as the Battaille could not be better ordred against the *Romans* by him that shall vie the like Armes, then *Hannibal* had then disposed it. For when the Army and order of the *Romans* was diuided, it fell out that all of them might fight together, or by Troups against any open attempt, by a certaine order of the Battalion: for that alwayes two Ensignes were ioyned neare together when it was needfull, and that moreover their Armes serued the Souldiers for a couering and assurance, considering the greatnesse of their Targets, and the firmnesse of their Swords to strike, so as for these reasons it seemed a difficult thing to defeat them. Yet *Hannibal* gaue so good order for all these things, as he shewed his industry. For he had suddainly prepared this multitude of Elephants, and placed them before his Battalions, to the end they might breake the Enemies Ranks. Secondly, he ordred the Mercenaries in Front, after which he caused the *Carthaginians* to march, to the end they might sire the bodies of the Enemies, and make the vigour of their Armes vnprofitable, by reason of the number of the Dead, and that withall hee should force the *Carthaginians*, (as placed in the midst) to stand in Battaille, and to fight vntill that forced by necessity he should come to combat. In regard of the valiant men, hee mingled them by spaces: fore-seeing that which doth usually happen, to the end that remaining vndanted both in body and courage, he might make vse of their forces at need. He deserues pardon in this, that hauing omitted nothing that might serue to vanquish, yet he hath bene frustrated, seeing that before hee had bene inuincible. It happens sometimes that some actions resist the attempts of good men: and sometimes it happens that a good man is prevented of his desire by him that is better: the which may then be sayd to haue happened by *Hannibal*.

A defect of the
Text.

It is true, that when as things which exceed the common custome and manner of liuing of some, perish of themselves for the greatnesse of the accidents, they deserue commiseration with those that are present and heare

heare it: The vniuersall nouelty of things moue vs. But if that such an accident happens by deccite and Hypocrisie it moues none to pity, but to Choller and Hatred: The which then happened to the *Carthaginian* Embassadors.

Scipio beginning in few words, let them vnderstand that hee was not to shew them any courtesie or fauour, seeing they contest they had begunne the Warre against the *Romans*, and against the conuentions had spoild the City of the *Zachanians*, and first Transgressed the Accords, Oathes, and Agreements reduced to Writing: And yet the *Romans* haue resolved to shew them grace, and (in regard of Fortune and humane aduentures,) to vse Clemency and Magnanimity in their present Affaires. The which should be manifest vnto them, if they consider what was offered: Finally they must not take it ill if for the present they imposed vpon them things, which they must doe, or suffer, or deliuer: But they should wonder and hold it strange, if they obtayne any mercy: Seeing that Fortune dis-fauouring them for their iniustice, had (in denying mercy and pardon) made them subiect vnto their Enemies.

Zachania spoild
by the Car-
thaginians.

This Speech being ended, hee promised them Clemency and Fa-
uour: Teaching them withall what they were to indure: The which is
comprehended in these Articles. That they should leaue vnto the *Car-
thaginians* the Cities which they had in *Affricke* before this last Warre
attempted against the *Romans*, and the Countries which anciently they
held, and finally their Cattle, Bodies, and other Wealth. Moreo-
uer it was granted them, that from that day they might liue free with-
out any let or hinderance of their Lawes and Customes. This was
that which was granted them of grace. Again they added these
contrary Articles: That the *Carthaginians* should make restitution, of
the vniuersall spoiles which they had committed against the *Romans* during
the Truce: That they should restore all the Captiues and Fugitiues,
which they had had during the Warre: They should deliuer all their
long Vessels except ten Gallies: And in like manner the Elephants: not
to attempt to make any Warre out of *Affricke*, nor in *Affricke* it selfe
without the consent of the *Romans*: To restore vnto King *Massaniissa*,
the Houses, fields, Cities, and whatsoever had belonged to him or
his Predecessors, within the limits that should be set downe: That
they should nourish the Army for three moneths, and pay them vntill
the answer were returned from *Rome*: And according vnto the Ac-
cord pay fixe Millions of Gold, within fifty Yeares, after the rate of
fixscore thousand Crownes yearly: That they should giue in Hostage
for the assurance of their faith, a hundred yong men, as the Commam-
der should appoint, which should not be vnder the Age of fouretcene
Yeares, nor about thirty.

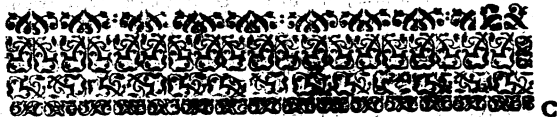
The Articles of
Accord, pro-
pounded by
Scipio to the
Carthaginians.

The Roman Generall propounded these things vnto the *Carthaginian*
Embassadors, who made hast to make their Report. They say, that
when as a certaine Senator, laboured to contradict the said Articles in
the Senate, *Hannibal* stepping forth drew him out of his Seate: And
when as the rest were discontented, for that hee had done against the
Custome

Hannibal forced
a Citizen.

Custome of the City: *Hannibal* steppes vp againe and saith, (as it is reported) that if he had committed any thing against their Custome and course of liuing, he was to be pardoned: For they knew well that being a young Boy of nine yeares of age, he had gone out of the Country, and returned againe at the age of fiftie and forty: For this cause he intreated them that they would not haue any regard to that, wherein he had transgressed their Custome, considering rather that if he suffered for the affaires of the Country: It was for them he had fallen into this transgression. Finally that it seemed wonderfull and strange to him, if any *Carthaginian* knowing what Councell had bene taken against the *Romans*, as well for the publicke as priuate good, did not adore Fortune: Seeing that now being made subiect vnto them, they had purchased such grace and fauour: Whereof if any one would haue put the Country in Hope, some daies before the *Romans* had the Victory, hee would not haue bene able to speake for the greauesse and excesse of the apparent miseries,

Wherefore he intreated them againe, not to do any thing slowly, nor by Discourse: And that consenting all with one voice to the Articles of the peace, they should Sacrifice vnto the Gods, and pray that the people of *Rome* might confirme them. When it seemed that hee had giuen wise aduice, and fit for the time, it was concluded to accept the Accord prescribed, and to passe it with the *Romans*. Wherefore they suddainly sent away the same men in Embassie which had contradicted the Articles.



A Parcell of the Deedes and Posterity of *Ptolomy*.

Inally who will not wonder, that *Ptolomy* had not provided to giue aide to these men during his life, seeing there were some which were ready to succour them? But when Death surpriz'd him, hee left a young Infant, to whom by right of nature, he had indaunoured, as they say, with both hands to preserve him the Crowne: Then encouraging one another, they make haft to practise a Villany, and to murder this Infant, and to diuide his principallity among them. The which they do not after the manner of Tyrants, who pretend some colour for their infamy: But carry themselves afterwards so impudently and brutishly, as that which they speake of the life of Fishes is due vnto them. Of whom they say, that although they be of one kind, yet the defeat of the

the smaller seeds and entertaines the life of the greater. Wherefore who will not thinke to see a great execration against the Gods, and a cruelty towards men, and likewise a great avarice of the said Kings, seeing this pacton and agreement as in a glasse: What is hee who for these causes hauing accused Fortune in humane affaires, doth not likewise consider that shee hath since made them to suffer worthy punishments, and left to posterity a good example for the amendment of their course of liuing, as hauing propounded vnto these Kings such an ignominious punishment? For when they had transgressed the agreements among themselves, and diuided the Infants Principality, all things did iustly proue hurtfull and opposit vnto them, which they had wickedly resolu'd against their Kinsfolkes and Neighbours, by the bringing in of the *Romans*: for that the one and the other being suddainly vanquished, they were not onely forced to abate their couetousnesse of another mans goods: but being made subiect to tributes, they were constrained to obey the Commandments of the *Romans*. Finally, Fortune hath in a short time disposed of the Reigne of *Ptolomy*, making the Potentates of the others, and their successours, some of them to bee banished and miserable, involving some in a manner in the like Disasters.



Of Philip of Macedony.

He *Ciansins* fell in these miseries not so much through Fortune, and the iniustice of their Neighbours, as by their owne rashnesse and the bad gouernment of their Common weale, where most commonly the worst were in esteeme, and good men put to death for the spoiles of their Wealth, and by this meanes they are in a manner willingly fallen into these misfortunes, whereunto all men incline, I know not how apparently, yet they cannot resolute vpon any aduice, nor suddainly distrust: which some brute Beasts doe. For if sometimes they enter into Icalousie of Baies and Nets, if they haue seene any other perish, you shall hardly draw them to doe the like, holding the place for suspect, with a distrust of all things which haue any resemblance. In regard of men, when they heare some speake, and see others perish in like manner: Yet suddainly when any one vsing gracious words, hath propounding a mutuall hope of correction, they run without any regard into the toiles, knowing certainly that neuer any man which had swallowed this kind of baite had escaped, such policies being an assured defeat to all men.

A good comparison.

When

When as *Philip* had reduced the City vnder his obedience, he reioyced as if he had brought some braue and honourable action to an end. And when hee had speedily giuen Succours to his Allies, and had terrified all those which estranged themselves from him, and had claymed abundance of goods and bodies vnder the colour of Iustice, hee neuer thought of those things that were contrary, although they were manifest: giuing at the first Succours to the Allie, who had not bene wrong'd, and yet had broken the confederations with his Neighbours. And as finally he had confirmed the bruit of his cruelty towards his Friends, afflicting the Cities of *Greece* with great miseries, he had iustly purchased the generall esteeme of a cruell man withall the *Grecians*. Thirdly, he wronged & reuiled the Embassadors of the said Cities, who were come to free the *Cianeins* from that eminent danger: And being called by him, and conferring daily with him, they were present at things which he desired not.

Embassadors wronged by Philip,

Moreover, he incensed the *Rhodiens* against him: so as they could not endure to heare any mention of him. Finally, Fortune therein fauours him openly. His Embassadour made an Oration vpon the Theater against the *Rhodiens*, commending the magnificence of *Philip*, who when he had by some meanes got possession of the City, he had done that grace vnto the people. This he did to reprehend the suspicion and detraction of those which resisted him, and to manifest his resolution to the City. There came also some one from the Port vnto the Magistrate, aduertising him of the ruine of the *Cianeins*, and of the cruelty which *Philip* practised against them: So as when the Gouverneur entring in the midst of the Embassadors Oration, speaking the said things, and declared the newes, the *Rhodiens* could not beleue for the exccesse of the fact.

Philip hauing then preuaticated and dissembled, not so much against the *Cianeins* as against himselfe, began to be so transported and to stray from his duty, as hee gloried and brag'd in his actions as good, for the which hee should haue bene ashamed. The *Rhodiens* from that day held *Philip* for an enemy, and prepared to that end. The *Etolians* also conceiued a hatred against him for the same fact. When as lately being reconciled, he had giuen forces to that Nation, there being then no cause of hatred nor spleene, (when as a little before the *Etolians*, the *Lysimacheins*, *Calsidoniens*, and *Cianeins* were made Friends) hee hath in assailing first the *Lysimacheins*, distracted their City from the Alliance of the *Etolians*: spoiling those of the *Calsidoniens*, and thirdly the *Cianeins*, whilst that the Chief of the *Etolians* was resident in their City, hauing the superintendency of the publicke affaires.

The Rhodiens declared Enemies to Philip.

Finally *Prusias* reioyced for that which had hapned beyond his desires: But he was discontented that another should reape the reward for the taking of the Citie, and that there was fallen vnto him a desolate place naked of buildings, so as hee could not effect any thing. After he had assembled the greatest men of the *Macedonians*, he came to them with the King and *Agathocles*, faining in the beginning that hee was

not

not able to speake for teares: And when he had wiped them often with his cloake, and caused them to cease, take saith he, carrying an infant, this which the dying Father hath deliuered into the armes of this Creature: (shewing his sister) and hath left it vnto vs vpon our faith, do you vnderstand my masters of the *Athenians*? The loue of this infant is of small moment to procure his safetie, where as now the cause is in you and your hands. *Tlepoleme* in truth hath for a long time (as it is manifest to those which consider well of things) had greater desires then were sitting, and hath now resolved on the day and time when he will vsurpe the Towne. For this cause hee intreated that they would not beleue him, but those which being present knew sufficiently the Truth.

This Speech being ended, he brings in *Critolane*, who said he had scene the Altars and Sacrifices, prepared by the multitude, for the veneration of the Crowne. The which the *Macedonians* hearing, they were neither moued with pittie, nor had any respect vnto that which was spoken. But in mocking and murmuring they iested among themselves, so as *Prusias* knew not how he got out of the Assembly; the which hapned in other Assemblies of the people. In the meane time many of the old Souldiers arriued by Sea, whereof some being kinemen and other friends, they intreated them to assist them in this present businesse, and that they should haue regard to the iniuries which had bene done them by dishonest and vnworthy men. Most of them were incensed to put the great men to death: for that they presumed that what should happen would be vnto their preiudice: Seeing that *Tlepoleme* tooke all things necessary that were lent to *Alexandria*. Finally, it was an aduancement to *Agathocles* to incense the Choller of many, and of *Tlepoleme*.

They had put *Danae* his Mother in Law into custodie, being pull'd from the Temple of *Ceres*, and drawne thorough the City bare-headed, seeking by this meanes to shewe their hatred against *Tlepoleme*. Wherefore the people being incensed spake no more in secret: For some in the night wrote their conceiued hatred in all places. Others in the open day going in Tronpes, deliuered the hatred which they bare vnto the greatest. They which were with *Agathocles*, seeing the affaires, and hauing little hope in them, they thought of their retreat. But when as through their indiscretion they were ill provided, they desisted from their Enterprize, and made a Register of the Conspirators and of their Adherents in this commotion, to the end they might suddenly kill some of their Enemies, and seaze vpon others, and by this meanes vsurpe a Tyrannicall power.

Danae a prisoner.

And as they practized these things, they accused *Maragena* one of *Tlepolemes* guards, for that he aduertized all, and held his party in regard of the familiaritie of *Ades*, Gouverneur at that time of *Bubaste*. *Agathocles* suddenly giues charge to the Secretary *Nicostrates*, that he should informe diligently of *Maragena*, with all manner of torment. *Maragena* being suddenly taken by *Nicostrates*, and led into a certaine secret place of the Hall, he answered at the first well, conceiuing the accidents

accidents which had happened : But when hee confest nothing of the things which were spoken, he was stript. Some prepared the instruments to Torture him, others holding Whips put off their Cloaks. At the same instant one comes running to *Nicostrates*, and after hee had whispred in his eare, he parts in hast. *Nicostrates* follows him suddenly without speaking word, beating continually vpon his thigh. This was an vnhopd accident for *Maragena*. For some held the Whips, but they had no Commandment to whip him, others had the instruments ready to torture his feet.

When as *Nicostrates* was gone, they were all amazed, and looking A one vpon another expected when he would returne. Soone after the assistants vanished one after one, and in the end *Maragena* was abandoned. This done, he passeth the Hall contrary to all Hope, and being naked slip into a certaine Tent of the *Macedonians* neere vnto the Hall. When by good fortune he had found the greatest there assembled, hee acquaints them with his disaster, and how he had escaped, as it were, by miracle. Some of them did not belicue him, others seeing him naked were forced to giue credite. *Maragena* intreats them with teares, not onely to haue a care of his safety, but also of the Kings and their owne : And that their Death was manifest, if they did not make vse of the occasion, for that all the World was inflamed with Hatred, and there was not any man but was ready to put *Agathocles* to Death, saying that this Hatred increased Houerly, and that they must haue men to execute this Enterprize.

The *Macedonians* hearing this Speech were incensed, and in the end obeying to *Maragena* : They suddenly enter into the first Tents of the *Macedonians*, and then into those of the other Souldiers. They were ioyning and neere to the side of the Citie. When as many of them rooke vpon them the Charge, and that there was no need of any thing but of some one, to giue courage to them that came, and who should first execute the Enterprize, this attempt kindled like a flame. There were scarce foure houres spent, but that all men, aswell Souldiers as Citizens, conspired to assaile *Agathocles*. There was an accident which happed suddenly, which serued well to end this attempt. For when they had brought Letters to *Agathocles*, and that the Spies were returned, and the Letters sent by *Tlepoleme*, signified vnto the King that he would be soone there, being likewise assured by the Spies that hee was neere, he fell into so great a transport in his iudgement, as hee neither did nor thought of any remedy against the eminent dangers, but following his accustomed course, hee went to drinke and banquet with others.

And when *Oenante* was sad and sorrowfull, shee goes vnto *Ceres* Temple. Where (when it was opened for a certaine Annuall Sacrifice) she prays humbly, then she vseth Enchaunments towards the Goddesses, finally shee staves at the Altar and rests there. Many Women were silent and obserued her heauinesse and affliction. The kinsfolkes of *Polycrates*, and some other Noble men comforted her, and being ignorant of the approaching misery. She on the other side crying out with

Maragena laues himselfe naked.

Oenante be sad.

with a loud voice, Come not neare me you Beasts : I know well you are ill affected towards vs, and that you require the Gods to send vs some ill Fortune : But I hope that with their good pleasure you shall taste of your owne Children. Having ended this Speech, shee commands the Executioner to suppress them, and if they did not obey, to beate them. Taking this occasion they all depart, and in lifting vp their hands towards the Gods, they prayed that shee might make tryall of that which shee had wisht to the Company.

But when the men had concluded the reuolte, and that in every A house the fury of the Women was added therunto, their hatred grew double. When as the darknesse of the Night was come, the whole City was fill'd with Mutiny, lights, and running vp and downe. Some assembled at the Theater with cries, others encouraged one another, and some ran to hide themselves in houses, and places that were not suspected. And when the spacious places about the Hall, the place for running of Horses, and the Court about *Dionysius* Theater, were fill'd with a multitude of all sorts of men. *Agathocles* hearing this, riseth vp being drunke, after that hee had emptied his gorge, and came vnto the King after hee had taken all his Kinmen except *Philon*.

B After hee had vsed some Speech mouing to compassion, hee takes him by the hand, and leads him to the Armory of Iauelings, seated betwixt the top and the wrestling place, and which bends by the way of the Theater : And after hee had opened two Doores, hee came to the third, accompanied with two or three of the Guard and his Kinmen. These Doores were transparent and shut with double Barres. And when at that time all the Commons of the City were there assembled, so as not onely the places were full of men, but also the passages and tops of houses, there grew a confused cry and howling of Women and Children, with the men in this Mutiny, as well of them of *Chalcedonia*, as of *Alexandria* mingled together. At C Sun-rising the cry was confused : yet the chiefe found was, that they called for the King.

The *Macedonians* rising first, seaze vpon the Ports of the Kings Treasure. But when they vnderstood in what part of the Pallace the King was, turning to the first Doores of the first Armory, they beate them downe. And when they were come vnto the second, they demand the Infant with a great cry. *Agathocles* seeing what would befall him, intreats the Guard to intercede for him to the *Macedonians*, letting them vnderstand, that hee would relinquish the government of the Infant, with his power and dignity, and moreover all the government : intreating them to be so fauourable vnto him, as to saue his life, affording him necessary Victuals and the like, returning vnto his ancient and former course of life, and that hee would not (nay he could not) offer offence or wrong vnto any man whatsoeuer.

None of the Guards pitying him in his distresse, would obey him, onely *Arifomenes* vnderooke the charge, who was afterwards

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wards

wards Gouvernour of the publicke affaires. He was an *Acarnanian*, and as he was advanced in yeares, having the superintendency of the affaires, hee was held a good Gouvernour to the King and royall Pallace : And in the meane time he had respect to the prosperity of *Agathocles* : for he was the first who calling vnto him *Agathocles*, hee alone had a Crowne of Gold by all the assistants : the which they vsually doe onely to Kings. Finally, hee was the first that durst carry a Ring with *Agathocles* Image. And when hee had a Daughter by his Wife, hee called her *Agathocles*. But we haue spoken sufficiently of this Subiect.

Hee therefore hauing taken charge of *Agathocles* commandment, and going forth at a Posterne, he came vnto the *Macedonians*. When he had vied some little speech, and declared the Will of *Agathocles*, the *Macedonians* fought to kill him : and when as many put forth their hands to defend him, they enquired the Opinion of the rest, which being vnderstood, he returned to *Agathocles*, hauing charge to come backe with the King, or else to returne no more. The *Macedonians* hauing given this Answer, sent backe *Aristomenes*, and assailing the second Doore, they vnbang it. Wherefore they which were with *Agathocles*, seeing the violence of the *Macedonians*, as well by their actions as by their answers, comming first to the Doore, lifting vp their suppliant hands : *Agathocles* likewise shewed the Pappes wherewith shee sayd shee had given the King sucke, intreating the *Macedonians* with a mournfull and miserable voice, onely to saue her life. And when as by the great lamentations of her Fortane shee had preuailed nothing, in the end they draw forth the Infant with his Guards.

The *Macedonians* presently set the King on Horse-backe, and lead him to the Theater. Assoone as hee was discovered, they stay his Horse with great clamors and ioy, and taking him downe they set him in a royall Chaire. In the meane time the Commons partly reioyce, and were partly sad. They reioyced for the comming of the Infant : againe, they were sad and grieved for that they which were the Offenders, had not bene taken and punished accordingly. Wherefore crying continually, they required that they might bee brought and exemplarily punished by an ignominious and reproachfull Death, as the Authors of all their miseries and troubles. But when the Day was farre spent, the Mutiny of the people could not be satisfied by any means.

Sosibius the Sonne of *Sosibius*, then Captaine of the Guard, hauing the principall charge of the Kings affaires, seeing that the Mutiny of the people could not bee pacified, and the Infant grew sad through the infolency and nouelty of the present affaires, and the trouble of the Commons, hee demanded of him if hee would not deliuer vnto the people those which had offended against him or his Mother. And when hee consented, hee commanded the Guards to make the Kings will knowne : And then they tooke the Infant in his Chaire, and carried him to his owne house.

But

Agathocles
shewes her
Pappes vnto the
Macedonians.

But when the Kings pleasure was diuulged and made knowne by the Guards, all the place was full of ioy and exclamations. They which were with *Agathocles* and *Agathocles*, retired presently to their houses. The Guards presently forced some of them, and others were thrust on by the people, to seeke them out and kill them. Whereof the beginning was by an accident.

One of the Guard, and a follower to *Agathocles* named *Phylon*, being yet full with Drinke, came forth into the place. Who when hee saw the Mutiny of the people, hee sayd vnto the assistants, that if euer *Agathocles* came forth againe as hee had done, they would repent it. They which heard him, some blamed him, others thrust him, and when hee offered to defend himselfe, some suddainly reare his Cloake, others slew him miserably with their Iauelings. Whilst they drag'd him about the place yet breaching, and that the Commons had tasted the fury of striking, they expect hourly to haue the rest brought.

Soone after *Agathocles* was the first, being bound and manacled : who going on was suddainly thrust thorough by some one, wherein hee performed the part of a Friend, and not of an Enemy. For by this means they preuent his worthy punishment. They brought with him *Nicon* and *Agathocles* naked with her Sisters, and consequently all their Parentage : Finally, they drawe *Oenante* out of the Temple, and bring her on horse-backe naked vnto the place : When all these were deliuered vnto the Commons, some bize them, others pricke them, and some pull out their eyes and dismember them, vntill they were maimed.

The *Egyptians* are wonderfull cruell in their fury. At the same time some Virgins which had bene bred vp with *Arcinoe*, hearing *Sirene* crying out that *Philammon Tritee* had bene present at the murder of the Queene, they fall vpon his house, and kill him with Stones and Staues, smothering his young Sonne. Finally, they drag his Wife into the place and kill her. This was the end of *Agathocles* and *Agathocles* with their Kinsfolkes. I am not ignorant what Fables and colours some Historiographers vse in these actions, to amaze the Readers with a copious advancement of words, and otherwise then the truth containes.

Some referre this accident to Fortune, shewing how inconstant and ineuitable shee is : seeking to bring Causes and Similitudes of actions. It is true that in the pursuite of this Worke I had resolved to helpe my selfe with the sayd actions, for that this *Agathocles* had nothing honourable for his courage and prowesse in the Warre, neither any happy manning of affaires which ought to bee desired : Neither did hee vnderstand the cunning and policy of a Courtier, in the which *Sosibius* and many others being very well instructed, had surped Kingdomes : The which notwithstanding happened vnto this man. Hee grew great by chance, for that *Philopater* was not able to gouerne the Realme.

Hauing therefore gotten this occasion to come vnto greatnesse, when

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when

Agathocles
saine.

Nicon and *Agathocles*
saine.

The *Egyptians*
cruell.

The cruelty of
Virgins.

Agathocles and
Denis Sicilius.

when as after his Death hee had a fit opportunity offered to maintaine his power, yet hee lost both life and goods faintly and basely, being slaine within a short time. Wherefore it is not fitting, that in the relation of such things they should adde words: especially when they speake of such as *Agathocles* and *Denis Sicilius*, with some others, which had beene famous and renowned for their actions. One of them in truth came of a base extraction: But as *Tymetus* cauells, *Agathocles* being a Potter, he came in his younger yeares to *Sarragosse*. They were cyther of them in their times Tyrants of *Sarragosse*: of that City I say, which at that time was great in authority, and abounding in riches: And afterwards they were Kings of all *Sicily*, and enioyed some parts of *Italy*. A

The saying of
Scipio.

In regard of *Agathocles*, hee died not in assailing *Affricke*, but after this manner with a desire to Reigne. And therefore they say of *Publius Scipio*, who first forced *Carthage*, that when they demanded of him what men hee held ablest to vndertake an Enterprize, and of great discretion and courage, hee answered *Agathocles* and *Denis*.

Wee must in truth when the proposition is made; hold the Reader in suspence and doubt, and relate their fortune and humane accidents, in adding words in manner of Doctrine: In regard of the sayd things, I am not of Opinion it should bee done. For this cause wee reiect in this passage the Writers of *Agathocles* with their many words, for that these horrible Narrations and fearefull euents, which haue nothing but a conceite worthy to hold the Reader in suspence. Finally, it is not onely vnprofitable to treat of them with a long discourse, but also their vehemency in the end brings tediousnesse and trouble. There are two ends, namely, profit and pleasure: whereunto they must haue regard which will ruminare any thing either of hearing or sight.

Two ends in
Histories.

And for that profit belongs chiefly to the narration of an History, it is most necessary and conuenient, that this kind of adding of words vnto fearefull accidents, should turne from these two ends. What is hee that would willingly follow vnexpected accidents, and without reason? No man reioyceth continually, cyther for the seeing or hearing of things which are out of Nature and the common sense of men: But in the beginning wee are exceeding ioyfull and glad to see some, and to heare others, to the end wee may rightly vnderstand and know after what manner that is done which seemes vnto euery one very strange and impossible. C

When wee once begin to know them, no man takes any delight or pleasure to stay vpon things which are strange from the course of Nature, nor will haue any desire to fall often vpon the same subject. Wherefore the Narration must drawe a desire of imitation where hee may delight. And if they adde words to some miserable accidents besides these ends, they are more fitting for a Tragedy then a History. D

Peraduenture

Peraduenture you must pardon those which doe not consider things which are common to Nature and the World: But they hold the Fortunes of their Ancestors great and wonderfull, whereon falling by Fortune in Reading or Hearing them from others, they settle their affections. Wherefore they know not, that they vlemore speech of such things then is needfull, which are neither new, hauing beene spoken formerly by others, neither can they profite nor content.

A

The remainder is wanting.

B

C

D



A



A PARCELL OF the Sixteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS.

Of the Battaile giuen at Sea betwixt *Philip*
and King *Attalus*.



Philip was much troubled, seeing many things succede vnfortunately in his siege, and withall that the Enemies were in the Haven with a good number of couered Vessells, neither could hee well resolve what to do. And when as the present occasions deprlied him of all means of choice, in the end hee weighed Anchor, and set Saile contrary vnto the Enemies Hope. For *Attalus* and his Company expected that he should grow obstinate at the Siege, considering the preparation which he had of Engines of Battery. *Philip* made all haste to saile away, imagining that hee might get before them, and make a safe retreat vnto *Samos* along the shore: Yet hee was deceived in his conceite. For when as *Attalus* and *Theophiliscus* saw that hee had weighed Anchor, they suddainly resolved and set Saile, obseruing no order, for that they conceiued that *Philip* would haue perseuered in his Enterprize. Yet they charge him making great speed with their Oares: So as *Attalus* fell vpon the right wing which got before, and *Theophiliscus* vpon the left.

Philip seeing himselfe thus pestered, and suddainly surprized, hee gaue

Attalus charged
both *Philip*
Army at Sea.

gaue the signe of the Battaile to them of the right wing, commanding them to turne their prowes against the Enemies, and to charge them resolutely: Then he retired to the smaller Ilands, which were in the mid-way with the lighter Vessells, expecting the end of the Battaile. The number of Ships of Warre which *Philip* had, were fifty three couerd Vessells, with a hundred and fifty Foits and Galleyes vncovered. In regard of the Vessells remaining at *Samos*, hee could not arme them. Those of the Enemies were in number threescore Vessells couered, with those of *Constantinople*: with the which there were nine Gallions and three Gallies.

The number of
Philip ships
and of his En-
mies.

When as *Attalus* Ships began the fight, presently they that were neare, charge one another without command. *Attalus* fell vpon a Vessel with eight Oares, crushing it in such sort as it tooke water: and when as they which were vpon the hatches, had defended themselves long, in the end hee sunke it. On the other side *Philip* Gallie of ten Oares, which was the Admirall, was by chance taken by the Enemies: For when as a Galliot say'd against it, it bruised it much in the midst of the Bulke, ioyning vnto it behind at the poope, to the which it remain'd graped, for that the Pylot could not stay its violence. So as when this Vessel stucke close vnto her, the was much hindred, neither could they gouerne nor turne her. In the meane time two *Quinquemes* charge her, and bruising her in two places, sinke her with the Souldiers. Among the which was *Democrites*, Captaine Generall at Sea for *Philip*. At the same instant *Dionysodorus* and *Dynocrates* brethren (who were Commanders of the Army vnder *Attalus*) giuing a charge, found themselves in great danger in the fight: So as *Dynocrates* gaue charge to a Vessel with seuen Oares, and *Dionysodorus* to one of eight. *Dynocrates* was broken about water, and that of the Enemy vnder the water, yet he could not free himselfe from them, although hee had often attempted it in sawing.

Democrites
Captaine Ge-
nerall to *Philip*
sunke.

Wherefore when as the *Macedonians* defended themselves valiantly, he was in danger to be taken. But for that *Attalus* came to succour him, charging the Enemy, and parting the two ships which were graped, *Dynocrates* saued himselfe by good fortune. In regard of the Enemies, they were all slaine fighting valiantly: so as the Vessel being destitute of Souldiers, was taken by *Attalus*. And when as *Dionysodorus* say'd with great swiftnesse to fight, hee could not ouertake any, and passing through the Enemies he had the Pallisadoe on the right side disarmed, and the Beames broken which carried the Tower. This happening he was inuicted round by the Enemy with great noise and cries. All the Marriners perishe with the Ship, and *Dionysodorus* (wound away with two others vnto a Galliot which came to succour him. In regard of the other Vessells the danger was equall: For as the number of *Philip* Foits was greater, so was that of *Attalus* in couerd Vessells. Finally, the Combat was so carried vpon *Philip* right Wing, as the Victory inclined to neither. It is true that *Attalus* was in better hope for the future.

The *Rhodiens* in the beginning of the party separated themselves
Z z 4 from

from the Enemies, who hauing a great aduantage by the lightnesse of their Vessels, fought against the *Macedonians* making the Reare-ward. And when in the beginning they fell to flight, they carried away all their defences, charging them behinde and in poepe. But when as *Philips* Vessels began to turne head altogether, giuing aide to those which were in danger, and that the Reare of the *Rhodiens* were ioyned to *Theophiliscus*: then they charged with great fury, encouraging one another with great shouts and Trumpets. And if the *Macedonians* had not mingled their Foits among their couered Vessels, the Battaile had bene soone decided: for they tooke from the *Rhodiens* ships all commodity in diuers sorts: For that when as by either side the order was broke, they were all mingled. Wherefore they could not easily enlarge themselves, nor turne their Vessels, nor assist themselves with those means whereof they were best provided, for that the Foits did continually charge them, sometimes falling vpon the Pallisadoe, so as they could make no vse of their Rowers, and sometimes vpon the prow and poepe, to deprime them of their Pylor and Oares. And when as they fought in a direct line, they inuented a stratagem: for abating the prowes they made their charge fruitlesse, breaking the Enemies Vessels vnder water: To prevent the which they could finde no remedy. It is true, this happens feldome for that all auoided the encounter, for that the *Macedonians* fought valiantly hand to hand, and most commonly in passing they razed the Pallisadoe, making it vnprofitable. Then suddainly casting about, they assailed those that were in poepe: and likewise giuing charge to those which shewed themselves vpon the flanks, or which turned aside, they brake some, and tooke the Equipage from others: so as fighting after this manner, they had sunke diuers of the Enemies Vessels.

There were three excellent Quinquereemes of the *Rhodiens* in danger: whereof the Admirall was one, in the which *Theophiliscus* commanded: Then that whereof *Philistrates* was Capitaine, and the third was gouerned by *Antolice*: in the which *Nycostrates* remained. It happened that three gaue a charge to one of the Enemies Vessels, where she left her spur, so as it sunke with the Souldiers: And *Antolice's* Company being inuested, for that they tooke water at the prow, defended themselves valiantly: But *Antolice* being wounded fell into the Sea with his Armes and died, the rest fighting with great courage. At what time *Theophiliscus* comming to succour them with three Quinquereemes, he could not saue the ship being full of water.

After that he had broken two of the Enemies Vessels, and cast the Souldiers into the Sea, hee lost the greatest part of his men fighting resolutely, for that he was suddainly inuested by many fregats and couered Vessels. It was hardly in his power to saue his ship, being wounded in three places: for that hee had aduentured himselfe too boldly: But *Philistrates* came to succour him, vndertaking the apparent danger with great courage. But when hee was ioyned vnto these Vessels, he recharged the Enemy furiously againe: where he was scene weak of body by reason of his wounds, but much more excellent and constant

stant in courage then before. It happened that there were two Combats at Sea very farre one from another: For *Philips* right Wing coasting still along the shore, neuer abandoned the Coast of *Asia*, but the left Wing succouring the Reare-ward, had fought with the *Rhodiens*, for that they were not farre from *Chios*. When as *Attalus* seemed to haue gloriously Vanquished *Philips* right Wing, and that hee approached neere vnto the Island, where he Anchored, expecting the end and conclusion of the Battaile, he perceived one of his Quinquereemes in danger to be sunke by a shippe of the Enemies, and made hast to succour it with two other of his Quinquereemes. When as the Enemies shippes turned away to recouer Land, the more hee prest desiring to take it. The which *Philip* perceiuing, that *Attalus* strayed too boldly and aduenturously from his Company, hee made hast being accompanied with foure Quinquereemes, three Galliot, and the neereft Frigats, hoping hee should be able to take it, as it fortunately happened; forcing him to get vnto the neereft shore in great distresse. Then leauing his Vessell there, hee fled on foote with the Sea men, to saue himselfe in *Erythrae*. Wherefore *Philip* recovered the ship and the Kings plate.

They which were with *Attalus* in this great danger, bethought themselves of a pollicy in Warre, and set the richest of the Kings plate vpon the Hatches. Wherefore the first of the *Macedonians* approaching with their Frigats, and seeing great store of plate with a purple Robe, and other rich furniture lying there, they gaue ouer the pursuit, and attended the spoile, so as *Attalus* retired vnto the Port of *Erythrae* without any disturbance. And although that *Philip* were absolutely the weaker in this Battaile at Sea; yet he returned very ambitious and proud through *Attalus* misfortune, making great haste to come vnto his Company. Where after he had drawne and gathered together all his Vessels, he perswaded them to be of good Courage and Resolution, seeing hee had wonne the Battaile. And in truth, such was the opinion of men, as if *Attalus* had bene dead in flying, seeing that *Philip* returned, bringing the royall Vessell prisoner.

Dionysiodorus considering what was become of the King, gathered the Vessels together and founded a retreat: after which he retired safely to the Ports of *Asia*.

At the same time the *Macedonians*, who fought against the *Rhodiens*, hauing bene well beaten, they retired out of danger: For euery ship got him away vnder colour to giue succours to those that were in danger and distresse. In regard of the *Rhodiens* they retired to the Port of *Chios*, hauing taken some of the shippes, and broken part of their spurs. There was sunke in this Battaile at Sea which *Philip* had against *Attalus*, the Gallies of ten Oares, nine Oares, seauen Oares, and fixe Oares, and moreouer ten Vessels couered, three Galliot, and fixe and twenty Foits, withall the Mariners. And in that which was against the *Rhodiens*, ten couered Vessels, and forty Foits: and there were two Quadriremes, and seauen Foits taken with the Mariners. In regard of that of *Attalus*, one Galliot with two Quinquereemes were

were sunke, with the royall Skiffe. And of the *Rhodiens* two Quinquemes and Galleyes, but there was nothing taken. As for the losse of men, there died three score *Rhodiens*, and about three score and ten of *Attalus* men, and of the *Macedonians* vnder *Philip*, to the number of three thousand, and about fixe thousand Marriners: and there were taken aliue, as well Allies as *Macedonians* two thousand, and seven hundred *Egyptians*. Such was the end of the Battaille at Sea neare vnto *Chios*.

The causes why
Philip challenge
ges the Victory
to himselfe.

Philip attributed the Victory vnto himselfe for two principall causes: First for that hee had forced *Attalus* to flye to Land, and had taken the royall Vessell; the other for that hee anchored in the place which they call *Argennon*, among the Enemies wrackes, and that the next Day hee carryed himselfe as a Conquerour, gathering together the Reliques of the fight, and drawing together the Bodies of such as might be knowne, to the end hee might confirme this Opinion. But the *Rhodiens* with *Dionysiodorus* made him soone after confesse that it was not true, so as hee did not hold himselfe to haue had the Victory: For the next day the King being busied about these things, they set sayle against him, the one being aduertised of the other: and when (after they had put their ships in Front) no man durst present himselfe, they retired to *Chios*.

But *Philip* who had neuer before at one time lost so many men, nor such, carryed his misfortune impatiently, and was in a manner desperate, although hee laboured by all meanes to hide his conceite, matters seeming vnportable: for besides many other occasions, the misfortunes which happened after the Battaille, had put all those that were present in feare. Beleeue mee, that after so great a slaughter of men, all the Countrey where the Combate was fought, was full of Carcasses, blood, Armes, and the wrackes of Ships. And the daies following you might haue seene the shoare full of all these things heaped together. So as it was not onely displeasing vnto him, but to all the *Macedonians*.

The death of
Theophiliscus.

In regard of *Theophiliscus*, hauing suruiued a day, and written into the Countrey of the successe of the Combate at Sea, and had appointed *Gleonus* to command the Army in his place, hee dyed of the wounds hee had receiued: who had shewed himselfe a valiant man in danger, and who by the prouidence of his Councell, was worthy to haue his Name preserued in memory. For if hee had not giuen aduice to follow *Philip*, all the rest had neglected the opportunity of the Victory, being amazed at his courage: so as in beginning of the fight hee forced his Citizens to follow the occasions of the time. Hee likewise perswaded *Attalus* not to temporize, nor to waste time in the preparation of things concerning the Warre: But contrariwise to fight valiantly, and to vndergoe the present danger. Wherefore the *Rhodiens* haue with good reason, after his death done him such honours, as the liuing and those that were present were not onely incited to fight valiantly for their Countrey, but also the posterity.

What doe wee then see in this vengeance? No other thing but Nature

Nature. It oftentimes falls out that many vpon a bare shew of hope, desire impossible things, vanquishing euery mans hope with their couetousnesse: and when they haue once begun, they cannot diuert their fancies: for that they haue their vnderstanding blinded and deceiued with the impossibility of their attempts, and the discontent of the accidents. When as *Philip* had in vaine giuen some assaults to a small Towne, for that it was well fortified, hee retired, after hee had ruined some places with the whole Countrey.

Being gone from thence, hee planted his Campe about *Prinasse*, and besieged it by myning. Where when he lost his time, for that the place was stony, hee vied this inuention: hee causeth a great noise to be made by day in the Mynes, as if he laboured to ouerthrow the Walls, causing in the night great store of earth to be brought and to be laid at the entry of the Mynes, to the end he might terrifie the Inhabitants by a view off so great a digging in the ground. It is true that at the first the *Prinassians* were constant and couragious: but when as *Philip* had signified vnto them that their Wall was vndermined the length of the third part of a Furlong, and had demanded of them if they would deliuer the City and saue their liues, or perish with it, the foundations being burnt, then giuing credit vnto his words, they presently deliuered it.



A Parcell of the City of the *Fasseens*.



The City of the *Fasseens* is situated in *Asia* vpon the Gulfe ioyning to *Neptune* of *Milefia*, and called of the *Myndiens*. According to the aduice of many, it takes its name from the Cities of the *Vargylietes*, which are built vpon the backe part. They say that in the beginning they were peopled by *Argines*: and that afterwards the *Milesiens* predeceffors being brought in, and the Children of *Neleus*, they built the City of *Myletum*, after their defeat in the Warres of *Carya*. This City hath ten Furlongs in circuite. The common brute is, and they beleeue it among the *Vargylietes*, that although the statue of *Diana Cindiades* be vncouered, yet it endures no fogs nor raine, like vnto that of *Vesta* among the *Fasseens*: the which some Historiographers haue auerred. For my part, I know not how I contradicted and blame boldly in all this treaty this aduice of Historiographers. In truth they seeme to mee wholly to fauour of their Childishnesse, who without

The Gulfe of
Neptune.

The City of
Miletum built.

The Image of
Diana.

without consideration comprehend not onely idle and sottish things, but those which are impossible. For if any one should say that some body may bee so illuminated and transparent, as he shall make no shadow, this would shew a transported Iudgement, as *Theopompus* hath done, saying that they which enter into the Temple of *Iupiter* in *Aradia*, make no shadow. Whereunto that is conformable which is now spoken. Wherefore wee must pardon some Historiographers in all things which preferre the deuotion of the people towards the Gods, who relate monstrous things, but in that which exceeds this course, they are not to be pardoned. Peraduenture in euery thing there is a differant quality to describe them, yea, sometimes impossible: wherefore we must pardon if any one through ignorance doeth stray a little from the truth: and according to my iudgement reprove all that which exceeds reason.



A Parcell of *Publius Scipio*.

P*ublius Scipio* being soone after returned from *Africa*: When as the expectation of the people was conformable to the greatnesse of his actions, it fell out that they conceived a great loue and affection towards him: The which was not without cause. For whereas they feared neuer to chase *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, nor to free themselves nor their Allies from the eminent danger: they seemed then certainly not onely to bee deliuered from all feare and misery, but also to domineere ouer their Enemies: wherefore they were confounded with ioy. When he triumphed, being moreover by the effects of things which were brought in, aduertised of the precedent dangers, they were toucht with an exceeding loue as well to the Gods, as to the Author of so great an alteration.

Syphax King of the *Masissylins*.

Syphax King of the *Masissylins* was led in triumph through the City with the other Prisoners, who soone after died in Prison. These things thus performed, the *Romans* made continuall Combats for many Dayes, and celebrated Feasts in their assemblies, hauing where-withall to satisfie it by the liberality and bounty of *Scipio*. Many attempt great Warres brauely, and strue with a certaine vehemency to augment a Common-wealth: But it is a rare thing to bring them to the propounded end, and to accomplish by reason and industry, if Fortune sometime opposeth that which wants courage and speedy action. Wherefore some may with reason blame the sloth of *Attalus* and of the

the *Rhodiens*, in commending the royall courage of *Philip*, and his constancy in his enterprize: not that his conceite is alwayes worthy of Commendation but so farre as it concerns his present Enterprize and attempt. I propound this distinction to the end no man should suspect vs of contradiction: for that (as we haue heretofore) commended and blamed *Philip*, so now I doe the contrary. They must vnderstand that in the beginning of this Worke I haue so made my distinction, saying that it was necessary sometimes to commend and blame the same persons, for that moments and euents of things doe many times change the hearts of men, when they incline to better or worse. It happens likewise sometimes, that men by Nature indeauour things which are reasonable, and sometimes the contrary: whereof in my Opinion the one happened now to *Philip*. When hee was inflamed for the precedent losses, shewing more choller and rage then reason, hee accommodated himselfe to the present occasions, with a constant and admirable courage, and hath by this course enjoyed those things which followed, in aduancing himselfe against the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*. I thought good to deliuer this, for that some giue ouer their enterprizes in leauing their first heate, like vnto bad and lazy runners: Some likewise vanquish their Enemies in this onely, that they are constant in their enterprizes.

A man may be commended and blamed according to the diuersity of his Actions.



Of the Cities of *Abydos* and *Sestos* Maritime and opposite.

It hold is lost time to vse any long discourse of the commodities of the Cities of *Abydos* and *Sestos*: for that matters of small moment are knowne to all, by reason of the ordinary frequenting of the places: yet I doe not thinke for the present that a summary aduertisement to the Reader, would bee vnprofitable in regard of them. You must vnderstand that the things which are now to be spoken of the sayd Cities) are not so much drawne from their situation, as from their opposition and conference. Whereas the Nauigation of the Sea, which some call by the name of *Ocean*, others *Atlantique*, is not passable, but at the streights which are at the Pillars of *Hercules*: Neither can they in our Sea, in the *Propontis* and *Pontus*, vnlesse it be made by the streight betwixt *Abydos* and *Sestos*. As Fortune hath prepared two Gulfs with some reason, it falls out that the streight of the Pillars of *Hercules* is broader then that of *Hellsponte*: For it is of three score Furlongs, and that of *Abydos* onely of two. The which wee may coniecture hath bene made

Of the profit of *Abydos* and *Sestos*.

A comparison
of the freight
of *Abydos* with
that of *Gibellar*.

The City of the
Abydos.

made for a greater spaciousnesse of the exterior Sea, then ours. That of *Abydos* is more commodious then that of the Pillars of *Hercules*. For the first is inhabited on either side, and in manner of a Port, for the mutuall communication of Traffique, and hath in some place a Bridge for those which passe on foote from one firme land to another. They also saile continually on the other side. In regard of that of the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is little frequented, for that the people which inhabite some in *Affricke*, some in *Europe*, haue little commerce together: and this exterior Sea is little frequented and tryed. The City of the *Abydeins* is environed on either side with the farthest bounds of *Europe*: hauing a Port from whence Sailors with what wind soeuer, may be seene. But it is not possible for any man to come vnto the City, being without this ingulfement of the Sea to the Port, by reason of the swiftnesse and vehemence of the current.



Another Parcell of Philip of Macedon.



The *Abydeins*
besieged by
Philip.

Et when as Philip had fortified one part with Pallisadoes, and cast a Ditch about the other, he besieged the *Abydeins* by Sea and Land. In regard of the meanes of their defence, it was not admirable, neither for the greatnesse of the preparation, nor for the diuersity of intentions, which are declared in the same worke, by the which the besiegers and besieged doe usually practise and surprize one another by policies: But for the good directions and valour of the besieged, it is worthy of memory, if euer any were, and which ought to come vnto posterity. In the beginning the Inhabitants of *Abydos* relying in themselves, maintained the attempts of Philip valiantly: and as for his Engines set vp at Sea, they brake some with casting of Stones, and they burnt others: so as the Enemies could hardly saue their Vessels from this danger: In regard of those at Land, for time they made a valiant resistance, neuer despairing to obtaine the Victory against their Enemies. But when as the Fort which stood without the Wall had bene ouerthrowne by Mynes, and that the *Macedonians* were afterwards come vnto the Wall which they had built within, in the end they sent *Iphis* and *Pantacrost* in Embassie, to yeld the City vnto Philip, but vpon condition that hee should suffer the Souldiers of the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus* to depart, and their Bodies free, to saue themselves where they thought good with their Apparell. And when as

Philip

Philip had giuen them charge to submit themselves vnto his will, or to fight it out brauely, the Embassadors retired. This being heard, the *Abydeins* assemble the people, and consult in despaire of their necessities. First of all they decree to giue liberty to their Slaues to the end they might willingly become Companions in the Combat: And consequently drawe all their Wiues into *Diana's* Temple: and the Children with their Nurseries into the Schooles, and finally their Gold and Silver into the Market place, and the richest apparell into the *Rhodiens* Galley, and that of the *Cyziceneins*.

The course
which the *Abydeins*
take in despaire.

When they had decreed these things, and had with one accord executed the resolution, they make another assembly, choosing fifty of the most ancient, and men of credite, being strong and able to execute the decree, and make them swear in the presence of all the Citizens, that if they saw the Wall taken by the Enemy, they should then kill their Wiues and Children, and set fire of the sayd Galleyes, casting (according to their Oath) the Gold and Silver into the Sea. Finally, they call their Prelates, who conuere them all to vanquish their Enemies, or to dye fighting for their Countrey. This done, after they had sacrificed, they force their Prelates, and their Wiues to make execrations vpon the Sacrifices of the said things. These things thus confirmed, they did not countermine against the Enemies Mynes, resolving that if the Wall fell, they would stand vpon the ruines, fighting to the death. Wherefore some one may with reason say, that the folly of the *Phocenses* and the joy of the *Acarnanians*, hath bene vanquished by the courage of the *Abydeins*. The *Phocenses* seeme to haue decreed the like for their Kinsfolkes, although they were not wholly in despaire of the Victory, for they were to fight in field with the *Thessalians*.

The *Acarnanians* fore-seeing the attempts of the *Etoliens*, resolved the same in their eminent danger, whereof wee haue formerly spoken in particular. The *Abydeins* being shut vp, and in a manner desperate of their safety, desired rather by a common consent to try this Fortune with their Wiues and Children, then liuing to deliuer them into their Enemies hands. For which reason wee may blame Fortune for the ruine of the *Abydeins*: Seeing that hauing compassion of the calamities of the former, shee hath suddainly relieved them, yelding vnto the desperate hope and safety: whereas contrariwise shee hath bene incensed against the *Abydeins*. The men were slaine and the City taken: their Children with their Wiues fell into their Enemies hands: For after the fall of the Wall, planting themselves vpon the ruines, according to their Oath, they fought with such great courage, as when as Philip had sent supplies vnto the *Macedonians* at the assault vntill Night, hee was in the end forced to take breath, and to despaire of his attempt. The *Abydeins* did not onely fight with great confidence, standing vpon the dead bodies in danger, and with resolution with their Swords and Iauelings: But hauing no meanes to vse them, they cast themselves with fury vpon the *Macedonians*, ouerthrowing some with their armes, charging others alwaies

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with

The prowesse
of the *Abydeins*.

with the stockes of their broken Iaulings : and repulsing them, thrusting directly at their Faces and other naked parts. Night being come, and the Combat ceasing, *Glaucesides* and *Theognite* assembling some few of the ancient, changed (for the hope of their priuate safeties) that severe and noble vow of the Citizens, in regard of the great number that had bene slaine at the Wall, and for that the rest were weakened with toile and wounds. Wherefore they resolved to abandon their Wiues and Children to Captiuitie, and at the breake of day to send their Priests and Wiues, with their Diadems and head-bands to *Philip*, A to the end that intreating him vpon their knees, they might deliuer him the City.

Marcus Emilius
sent to *Philip*.

At the same time King *Attalus* being aduertised of the Siege of the *Abydeins*, sailes by the *Egean* Sea to *Tentidos*. In like manner *Marcus Emilius* the younger a *Roman*, came by Sea to *Abydos*. For when the *Romans* had bene truly aduertised of the Siege of *Abydos*, and would expostulate with *Philip* according to their charge; and to vnderstand the cause why hee assailed the Kings, they sent this *Emilius* vnto him. Who when he had audience of *Philip* in *Abydos*, he let him vnderstand that the Senate admonished him, not to make Warre against any *Grecians*; nor to meddle with the affaires of *Ptolemy*: And whereas hee B had done outrage to the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*, he should make a promise to giue them satisfaction: in doing which hee should remaine in peace; but if he would not obey, he should prepare to haue Warre with the *Romans*. When as *Philip* laboured to let him vnderstand that the *Rhodiens* had bene the first Assailants, *Marcus* interrupting him said: What haue the *Athenians*? *Ciansiens*, and *Abydeins* done? which of them hath first assailed you? The King studying what to answer to these three demands, told him that hee pardoned his arrogancy in words; for that first he was young and without experience: Secondly, that he was the best man amongst them, as in truth he was. The *Romans* (sayd he) haue no reason to breake the Accords, nor to make C Warre against mee: but if they did, he would defend his owne valiantly and inuocate the Gods for aide. This Speech being caded, they parted one from the other.

The braue an-
swere of *Philip*
to *Marcus Emi-
lius*.

The cruelty of
the *Abydeins* to
themselues.

Philip having gotten the City of the *Abydeins*, he presently tooke all the Goods which had bene carried away by them. When he saw the people and their fury, who slew, burnt, and strangled themselves, their Wiues, and Children, casting them into Wells, and hanging them in their houses, hee was amazed: And being discontented at that which was done, he let them know that he gaue them three dayes respite that would hang or kill themselves. But the *Abydeins* preuenting him (according to their first resolution) could not suffer any one of those to liue, which were not yet bound nor tied to this kind of necessity, holding themselves in not doing it, for Traytors towards those which had fought, and were dead for their Countrey. All the rest without delay dyed according to their Races. D

OF



Of *Philopomene* and the deeds of the *Acheins*.

And when as *Philopomene* had considered the distances of all the Cities, and that they might come to *Tegee* by one way, hee wrote Letters to all the Cities, and sends them to those which were farthest off, and diuides them in such sort, as euery City had not onely those which were directed vnto it, but also those for other Cities lying vpon the same way. Hee hath written to the Magistrates in these termes: When you shall haue receiued these Letters, vse all diligence, that such as are able to beare Armes, may assemble in the Market place, euery man furnished with fve Dayes victuals, and fcoueneene Sous, and fixetene Deniers in Money. And when they shall be all assembled, lead them to the next City: where being arriued, deliuer the Letters to the Magistrate, and performe the contents: In the which was contained the charge which had bin giuen to the former, only the name was altered, but the place was not named whither the Voyage was intended.

The forme of
Philopomene's
Letters to the
Cities.

This course being continued, no man knew to what end nor why this preparation was made, nor whither they went out of the next City. All being vncertaine and receiuing one another they marcht on. C But for that the Cities which were beyond, had not an equall distance from *Tegee*, hee did not send Letters to them all at the same time; but particularly according to their order: so as vnkowne to the Inhabitants, and to those which arriued, what should succeed, all the *Acheins* entred in Armes by all the Gates. Hee had without doubt resolved these things in his iudgement, by a Military stratagem, for for the multitude of Scours and Spies which the Tyrant had, the which the Tyrant had. The same day that the multitude of the *Acheins* should assemble, hee sent choise men, who in the Night should passe the *Selasia*: and at the breake of day runne into the D Countrey of *Lacedemon*. But if the Mercenaries by encounter did any way trouble them, he giues them charge to recouer *Scotie*, obeying *Diadocolonde* the *Gandiot* in all things. For hee had giuen him the charge of all this enterprize. These men went resolutely to the place appointed. And when as *Philopomene* had commanded the *Acheins* to suppe carely, hee goes with his Army out of *Tegee*: and making good vse of the Night in his Voyage, hee leads his Army to the place appointed neare vnto *Scotie*, the mid-way betwixt Aaa 3 *Tegee*

Tegee and Lacedemon. The Souldiers of *Peles* the day following ran speedily as it is their custome, and assailed the Enemy suddainly, who were aduertised of their coming by their Scouts. And when the *Acheins* (according to the Commandment they had received) retired, they pursued them at their backs confidently and with courage. But suddainly they fell into the Ambush, where some of them were slaine by the *Acheins*, and others taken.

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A PARCELL OF the Seuenteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIVS:

Where they treat of the Peace betwixt *Philip* of *Macedony* and the other *Grecians*, by the meanes of *Titus* a *Roman*.

At the time appointed being come, *Philip* arriues by Sea from the *Demetriade*, to the Gulfe of *Meliea*, accompanied with five Foists and one Galley, wherein hee sayled. He was attended on by *Apollodorus* and *Demosthenes* *Macedonians*, his Chancellours. There was also *Brachylles* of *Beecia*, and *Chiliades* the *Achein*, a Fugitiue out of *Morea* for the causes aboue mentioned. With the which were also King *Saminandre* and *Dionisodorus* sent by *Attalus*. And as for the Cities and people, *Aristenetes* and *Xenophon* were for the *Acheins*: and *Acesymbrotos* and *Quarachus* were for the *Rhadiens*: and for the *Etolians* came *Phene* Chiefe of the Army, with many other Citizens.

When they were approacht the Sea neare vnto *Nicea*, *Titus* the Chiefe of the *Romans*, stayed at the shoare. *Philip* being almost at Land, stayed in his Vessell. And when as *Titus* perswaded him to Land, he sayd (standing vpright in his ship) that hee would not. Being likewise demanded by *Titus* what he feared, he answered, No man but the Gods: but there were many there whom hee did not trust, namely, the *Etolians*. And when the *Roman* Commander wondred, saying, *that*

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that the perill was equall vnto all, and that time common. *Philip* answering sayd, that he vnderstood it not so: For an inconuenience hapning to *Phene*, the *Etolians* had Commanders enough for the War: But if *Philip* dyed, there was no King of *Macedony* for the present. In the beginning of his Speech he seemed importune to them all. But *Tytus* aduised him to speake of the Affaires for which hee was come. *Philip* answered him, that it belonged to him and not vnto himselfe: For this cause hee required him to let him know what there was to be done to enioy a Peace.

The Roman Commander told him that hee must vse plaine and open words, and aduised him to leaue all *Greece*, restoring the Prisoners and Fugitiues which were in his power: To yeild likewise vnto the *Romans* the places of *Sclauonia*, which he had seized on after the Accord made in *Epirus*: That he should restore vnto *Ptolomey*, all the Cities which he had taken since the Death of *Ptolomeus Philopater*. When *Tytus* had spoken this, he held his peace: But turning to the rest, hee would every man to deliuer his charge.

Dionisodorus, being sent by *Attalus* beganne first, saying that he should restore the shippes taken by him in the Battail at Sea neere vnto *Chio*, and likewise the Prisoners: and re-edifie the Temple of *Venus*, and the Arsenall of the triumphes of Victories which hee had ruined. After whom *Asotymbrotus* Chiefe of the Army at Sea for the *Rhodiens*, required that *Philip* should leaue *Perea*, which he had taken from them, and finally retire the Garrisons which hee had at *Iasse*, in the *Pargythes*, and in the City of the *Eromens*: And moreover restore the *Perimithens* to the comminalty of the *Constantinopolitains*, and to abandon *Sestes*, *Abydos*, and the Faicrs of *Asia*. After the *Rhodiens* the *Acheins* demanded *Corinth* and the City of the *Argiues* whole and safe. After these the *Etolians* required first as the *Romans* had done, that hee should abandon all *Greece*, and that afterwards hee should restore the Cities whole and entire, which formerly had bene of the same Burgesse with the *Etolians*.

When as *Phene* Chiefe of the *Etolians* had spoken thus, *Alexander* following after, whom they call *Iste*, in shew a man of iudgement to mannage affaires, and of great Eloquence, said, that *Philip* did not demand a peace roundly, nor made Warre valiantly, if it were to be done at any time: and that in assemblies and treaties hee watcht carefully, playing the part of an Enemy: and that in the Warre hee carryed himselfe wickedly, and not as a good man. For when he should affront the Enemy, it is manifest that hee flies the list, and in the meane time burnes and ruines Cities: and being thus vanquished by his will, hee corrupts the rewards of the Victors: although the ancient Kings of *Macedony* were neuer of that minde, but quite contrary. They haue fought often Battailles in the open field, and haue seldome ruined any Cities. The which is manifest to all the World, as well by the *Asian* Warre of *Alexander* against *Darius*, as by the difference of the Successors, by the which they haue all made Warre against *Antigonus* vntill the

The Articles which *Dionisodorus* demanded of *Philip*.

Asotymbrotus demands for the *Rhodiens*.

The demands of the *Acheins* and *Etolians*.

Alexander against *Philip*.

the time of *Pyrrhus*, to fight valiantly with an Enemy in open Battail: Doing all that concerned a mutuall Combate of men furnished with Armes, yet pardoning the Cities: for that the Victors of them are vanquished, and blamed by those which are subdued. It is the part of a mad man to ruine that for which the Warre is made, and then to leaue it: The which he sayd *Philip* did at that time, and that he had ruined more Cities in *Thessaly*, being of the same friendship and League in Warre: when as hee parted speedily from the freights of *Epirus*, then euer any of those had done which made Warre against the *Thessaliens*.

And when he had vsed a long Speech, and deliuered other things of the same subiect. In the end hee demanded of *Philip*, why *Lyfimachia* being associated to the *Etolians*, and having a Commander of the Warre from them, hee had chased him away, putting a garrison into the City: Why hee had spoiled the *Cyaneins*, of the *Etolien* Burgesiship, being a friend to the *Etolians*? Moreover vpon what colour he detained *Escheins*, *Thebes*, *Phibie*, *Pharsalia*, and *Larisse*? Having spoken this, *Alexander* held his peace. When as *Philip* had approached neerer to Land then before, standing vp right in his ship, sayd, that *Alexanders* Speech was *Etolique*: and that it was notorious to all the World; that no man ruined those which were his companions in Armes, and yet a Prince according to the occasion of times, is many times forced to do things against his will. The King vsing this Speech: *Phene* hauing a bad sight, lookes oftentimes crosse vpon *Philip*, saying that hee told Fables: and that he should eyther vanquish in fighting, or else subscribe and obey the commandments of the Victors.

Philip answer.

And although that *Philip* were discontented, yet hee omitted not his kinde of speech; but turning to *Phene*, a blind man sayd he, would see it. He was in truth apt to Choller, and it was it a manner bred in him, to iest at the good Fortune of other men. Then turning towards *Alexander*, thou demandest of me, sayd he, for what reason I haue taken *Lyfimachia*: To the end that thorough your negligence and basenesse, it might not be ruined by the *Thraçens*, as then it happened, hauing retired my Souldiers for the present: being there for the defence thereof, and not as thou sayst to take it. In regard of the *Cyaneins*, I made no Warre against them: But when as *Prusias* assailed them in giuing him succours, I tooke the City with him, whereof you haue bene the cause. For when as the other Cities of *Greece* and my selfe had required you often by Embassies, to abrogate the Law which allows you to take spoile vpon spoile: You answered that wee must first take *Etolia* from *Etolia*, then the sayd Law. And when as *Tytus* wondred how that could be, the King laboured to make him vnderstand it, saying that the *Etolians* had a Custome not onely to assaile those and their Country, with whom they had Warre: But also it is lawfull for them, if their Allies be in Quarrell, to assaile both the one and the other with their Regions, and to hold them, without any common decree. And by this means the *Etolians* haue neither

A strange Custome of the *Etolians*.

Laws

Lawes of Friendship nor Hatred, being ready to fall vpon those which are in controuersie for any Affaires. Whereon then doe these men ground an accusation against me? I was a friend to the *Etolians*, so was I allied to *Prusias*, and I attempted against the *Cynaëtes* to succour my Allies.

But behold a case of wonderfull discretion, that they which haue made themselves Enemies to the *Romans*, commaund the *Macedonians* to depart out of *Greece*. Without doubt it is a very arrogant Speech. If the *Romans* speake it, it is tollerable, if the *Etolians*, intollerable. But out of what *Greece* would you haue me depart? How do you limit it? Are there not many *Etolians* in *Greece*? You shall see that the *Agæans*, *Apodates*, and *Amphiloqueus* are not of *Greece*, at the least you leaue them to me. And when as *Titus* smiled, this sayd he, shall suffice against the *Etolians*. And as for that which concerns the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*, we may with more iustice and equity require, that they should rather restore to vs our Prisoners and Vessells, then we to them. We haue not assailed the *Rhodiens* nor *Attalus* first, but they vs, it is without contradiction. Yet for thy sake we will restore *Perea* to the *Rhodiens*, and to *Attalus* his shippes and men which are liuing. In regard of the ruine of the Triumph of Victories, and of *Venus* B Temple, we cannot repaire them: And for that which concerns the Trees and Gardens, I will send men to digge the ground, and will giue order that the Trees which are cut may grow againe. And when as *Titus* smiled againe at the scoffe of *Philip*, *Philip* addressing himselfe to the *Acheins*, hee put them in minde at the first of the benefits and fauours they had receiued from *Antigonus* and himselfe. Moreouer he laid open the many Honors which the *Acheins* had done vnto them. Finally, he hath read the Resolution of their reuolte in following the *Romans* party. Vpon which occasion hee propounded many things against the preuarication and ingratitude of the *Acheins*. Yet promising C to restore them *Argos*. In regard of *Corinthe* hee would conferre with *Titus*.

After this Speech held to the rest, he sayd to *Titus*, that hee was to speake to him and to the *Romans*, whether he were of opinion that he should abandon the Cities and places which he had Conquered among the *Grecians*, or else those which he had receiued from his Predecessors. And when as *Titus* held his peace, *Aristenes* was suddainly ready to answer for the *Acheins*, and *Phenece* for the *Etolians*. But when the houre was past, the Time had closed vp their mouthes. *Philip* required that hee might haue men giuen him to write downe all that was to do for the peace. For when he was alone, he sayd he had D no man with whom conferring, he might yeild a reason of the Actions wherewith they charged him.

And although that *Titus* heard *Philip* willingly in his iest, yet being loath to be discouered by others, he gaue him a touch, saying: It is no wonder if thou best alone *Philip*, when thou hast slaine all those which gaue thee Councell. The *Macedonian* vsing a Counterfeite smile, held his peace. Then they all gaue in Writing what they had demanded,

demanded, appointing another assembly for the day following at *Nicea*. To which place *Titus* came with his Company, where all the rest appeared, but *Philip* came not. And when as the day was farre spent, and that *Titus* expected his comming no longer, he armed at Sunne setting, accompanied with the same men, saying that he had spent the whole day in vexation and discontent, for the difficulty of the things wherewith they charg'd him. But according to the opinion of others he did it to frustrate by the shortnesse of time, the accusation of the *Acheins* and *Etolians*. He had seene them the day before at his departure ready for their defence, and to complaine of him.

Wherefore at his arriual he intreated the Commander of the *Romans* to treat of this businesse with him in priuate, to the end that in debating it, they might not fall to any outrageous words, but draw it to some end. When he had often intreated this, *Titus* demanded of the Assistants their opinion what he should doe: and when they all yielded vnto it, and that he should obserue his words, hee tooke *Appius Claudius* a Captaine of a thousand, and commanding the rest that retiring a litle into the Sea, they should stay there, bidding *Philip* to come to Land. The King accompanied with *Apolodorus* and *Demosthenes* landed, and had a long discourse with *Titus*. In regard of that which was spoken of eyther side, it is a difficult thing to iudge. *Titus* then when as *Philip* was retired, related vnto the rest the things which hee had propounded, namely that he would yeelde vnto the *Etolians*, *Larissa* and *Pharsalia*, but not *Thebes*: That to the *Rhodiens* hee would leaue *Perea*, but not *Iasson* nor *Bargulies* to the *Acheins* *Corinthe*, and the City of *Argiues*: to the *Romans* that which hee held in *Sclauonia* with all the prisoners. That he would restore to *Attalus* the vessells, and all the prisoners that were liuing since the nauall fight. But when as the whole Company disliked of this accord, saying that they must generally decreee that he must depart out of all *Greece*: Otherwise all these articles would be vaine and fruituous.

Philip seeing this contention, fearing likewise the future accusations, he intreats *Titus* to deferre this assembly vntill the next day, for that it is now late, saying that hee would perswade them, or suffer himselfe to be perswaded. And when as *Titus* had granted this, they resolu'd to assemble againe at the Port of *Tyrone*, and so they parted. The day following they all mette at the houre appoynted. *Philip* hauing made a short speech, requires them all, especially *Titus*, that they would not breake of the treaty of peace: for that there were many things which did conduct to the conclusion of an accord, vntill the fault were in them, that the composition was not made. Otherwise they must send Embassadors to the Senate to order their differences, to the which he would obey, and doe all they should command him.

These things thus propounded by *Philip*, the others said that they must doe that which concerned the warre, and not trust to his demands: But the *Roman* Commander said, that hee was not ignorant

Philip lands.

The Articles agreed on by *Philip*.

Another's assembly at *Tyrone*.

rant that *Philip* would not doe any thing that was propounded vnto him : and yet their cause was nothing impaired, in yielding him this fauour which hee demanded. For there could nothing bespoken there that could be confirmed without the *Roman* Senate : and that moreover the approaching time would be very commodious to make tryall of their aduice. For as the Armies are vnprofitable in regard of the Winter, there could be no inconuenience, if in the meane time they referr'd themselves vnto the Senate, but a great commodity vnto them all.

*Philip's cause
sent to Rome.*

When they were of this opinion seeing *Titus* to concurre, that the present differences should be transferre'd to the Senate, they resolu'd to suffer *Philip* to send an Embassage to *Rome*, and in like manner all in particular to make their causes knowne vnto the Senate, and to accuse *Philip*. When this resolution of the Assembly had succeeded according to the humour and aduice of *Titus* conceiued in the beginning, he presently pursued those things which were requisite for the Enterprize, hauing given order for his affaires. Finally, hee deales no more with *Philip*, but assignes him two Moneths onely, in the which hee should send an Embassage to *Rome*, and should retire his Garrisons for *Phosis* and *Loce*. Hee giues him likewise charge, that hee should not make Warre B against any of the *Roman* Allies, and should giue order that in the meane time the *Macedonians* should doe them no outrage.

And when he had dealt with *Philip* vpon these Articles by Writing, he brought the rest of the things propounded to an end of himselfe. Hee suddainly sends *Aminandre* to *Rome*, knowing his sufficiency in affaires, and to purchase Friends easily wherefoeuer hee came : and that he would procure some good conceite and hope, in regard of the name of Royalty. After whom hee sends for Embassadors, *Quintus Fabius*, his Nephew in respect of his Wiues Sister, and *Quintus Fulnius*, and with them *Appianus Claudius* whom they call *Nero*. The *Etolians* sent *Alexander Isien*, *Democrates* a *Caldonian*, *Dicaearchus* C a *Trichonian*, *Polymarchus* an *Arginens*, *Lamin* an *Ambraciote*, and *Nicomachus* an *Acarnanien* : and of those which were Fugitiues from *Thurion*, and dwelt at *Ambracia*, *Theodotes*, *Pherea* a Fugitiue of *Theffaly*, and then remaining at *Strate*.

Embassadors
sent to Rome by
Titus, the *Eto-
lians*, *Acheins*,
and *Atheniens*.

The *Acheins* sent *Xenophon* an *Egien* : King *Attalus*, *Alexander* alone : The people of *Athens* *Ciphodorus*. All which come to *Rome* to the Senate, to deliver vnto their iudgements the things which they had resolu'd that Yeare, before that the two Consuls (at the request of the others) were sent into *Galacia* against *Philip*. When as *Titus* Friends conceiued that the two Consuls should remaine in *Ita-
ly* for feare of the *Gauls*, they enter all into the Senate, and accuse *Philip* roughly, deliuering the same which they had formerly objected vnto the King : Yet they laboured carefully to possesse the Senate with an opinion, that they could not hope for any liberty, if *Cal-
chis*, *Corinthe*, and the *Demetriades* continued in the hands of the *Macedonians*.

They sayd, that *Philip* had vsed that Speech, and had assured that the

the said places were the Bonds and shackles of *Greece* : the which he might well say with reason and truth. For they could not sayle safely from *Moronto* to *Corinthe*, there being a royall Garrison : neither durst the *Laerines*, *Beotians*, and *Phocenses* doe it, whilst that *Philip* holds *Calchis* and the rest of *Negrepont* : Neither likewise the *Theffalians* and *Magnetians* could not sayle freely, *Philip* and the *Macedonians* holding the *Demetriades*. Wherefore in that which *Philip* hath said, that hee would leaue the other places, it is a fancy and a shift to escape the present time : and when opportunity should serue, hee would easily subdue the *Grecians*, so as hee held the said places. For this cause they intreated the Senate, that *Philip* might leaue those places, or else continue in his Enterprize, and fight valiantly : And that the greatest part of the Warre was already decided, the *Macedonians* hauing lost two Battailles, and the greatest part of their forces at Land being consumed.

These Speeches ended, they intreated them with all affection not to suffer the *Grecians* to bee frustrated of the hope of their liberty, nor themselves deprived of an honourable Title. The Embassadors of *Greece* hauing debated these things or the like : those of *Philip* had prepared a Mountaine of words, but they were suddainly reiecte'd. For when as they were demanded if they would leaue *Calchis*, *Corinthe*, and the *Demetriades*, they denyed that they had any thing in charge. Wherefore being check't, by this meanes they ended their Speech. The Senate sends the two Consuls into *Galacia*, and declares the Warre against *Philip* to be lust, giving charge to *Titus* to attend the *Grecians* affaires.

*Philip's Embal-
ladors reiecte'd*

Warre declared
against *Philip*.

When as the newes came into *Greece*, all things succeeded to *Titus* according to his desire. For besides that Fortune fauoured him, whatsoeuer hee vnderooke hee brought to an end by his prouidence and care. Hee was in truth (if there were any among the *Romans*) C a witty and ingenuous man. Hee not onely vnderooke ordinary af-
fares, but those that were secret, and with such Dexterity and Courage, as hee surpass'd all others, although hee were yet but young : for hee scarce past the Age of Thirty yeares. He was the first which past into *Greece* with an Army.

The Commens-
dation of *Titus*.

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A certaine Parcell.

MAN-kind which seemes to bee the most cunning and malicious of all the Creatures, hath greater means to be more vicious. The others serving their corporall Desires, are onely deceived by them. But Mankind sinnes no lesse by a desire of glory through negligence and inconsistency then by Nature.



More of Titus and the Grecians Actions.

AND when as Titus could not learne where the Enemies Campe was seated, and being assured that they were come through Thessaly, he commands them all to cut stakes, and to carry them with them, to the end they may bee ready at necessity. This without doubt seemes (according to the custome of the Grecians) impossible, being easie to the Romans. The Grecians in truth are no good Commanders of their Bodies in Marching, and doe hardly endure toyle. But the Romans hauing their Targets hanging at their backs in a Belt of Leather, and carrying their Head-peeces in their hands, beare the stakes. There was a great difference betwixt them. The Grecians held a stake that had many branches at the foote very commodious. But the Romans vse stakes with two, or three, or foure branches at the most, so as they are easie to carry, for a man carries two or three Faggots together. There is also this difference: For the Grecians stake planted before the Campe, may be easily pull'd vp: When that onely which is strong, is fixed in the ground, and hath many and great branches, if two or three

The Grecians
delicate of
th. in Bodies.

A difference
betwixt the Ro-
mans Stakes
and the Gre-
cians.

three of them shew themselves, and draw the stake vnto them, it is easily pull'd vp. And whereas this happens, there is a breach easily made, by reason of the greatnesse, and then the ioyning of them is vndone by the shortnesse and mutuall height of this kinde of Pallisado The Romans doe otherwise. They plant them right vp, and interlace them in such sort, as it is not easie for any one to discern or know from which the of the stakes stucke in the ground, the shootes take their growth, nor from what stockes the branches come. Finally, it is not possible for him that seekes to pull them vp, to put to his hand, for that they are very thickes and intexamixt together: And if they bee carefully planted, he that shall lay hold on them, shall not be able to pull them vp easily, for that all their ioyns take their force from the Earth: Secondly, hee shall bee forced to transport many shootes together, which shall lay hold of one branch, in regard of their mutuall interlacing: Neither is it likely that two or three will seaze vpon one stake. Yet if it happens that some one pulls vp one or two, yet the space cannot be discovered. Wherefore there is a great difference, for that this kinde of stakes is easie to finde, and easie to carry, and the vse is more safe and firme. So as it is apparent, that if the Romans haue not any thing touching the manning of the War which is worthy of imitation, yet this kind of stakes (at the least in my iudgment) deserves it.

When as Titus had prepared all things ready to serue him at neede, he marcheth a slow pace with his whole Army. And when he came within fifty Furlongs of the City of Pherees, hee camped there. The day following at the breake of day, hee sent forth Spies, to seeke if they could by any meanes discover where the Enemies were, and what they did. But when as Philip had receiued aduertisement, that the Romans were at that time Camped neare vnto Thebes, raising his Campe from Larissa, hee prepares his way towards Pherees with his whole Army.

Titus plants his
Campe neare
to Pherees.

When he was within thirty Furlongs, planting his Campe there; hee commanded them to haue a care of their Victuals. At the breake of Day awaking his Army, hee sent forth those that were appoynted for Scouts, giuing them charge to gaine the Hills about Pherees: Then at the Sunne rising hee parts with all his forces. It happened soone after, that the Scouts of both Armies met on the top of the Mountaines. Knowing one another in the Darke, they stayed a little distance off: and aduertised their Commanders of that which had happened. And when they required Directions what they should doe, they were called backe.

The day following either of them sent forth Horse-men, and about three hundred Souldiers to discover: with whom Titus sent two Bands of Etoliens for their experience of the places: The which assailing one another neare vnto Pherees and Larissa, they fought valiantly. But when the Etoliens of Epoleme fought with great courage, being also called the Italiques, it happened that the Macedonians were preft. But after they had skirmined some time, they re-

An encounter
of the fore-
runners.

Bbb 2

tired

tired to their Campes. And when as the day following the Plaine was displeasing to either of them, for that it was full of Trees, Hedges, and Gardens, they raise their Campes. *Philip* tooke his way towards *Scotusse*, making haste, to the end hee might draw Victuals from the City, and lodge his Army with more advantage. *Titus* coniecturing what would happen, parts with his Army at the same instant, making haste, to spoile the *Scotussiens* Come before the coming of *Philip*. But for that in the marching of the two Armies, there was a great interposition of high Hills and Mountaines, the *Romans* nor the *Macedonians* could not discover one another in the direction of their way. Wherefore that dayes journey being ended, *Titus* came vnto *Eretria*, and *Philip* to the Riuer of *Onchiste*, and presently planted their Campes there vnkowne to one another.

And when as the day following they had marched on, *Philip* stayes at *Melambie* of the *Scotussiens*, and *Titus* about the *Theidie* of *Pharsalia*: where they were againe vnkowne one to another. And as there fell a Raine and the yearly Thunder, it happened that the day following in the Morning there arise a great fogge, the which falling they could not see what was before their feete. Yet *Philip* making haste to dispatch that which was offered, Campt wandering with his Army: But being hindered by the troublesome and difficulty of the way in regard of the fogge, he aduanced little, and palliaded his Campe.

Finally, he sent *Pbedria*, and giues him charge to gaine the tops of the Hills interposed. *Titus* likewise being Camped about *Theidie*, and being doubtfull where the Enemies were, he made choice of tenne Bands, and about a thousand of the most valiant, sending them before to search diligently, and to enter the Countrey: who marching to the tops of the Hill, fell by indiscretion into an Ambush of the Enemies, by reason of the darknesse of the day. Eyther of them at the first were somewhat troubled, but soone after they charge one another. They likewise send to informe their Commanders of this accident.

But when as the *Romans* in this Charge were prest, and in danger by the Ambush of the *Macedonians*, they sent vnto their Campe for Succours. *Titus* commanding the *Etolians*, sends those which were vnder the charge of *Archidamus*, and of the *Eupolemus*, and two Tribunes with five hundred Horse, and two thousand Foote. At whose coming they which in the beginning did but skirmish, refusing courage, presently put on another kind of Combate. The *Romans* relying vpon their Succours, double their forces for the fight. And although the *Macedonians* defended themselves brauely, yet they sent vnto the King, being prest and annoyed by their Armes, and for their refuge, recovered the tops of the Mountaines.

And when as *Philip* had no hope but that they should beable that day to giue Battaille with all their Forces for the fore-sayd Causes, he

hee had sent many of his men to forrage. But when he was aduertised of that which happened by those which hee had sent, and that the mist was past, hee sent *Heracles* the *Gyrtonien*, Chiefe of the *Thessalian* Horse, and *Leon* Commander of the *Macedonian* Gallery.

Hee likewise sent *Asbenagars* with all the Mercenaries except the *Thracians*. Who being come to the Ambush, and the *Macedonians* much re-inforced, they made head against the Enemy, and repuls'd the *Romans* from the Hills. The Dexterity of the *Etolien* Horse did much hinder the Enemies from turning head. They fought in truth with great courage and confidence. The *Etolians* in regard of the Foote-men, are faint both in their Armes and Ordinance for a Combat in Field: But their Horse-men are excellent as vne all the other *Grecians* in particular and separated Combats. Wherefore it happened, that for that they had stayd the violence and fury of the Enemy, they could not so soone recouer the Plaine, but stayed for a time in Battaille.

But when as *Titus* saw not onely the most valiant and his Horse-men retire but also his whole Troupes to bee dismayed, hee drawes his whole Army to Field, and puts them in order vpon the Hills. At the same instant they which were in Guard, ran hastily one after another to *Philip*, crying out vnto him, Sir, the Enemies flye, lose not this occasion: The *Barbarians* seeke vs not. This day is yours, imbrace the time, and by this means they inire and stirre vp *Philip* to Battaille, although the situation of the place did not content and please him. For the sayd Hills (which they call *Dogs-head*) are rough, difficult of all sides, and high. Wherefore when as *Philip* had formerly fore-seene the vnequalnesse of the places, hee had not in the beginning made any preparation vnto Battaille: But beeing then prouoked by the great confidence of the *aduersitiemours*, hee drawes his Army with all speede out of the Fort.

In regard of *Titus*, hee orders his Troupes and Bands for the Battaille, and followes them close which began the Skirmish, making remonstrances vnto the Battalions as hee turned. His Speech was short, plaine, and intelligible to the Hearers. Propounding then the cause, hee sayd vnto his Souldiers: Are not these O Companions, the same *Macedonians*, who formerly holding in *Macedony* the top of the Mountaines towards *Heordia*, you haue forced with *Suspiciens*, and chased from thence with the defeat of the greatest part of them? Are not these the same *Macedonians*, who being seized vpon the difficult places of *Epirus*, and leaving no hope of approach, you haue chased by your prowesse, and forced to flye into *Macedony*, abandoning their Armes? What reason is there then that you should feare the same men, with whom you are to enter into an equall Combate? Towhat end doe we propound vnto you precedent actions to consider on, but that in regard of them you should fight more confidently? Wherefore Companions

attend the Battaille with resolution, giuing courage one to another. I bold for certaine, that with the good pleasure of the Gods, the end of this Battaille will soone bee the conclusion of the precedent.

When *Titus* had vsed these Speeches, hee commands the right Wing of his Army not to budge, setting the Elephants before them: And assailes the Enemy with great courage with the left Wing, being accompanied by the most valiant. They which among the *Romans* had begun the Fight, shewing their courage, prest the Enemies, hauing beene relieved by some Troupes of Foot-men. And when as *A* at the same time *Philip* saw that the greatest part of his Army was in order of Battaille before the *Pallisadoe*, hee marcheth, taking the Targetteers and the Battalion of the right Wing, and ascends the Hills with speede: giuing charge to *Nicanor* (whom hee called Elephant) to command the rest of the Army to follow close. As soone as the first had recovered the top, hee defends the Battalion, setting the Targets before, and seized vpon the higher Countrey. And when as the *Macedonians* prest the *Romans* much, vpon the two flanks of the Hills, hee discovered the tops to bee abandoned. As he fortified the right Wing of his Army, it happened that the *Souldiers* *B* were much annoyed by the Enemy.

For when they they which were best armed, were ioyned vnto the most valiant of the *Romans*, and succoured them in this fight, they prest the Enemies much and slew many. As the King was there in the beginning, and saw the Combat of the valiant men not to be farre from the Campe, hee reioyced: againe, when hee saw them decline, and to haue neede of Succours, hee was forced to send them, and at that instant to hazard a Battaille, although that many of the Troupes of his Army were yet vpon the way, and approached to the Hills. And in taking the *Souldiers* hee ranks them all, as well on foote as Horsebacke on the right Wing, commanding the beares of Burthens and the Battalions, to double the Front of their *C* Ranks, and to stand close vpon the right hand.

This being done, when as the Enemies ioyned with them, hee commanded the Battalion that bending downe their lauelings they should march in order, and mingle with the strongest. At the same instant, when as *Titus* had retired those which had begunne the Fight, to the spaces which were betwixt the Ensignes, he charged the Enemy.

The Combat beginning on cyther side with great fury and clamour, all crying together, yet those which were without the fight crying vnto the rest, the Battaille was made very horrible and cruell, and it shewed the force of the Combat. *Philip* right Wing carryed it selfe valiantly in this Battaille: charging the Enemy from above, hauing an advantage in their order: which finally for the present fight was much more commodious, in regard of the diversity and severall sorts of Armes. In regard of the rest of the Army, some were ioyned vnto the Enemy fighting a farre off, others *D* shewed

A. Battaille between the Romans and Philip of Macedonia.

shewed themselves vpon the left hand hauing gotten the toppes of the Hills.

When as *Titus* saw and did well perceiue that his men could not endure the force of the Enemies battallion, and those of the right wing to be repuls'd, and some slaine, and others to retire by degrees, and that all his hope of safety consisted in the right Wing, hee goes speedily vnto them, and considers the Enemies order. When hee saw some succeed in their places which had fought, and others to descend from the Hills, and some to stay vpon the tops, hee marcheth against the Enemy with his Ensignes, putting the Elephants before. And when as the *Macedonians* had no aduertisement by Trumpets and Clarions, and that they could not make it good, nor receiue any true order of a battallion, as well for the difficulty of the place, as for that the Combattants had the forme of goers, and not of an order of Battaille, and that there was no further means to fight single, or hand to hand with the *Romans*: Being also terrified and much inured with the Elephants, and likewise separated one from another, they march presently away. Wherefore many *Romans* pursued them continually and slew them.

One of the Captaines Milleneirs being of this Troupe, hauing but twenty Ensignes, considering at the very instant what was to be done, did great seruice for the obtaining of an absolute Victory. For when he saw those that accompanied *Philip*, assailed the others often, and greivously to annoy the left Wing, hee turnes to them that were in distress, leaving those which vanquished on the right Wing, and charged the *Macedonians* in the Reare. When as they of the Battallion could not make resistance, fighting man to man, this other was at their backs, killing those they incountred, there being no man that could succour them, so as in the end they were forced to turne head, and to abandon their Armes. Although that *Philip* (as wee haue sayd *C* in the beginning) had a great hope in the Victory, making a coniecture in his owne conceite, yet seeing the *Macedonians* to abandon and leave their Armes suddainly, and the Enemies to charge in the Reare, hee parts speedily from the Battaille with some Horse and Foote, so consider fully of the Combate.

When as he imagined that the *Romans* by their pursuite would approach to the right Wing on the tops of the Hills, hee seeks to draw together as many *Thracians* and *Macedonians* as possibly hee could. When as *Titus* pursued the Chase, and had discovered the left Wing of the *Macedonians* to assaile the toppes of the Hills, hee stayed: For *D* that the Enemies held their lauelings right vp: The which the *Macedonians* are accustomed to do when they yeild, or retire from the Enemy. When hee had knowne the cause of this accident, hee restraines his men, being willing to pardon those that were amazed with feare. But whilst that *Titus* considered of these things, some of the fore-most Charge them from above and kill many: few escaped abandoning their Armes. This Battaille being thus ended of all sides, and the *Romans* hauing the victory, *Philip* retires towards *Tempe*, and comming the first *E* day

The signe which the *Macedonians* giue when they yeild.

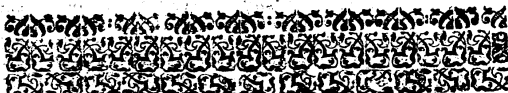
The victory of the *Romans*.

day to the Tower of *Alexander*, hee past the Night there. The day following passing to *Gomnes*, hee entered *Tempe*, staying there for those which should escape in the flight.

When as the *Romans* had pursued the Chase for a time, some strip the dead, others draw the Prisoners together, and a great part goe to force the Enemies Campe. There they finde the *Etolians*, who had forced it before for spoile, and imagining that they were frustrated of a booty which was due and did belong vnto them, they beganne to accuse the *Etolians* before the Generall, and to complaine, that hee had imposed the danger and the burthen of the Battaile vpon them, giuing the profite and benefit vnto others: yet being returned vnto their Campe, they were somewhat pacified. The day following they assemble and gather together the Prisoners, and the rest of the spoile and booty, and from thence they tooke their course towards *Larissa*.

Number of the dead on either side.

There dyed in this battaile about seauen hundred *Romans*, and neere vpon eight thousand *Macedonians*; the Prisoners were not lesse then sixe Thousand. Besides many that escaped by flight. Thus ended this Battaile giuen betwixt *Philip* and the *Romans* in *Thessaly* at the Dogthead.



Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Armes.

I Had promised in the sixt Booke, to make a Comparison of the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Armes, and of the ordering of their Battailes; and wherein they differ cyther worle or better: Now I will iadeuour to performe my promise. As in former times the *Macedonian* Armes haue giuen good proofes of their Valour, having Vanquished the *Asiatiques* and *Grecians*, and that the *Romans* haue surmounted the *Africans* as much, as all the Westerne Nations of *Europe*, and that in our time the conference of these Armes and men is to be made, not for once but for many times, it will be commodious and profitable to seeke out their difference, and for what reason the *Romans* vanquish, hauing alwayes the vpper hand in Martiall Combats: To the end that acknowledging it from Fortune, wee should with reason call them happy Victors, as the ignorant vially do: But knowing the true cause, wee should commend and holde these Captaines for miraculous. In

In regard of the Battailes giuen betwixt *Hannibal* and the *Romans*, and their losse, it is not needfull to vse any long Discourse. The *Romans* without doubt did not suffer those losses, for want of Armes; and the order of their Battailes, but in regard of the good direction and pollicy of *Hannibal*.

The *Romans* haue bin Vanquished by the pollicy of *Hannibal*.

We declared this when we related the Battailes themselves. The end of the Warre confirms our opinion. For when as the *Romans* had found a Commaunder like vnto *Hannibal*, they suddainly were Victors. So doth this, that when as *Hannibal* had Vanquished the *Romans* first, he furnished the common Souldiers better with the *Roman* Armes, reiecting their owne: Having vsurped them in the beginning, he afterwards made continuall vse of them. *Pyrrhus* in like manner did not onely vse the *Italian* Armes, but also their ordering of Armies, when as by change he sets in the head of the *Romans* an Ensigne and Band of the Battallion. Yet hee could not ouercome nor vanquish by this meanes, the end of the Combate being alwaies doubt to the one and the other. It shalbe therefore necessary and conuenient to Treat thereof first, to the end that nothing may seeme any way contrary vnto our opinion: but I will beginne our conference.

It is an easie thing to know by many instructions, that if a Battallion obserues its proper order and forces, so nothing can annoy it, nor withstand it, for as an armed man hath three foote in his posture in a close Combate, and that the length of his Pike from one end to the other is of foure and twenty foote, and at the least of one and twenty: And that for the space of his hands with the end which remains for to shake it, they abate fixe foote during the Combate, it is apparent that a Pike shall haue fiftene foote in length, besides the body of euery man that is armed, when with both hands hee presents it and chargeth the Enemy. Whereby it commonly happens that the other Pikes passe three foote before the second, third, and fourth rancke of the precedent: The others before the fifth, if the Battallions be suly loyned and close, according vnto the order of those which are in the Reare and vpon the Flankes: As *Homer* teacheth when hee sayth, the Target assures the Target, the Head-peece the Head-peece, and the Man the Man: The Head-peecces adorned with Horses haire, touch one another with their braue Crests: tending, that they should be loyned together and close.

As these things are spoken with good reason and truthfully, it is apparently necessary, that the Pikes should be charged, according to those that go before, passing betwixt them the length of ten foot and a halfe: By this meanes they may visibly know of what force the preparation and order of a Battallion is, hauing the length of fiftene Ranks: Whereof they which exceed the fifth cannot fight with their Pikes. For this cause they cannot fight hand to hand, nor man to man: but they support them at their backs vntill they take breath, to the end that the first ranke may hold a firme order, repulsing all manner of force with their Pikes, which (passing the first) might charge vpon the reare. For

in marching after this manner, they presse the fore-most with the weight of their bodies, to make a more violent charge. For it is impossible for the fore-most to turne backe.

Order of the
Romans Armes.

This being the order of a *Macedonian* Battalion, aswell in particular as in generall, wee must by way of comparison speake of the properties and differences of the *Roman* Armes, and of their ordering of a Battaille. The *Romans* have three foote space with their Armes. The which in fighting they moue from man to man, for that euery man couers his body with his Target, the which they also vse when any occasion of Combate is offered. They commonly fight with the Sword by transport and apart: Wherefore it is manifest that these men haue betwixt them, a Retreat and space of three foote at the least, betwixt him that goes before, and the other which followes to fight more at ease, whereby it happens that a *Roman* standing still, containes the space of two *Macedonian* Souldiers, beeing in the first Ranke: So as he must offer himselfe and fight against ten Pikes: All which one cannot cut if hee would, holding them in his hands: Neyther can the following Forces any way assist the first Ranke, neyther to assaile nor to manage their Armes. So as wee may easily coniecture, that it is impossible for any man living, to sustaine and defend the violence of a *Macedonian* Battalion in Front, if (as wee haue formerly sayd) it retaynes its propriety and force, for what cause then doe the *Romans* Vanquish?

For what cause
the Romans
Vanquish.

Whence comes it that *Macedonian* Battallions, are frustrated of their Hope of Victory? It is for that the *Roman* Ordinance, hath in Battaille infinite places and times commodious for the Combate, and the *Macedonians* haue onely place and time, when it may bee seruiceable and commodious. And therefore if vpon some necessity the Adversaries fall suddainly vpon the *Macedonian* Battallions, when they are to giue Battaille, it is likely that they which make vse of it, would be alwayes the Masters. But if they can diuert or turbe it, (which is an easie thing) of what amazement and great terror will this Ordinance be?

Moreover it is very playne and manifest that a *Macedonian* Battalion hath neede of Plaines and Even ground without any let or incumbrance, as Ditches, Springs, Vallies, Hills, and Water-courses: for all these things may disturbe, breake, and make frustrate their desire and intention. It is (as a man may say) in manner impossible, to finde a Country of twenty Furlongs (I speake of no more) where none of the afore-mentioned things are found. It is without any question or doubt a rare thing, and which no reasonable man will deny. Yet I will allow there are some found. If the Enemies do not direct and guide themselves thether, but passing on ruine the Townes, Villages, Cities, and whole Regions of their Friends and Allies, what profite then will grow by this kinde of Ordinance? If it stayes in places of advantage, it cannot giue succours to its friends, nor preserue it selfe. For Victuals, Munition, and succours, may bee very easily intercepted by an Enemy, if without any opposition hee

be

be master of the field. If likewise in leauing places of advantage, a *Macedonian* Battalion seekes to execute some enterprize, hee is in danger of the Enemy. For although that some one goes to field, and doth not at one time offer his Army to the fury of the *Macedonian* Battalion, diuerting himselfe for a time during the fight, wee may easily coniecture by that which the *Romans* doe at this day, what will happen. The coniecture of that which wee say, must not bee taken from the effect. They doe not present their Battalion in such an indifferent place, as they must suddenly fight with all their forces in front. One part fights the other, stirres not.

Moreover if at any time the *Macedonians* presse their Enemies eagerly, and are afterward repuls'd by them, the proper order of the Battalion is broken. For they leaue the rest of the Army, whether they pursue those that are retired, or flye from those which charge them. The which being done, they leaue vnto the Enemy the place which they had held, not to charge in front, but to serue them vpon the flankes or in the reare, to succour those of the Battalion. Why it is not probable, that it should bee easie for a *Roman* Battalion, to obserue time and advantage, and not for a *Macedonian*, seeing the differences are great, according

B to the truth of the said things.

Moreover it is necessary for those which make vse of the *Macedonian* Ordinance, to passe through all sorts of Countries, and to plant their Campe, and finally to leaze vpon commodious places and to besiege and indure sieges, and to present himselfe against the Enemy. All these things are requisite in warre: Sometimes also the generall moments which are great, serue much for the victory: all which are not easie for a *Macedonian* Ordinance, yea sometimes they are vprofitable, for that the souldier can neyther serue in rancke nor man to man: Whereas the *Roman* is fit and profitable for these

C things. For euery *Roman* coming to fight with his Armes, is active for all times and places and for all charges: and hath generally one Ordinance, whither he be to fight in Troupe with the whole Army, or particularly Ensigne to Ensigne, or Man to Man. Whereas as the commodity is most excellent, so many times the end and conclusion of the Battaille is more prosperous and successful vnto the *Romans*, then to others. I haue therefore thought it necessary and convenient to vse a long Discourse concerning these things, for that there are many *Grecians* at this day which hold it incredible, that the *Macedonians* should be vanquished and overcome, being ignorant of the cause and meanes, whereby a *Macedonian* Ordinance is vanquished by the *Roman* Armes.

When as Philip had vsed all possible meanes hee could in this Battaille, and yet was preuented of the Victory, hee fourth with made great hast (passing by Tempe) to recouer *Macedony*, beeing accompanied with all those which had escaped from the Battaille. Hee presently sent vnto *Larissa* the second Night after the Battaille,

Philip retorne
into Macedony.

one

one of the Archers of his Guard, giving him charge to teare and burne the Royall Letters, doing therein an Act worthy of a King, who in his aduersie Fortune had not forgotten that which was to be done. He knew and did well perceiue that if the *Romans* were once seazed on his Commentaries, there might be many occasions offered vnto his Enemies against him and his Friends. It may bee it happened and fell out to him as to others, who not able to containe their power moderately in prosperous things, yet haue borne and suffered many Crosses and Disasters with patience: The which happened vnto *Philip*, as wilbe apparent by the following Discourse. So as ayming at that which was conuenient, wee haue plainly shewed and declared his Attempts tending to reason, and againe his change to worse, and when, how, and wherefore these things were done, hauing plainly set forth and exprest his Actions: Wee must by the same meanes declare his Repentance and diligence, whereby beeing changed thorough his aduersie Fortune, hee carried and behaued himselfe at that time like a wife and discrete man. Finally, *Tytus* hauing giuen good order after the Battaille, for those things which concerned the Prisoners and spoile, he went to *Larissa*.

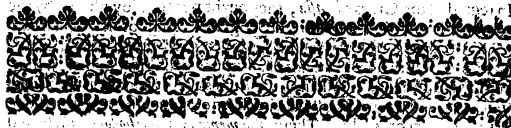


A Parcell of an imperfect sence.



o define folly we cannot, for that they are desirous of the same meanes. This kind of remissness and dulnesse, is often found in many. Neither is it to be wondered at, if it hath place among others: But among those in whom this Spring of malice is found, there is another cause, for the which that wise saying of *Epicharmus* doth not agree: Watch and remember that thou must distrust. This is the bond of hearts.

Of



A Of a certaine Accord betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*.



T the same time came from the *Pargyles* *Publius Lentulus*, *Antiochus* with ten Legats: and from *Thasse* *Lucius Tarentinus* and *Publius Villius*. When their coming was suddainly declared vnto the King, they assembled all within few daies at *Lyfimachia*. After whom followed *Hegestianades*, and *Lissas* sent at that time to *Titus*. Finally, the conference in private

betwixt the King and the *Romans* was gracious and courteous. But when the assembly met for affaires, they embraced another disposition. *Lucius Cornelius* required that *Antiochus* should leaue all the Cities, the which being subiect to *Seleucus*, hee had taken in *Asia*. In regard of those which were subiect to *Philip*, hee contested much to haue him leaue them. For it was a mockery, that *Antiochus* coming he should reape the fruites of the Warre which the *Romans* had made against *Philip*: He likewise aduised him not to meddle with the free Cities. He also sayd, that it seemed strange, that without reason he had past into *Europe* with an Army as well by Seas as Land: That no man could conceiue it to be to any other end, then to make Warre against the *Romans*.

These things being propounded by the *Romans*, they held their peace. The King in answer said, that he wondred for what cause they debated with him for the Cities of *Asia*, and that it was more fitting for any other then for the *Romans*. Finally, hee intreated them not to vsurpe, nor to deale with the affaires of *Asia*: And that for his part hee would not meddle with any thing that was in *Italy*. In regard of *Europe*, he had entred with his Armies to recover the Cities of *Cherronesse* and *Thrace*: For that the command of all those places belonged to him: this gouernment in the beginning being due to *Lyfimachus*: But when as *Seleucus* made Warre against him, and had ouerthrowne him in Battaille, all the Kingdome of *Lyfimachus* became subiect to *Seleucus* by force. After the time of his predecessors, *Prokomy* was the first who violently the sayd places, vsurped them: The like did *Philip*. And that for his part he recovered them, accomodating himselfe to his owne times, and not to those of *Philip*.

And as for the *Lyfimachians*, ruined without reason by the *Thracians* he reduced them to himselfe, no way wronging the *Romans*, and restored them to their Countrey: The which he did to shew this mercy to

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the affaires of *Seleucus*, and not to make Warre against the *Romans*. In regard of the Cities of *Asia*, they ought not to enioy liberty by the commandment of the *Romans*, but of *Grace*. And for that which concerned *Ptolomy*; that with all his heart hee gaue him thanks: and that he vnderstood that hee had not onely concluded Friendship with him, but made a League. When as *Lucius* was of opinion that the *Lamp-saceniens*, and *Smyrniens*, should be called, and audience giuen them, it was done accordingly. There *Parmenio* and *Pythodorus* presented themselves for the *Lamp-saceniens*, and *Ceraue* for the *Smyrniens*. When as these men debated freely, the King being incensed to yeld an accompt of their debate before the *Romans*, interrupting the Speech of *Parmenio*, cease sayth hee, to plead so much, I am not well pleased to dispute with my Enemies before the *Romans*, but rather before the *Rhodiens*, and then by this means they brake off the Assembly without any mutuall affection.



Another Parcell.

Any men desire actions of courage and prowesse, but the experience is rare. *Scope* in truth and *Cleomenes* haue had great occasions for Combats and hardy Enterprizes. For as *Scope* was formerly taken, hee had resolved in the same hope with his Seruants and Friends, but hee could not saue himselfe. Finally, his iust death (having led a wretched life) hath giuen testimony of his great weaknesse. And although that *Scope* was aided and assisted with great Forces, hauing the government of the King in his nonage, and was of his Councell, yet hee was soone ruined.

For when as *Arifomenes* knew that hee had assembled his Friends in his house, holding a Councell with them, he sent vnto him by his Guards to come vnto the assembly. But hee was so transported in his iudgement, as hee did not that which hee ought to haue done, neyther could hee (being called) be obedient vnto the King: which was the greatest folly in the World: vntill that *Arifomenes* knowing his basenesse, lodg'd Souldiers and Elephants neare his House, and sent *Ptolomy* the Son of *Eumenes* with the Young men, to bring him with faire words, if he would come willingly; if not, to vse force.

When

When as *Ptolomy* was entred into his house, and signifying vnto him that the King demanded *Scope*, he did not at the first obserue his words: But casting his lookes vpon *Ptolomy*, he was long in that estate, as it were threatening him, and wondering at his presumption. But when as *Ptolomy* approacht with assurance, and layd hold of his Cloake, then he required helpe of the Assitants. Being in this estate, and a great company of the young men comming about him, being also aduertised, that his house was enuironed with Souldiers, hee followed him obeying the times, being accompanied by his Friends. When as hee was come to the Assembly and Councell, the King charged him a litle: Then *Policrates* newly arriued from *Cypres*: and in the end *Arifomenes*. The accusation was according to that which had beene spoken: but they added moreouer, that he had drawne his Friends together to consult, and that being called by the King, he would not obey. For which things all they which were in the Assembly, not onely condemned him, but likewise the forreine Embassadors there assisting. But when as *Arifomenes* came to accuse him, he tooke many notable persons, not onely of *Greece*, but also of the *Etolien* Embassadors, who were there for the accord: Among the which was *Dorimachus*, the Sonne of *Nicostrates*.

And when as these men had spoken, *Scope* laboured to alledge some excuses: But when as no man giue eare vnto him for the foulencie of his Crimes, hee was suddainly carryed to Prison with his Friends. The Night following, *Arifomenes* caused him to dye of poyson with all his Friends and Kinsfolkes. In regard of *Diccarehus*, hee put him to death, hauing suffred great Torments: hauing endured fit punishments for all the *Grecians*. This was that *Diccarehus* whom *Philip* (presuming to breake the accords with the Islands of *Cyclades*, and the Cities of *Hellepont*, had made him Commaender of all his Army at Sea, and superintendant of the sayd businesse. And when he was sent to a manifest execration, hee did not hold it an vnreasonable and wicked act, thinking he should be able to terrifie both Men and Gods by his rage. Making haste to recouer the ships, hee set vp two Altars, the one to cruelty, and the other to inquiry: Vpon the which he sacrificed and prayed as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it seemes hee was punished by a iust Death, as well in the presence of Gods as Men. For as he led a life of a strange Nature, so he ended by a strange Death. Finally, when as the other *Etolien*s were desirous to retire home, the King suffred them to goe with all their Goods. *Scope* in his life time had a wonderful desire of riches. Hee exceeded all other in avarice. And after his death his houses were found abounding with Gold and rich mouebles. Whereas he had for assitant the ingratitute and drunkenness of *Chari-morthe*, he had wholly corrupted the Realme.

When as the Priuy Councell had taken order for the *Etolien*s affaires, they all inclined to giue power to the King to command: Not in regard of the maturity of his age, but for that they thought thereby, that the estate of the Crowne would further the affaires: and that if the King tooke vpon him a free power of the Realme, it would be a beginning

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and

Scope put to death by poyson.

Altars set vp by *Diccarehus* to cruelty and inquiry.

and advancement to the better. Making then a stately preparation, they put it in execution with royall Magnificence. *Polixartes* seemed to haue assisted them much in this Enterprize. For as this man was deare vnto his Father, being yet young, there was not a better Courtier in all the whole Court, neither for that which concern'd his fidelity, nor the affaires, nor yet in more fauour with the King. When as *Cypres* with the reuenues were deliuered vnto him vpon his faith and trust, in that dangerous time subiect to many hazards, he not only kept this Iland for the Infant, but also gathered together great store of Treasure, the which he then brought vnto the King, deliuering the gouernment of *Cypres* to *Ptolomy* the *Megalopolitain*. And when vpon this occasion, he had purchased a great power for the future, in time he strayed and fell into a rash and wicked course of life. *Ptolomy Agessandre* by the force of his Age fell into the like infamy. Wherefore when opportunity shall serue, it shall bee no great trouble to declare what great ignominy and reproach followed their governments.

To God onely be all Honour and Glory.



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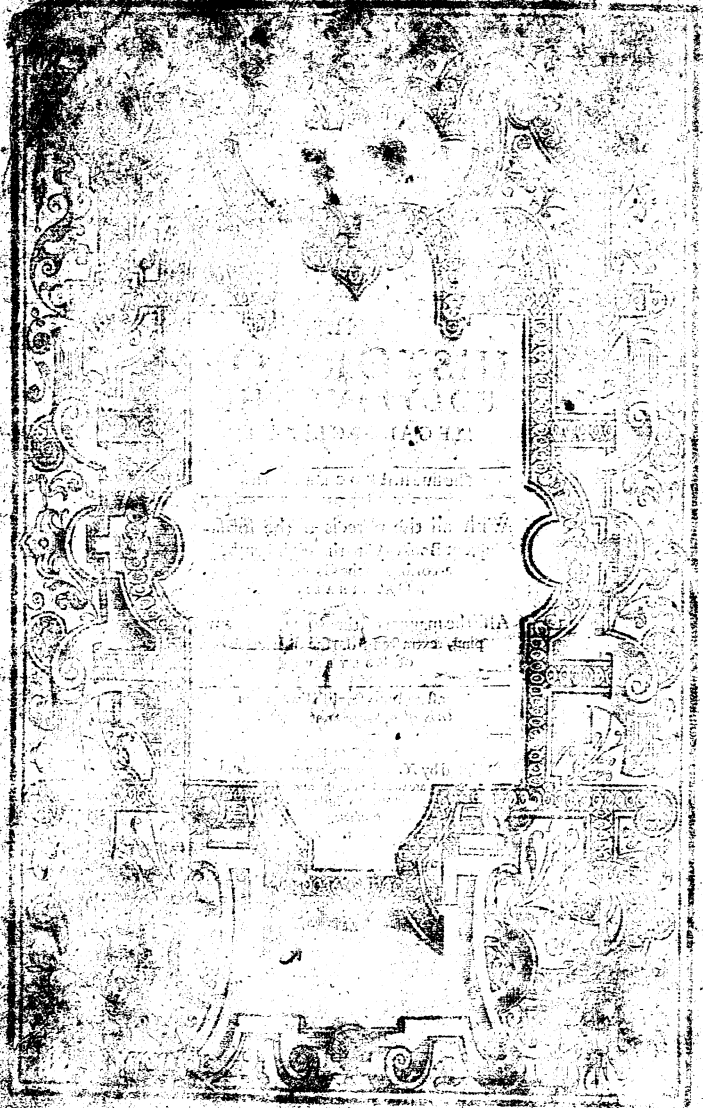
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56
ye readers from p^e Carthage: being
pursued at sundry times these prisoners
were recaptured, at length sent Ambassadors to the Carthage
camp. to treat. when they agreed to deliver up ten
whom the Carthage general Amilcar had choise out of
them who agreed to give ye best might appear before
in these ships without any harm. A Amilcar told you
ye according to ye Agreement: he made choice of those in
his presence ye which spondee & Antiochus & other
of these armies were delivered to him, & were
after hanged on a Cross.



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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM LORD CRAVIN,
BARON OF HAMSTEED.
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



Ardon I beseech you, if (being a
stranger and vnknowne vnto you) I
haue presumed to inscribe your title
on the Frontespiece of this Booke,
and to publish it to the world, vn-
der your Lo. fauourable protection. I
conesse my disability might well
haue deterred me : But the reason

which induced me to this presumption, was your noble and
C generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this Hi-
story) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in
many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder
two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you
haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto
your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Consider-
ation hath made me confident, that during your vacancy
from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to
D cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who
(in the opinion of most men of Iudgement) hath beene
held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or
passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protests that
he was present at many of the actions, and receiued the rest
from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a
generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

¶ 3

in

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

in *Affric*, *Greece*, and the *Romane* State, against the *Gauls*,
and *Carthaginians*, which two Cities contended for the
Empire of the world: which warre was of longer conti-
nuance, and had more cruell and variable conditions, and
battailes than any that hath bene written of: For the first
Punique warre (where they fought for the Con-
quest of *Sicily*) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the
second in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthagini- A*
ans, continued seuentene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a
manner) of the *Romane* State, had not *Scipio* forced *Han-
nibal* to returne home to defend his owne *Carthage*, where
in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and
brought his Countrey into the subiection of the *Romans*.
This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable
Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare
with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the B
errors committed at the presse during my absence: for
which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your
Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lord's most humbly deuoted
to doe you seruice,

EDW. CRIMESTON.



Levves Maigret a Lionnois
to the FRENCH Nobility.



Entlemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much po-
uerty; and inuol'd in so many miseries, as there is
no worke of Man, how small soeuer, which giuing
order to his meanes & frictions, doth not minister oc-
casion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence
giueth by reason, shall make in selfe esteeme; I know not by what power,
which commonly fortuune vsurpes vnder the iudgement and considera-
tion of Man; wee may (as we kinde) iustly blame it, in excusing
with compassion the workman and his misfortune. And if on the
other side, to shew her great magnificence and bounty, shee imparts
her fauours and graces to some one; who without keeping any or-
der or fauour course, seeks to bring some Enterprize to an end; so as
that notwithstanding his over-weening and folly shee make it per-
fect: Then we hold her proud, detesting her unreasonable and
C. inconsiderate bounty, grieving at her benefices to all employed.
Behold now, (I know not by what law rectified among men) wee
commend or blame every one in his profession and worke, so farre
forth as they see his industry and diligence employed or disposed.
If wee haue reason to be in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all
our actions, and in matters of the ynnest consequence, blaming
him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the wantonness and
neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein we
D. onely the ruine of his State, life and honour, but also the ruine of his
Countrey, Parents, and Friends; and finally of his Prince and
Soveraig, is many times brought into great danger? But if there
be no Enterprize among vs, in both these purposes, wherein such things
ought to be of as much consideration as proper and ordinary busi-
ness, and without the danger whereof wee cannot escape: I
am of opinion that it is a sinne in vs, in vsing it as we preferre be-
fore

The Epistle to the Reader.

fore matters: although there be many, which cannot alwaies be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience teaches all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally so difficult to mannage, as neuer man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recovered such victories, nor obtained such Triumphant victories, but they haue purchased him new causes of Care and feare, not onely of A great Ennie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable defease of the brauest Men in an Enemie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good souldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, so soone after they provoked hatred of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and prelude of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres beganne to smile vpon Hanibal, and to giue him a full Gale, from his exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards hee was deemed to force Nations, Mountaines, and riuers, and in the end to fight with the Extremity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beganne to practise and forge waies, not onely to ruine her, so much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, that (as it were) by what Inconstancy, or rather extravagants and (saye Nature) shee makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends: so much shee feares (as I imagine) the wile and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that frequently Sea is met without great secret management and hazard, for the dangers of the waves, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if weere once set vp her sailes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which the malice of Helles hath inuented to make use of, beleaguer mee that these extremities, which the winds procure at Sea, and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, will not come inuenged of a host of warre, but a light amazement, and as it were, a selfe illarum. It has torment at sea, or violence of the winds which haue bene so suddaine, which the

The Epistle to the Reader.

long experience of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokens foresee, deuising sufficient remedies to auoid it? But when a warre is managged by Iudgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if wee will confesse the truth, it is a profession which among all others, requires the greatest vigilancie; a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Iudgement must haue the conduct, that by conjecture drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee sees, hee may soone after iudge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a victory.

And although it hath bene alwaies held, that Money is the sinew of Warre: yet I hold its force without Conduct, like vnto that of a strong, able Man, oppress with a deepe sleepe, whose senses haue made their retreat for his rest. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the vnderstanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great aduantage, and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall. But I feare that for want of Iudgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes ouer-weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it giues occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to vndertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwaies subiect to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconueniences, whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and careful. But was there euer Nation more hardie, nor more warre-like, nor that more carefully obserued the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal defeat them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pitched Battailles, and in the open field,

The Epistle to the Reader.

field, by his great Iudgement, and his subtilie policies? In what feare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gauls, bene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seeke new habitations, haue conquered land in diuers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Asia? Who hath defeated and quite ruinated them in a short time, but their owne Consideration, and an over-meaning confidence in their force and courage? I hold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his Arme compleate with foote and horsemen, how resolute sooner, and with all necessary provisions for a warre: No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must haue to vanquish (the which many times the vanquished improperly call misfortune) that piece of harnesse so well steered, which wee call Iudgement, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like vnto a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Master, flies without feare thorow Woods, Rocks, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, hee bee neuer so nimble and courageous; so a hardie and resolute souldier doth easily his owne ruine, if hee wants conduct and Iudgement. You must vnderstand that as the body requires Exercise to preserve in health, and to make it active, and hardened to indure labour and paine; so the vnderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and employed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, haue a greater vivacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past: For that living things are of greater force than dead. Yet, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of policies, which warre requires before that a wise Man will dare to adventure himselfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which haue bene

left

The Epistle to the Reader.

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence vnto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwayes made betwixt warre-like people, nor vnder resolute Commanders, that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing vnder such to see any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good inuention, nor well executed. Wee say commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is vnder the leading of a wise and resolute Commander, having in fronte an Enemy equall vnto him in all degrees, there must needs bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely managed.

If there haue bene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wise and famous Captaines, beleeue mee this present Historiographer hath used great diligence to set them downe in writing: Labouring onely to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconueniences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and souldiers may bee engaged, through want of experience, good aduice and counsell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romans against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battles, as well by Sea as land. You shall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gauls against the Romans: And moreover the warre betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploits, (which at this present I will forbear.)

The Epistle to the Reader.

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voyage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres; and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such policie and wisdom, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, having regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to iudge truly, whether there were ever Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee compared unto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battails, which exceeded the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdoms of Logres, nor I know not what Quist of that barking Beast. Make your account that you shall not finde any Tract or worke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Believe mee in times past, Men did not feede their understandings with dreames, nor fables invented in barbers-shops, without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned discipule. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children, whilst that for weaknesse of their Age, their understanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient Iudgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as continue their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, have a will to continue still children. And although they commonly say, that warre is managed by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but when necessary doth force us: And that peace shoulde procure no benefit to a Soldier, but idleness; yet he must remember long before, part of that which afterwards he must governe by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, grows restive; and proves unprofitable to his Master for service: so the understanding of a soldier, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will fail him at need; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I have used this speech as blaming you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprise, whose principall

study

The Epistle to the Reader.

study and affections is the reading of such Bookes, rather than in some worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to aduertise you, that Histories, from whence much pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparted unto you ought to bee in greater recommendation than these Fables, which have no grace, but when they are most without reason or any sense of truth.

Finally, I hope you shall finde such sufficiency in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, as well Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I have presumed to translate in the best sort I could, those five first Bookes, which of fourty which hee hath written, have bene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time: Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these five first Bookes, I had recovered some Latine Translations, of three parcells of the sixe, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Copie, and the second another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke. I employed my selfe to put them into French, adding thereto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could conjecture it, by the description which Polybius makes, in the parcell of the first Booke. And when the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worke, which are certaine parcells, and as a new Reliquie (besides the above named) of the sixteenth and eight, and of all the subsequent Bookes unto the seventeenth inclusive, it was not in my power to deliver him any other but those of the seventh and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, besides his obstinacy in using a small Character, for the sparing of Paper distasted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

how

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent sever, are thereby found without
grace, dull and displeasing. For this cause desiring that so
excellent a writer, should not remain dislained and with-
out grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that
the fictions of Histories should bee the more encouraged, I
resolved to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is
come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer
for his part will have a care that for the saving of his mo-
ney bee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor lose his char-
ges instead of praise.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.



The Printer to the READER.

Courteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some
litterall fautes escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to at-
tend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and ha-
ving but a yong Corrector which took too much upon him.

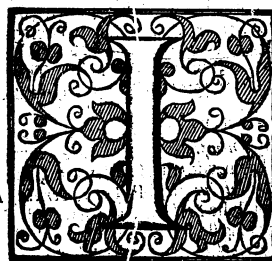
Errata.

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r. ready for the, p. 34. l. 27. for nor bee r. nor to bee, p. 35. l. 39. for them r. then, p. 40. l. 19. for
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p. 286. l. 6. r. greater danger, p. 279. l. 23. r. for all them which,





I
THE
FIRST BOOKE
of the History of
POLYBIUS.



A

IF the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had been omitted by such as before vs have written the Worth and Prowess of Men, happily it should be necessary to use some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received: For that there is no way more easie to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a manner all, begin thereby, and finish it amply, so as they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and managing of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that the rocke is the Mistress, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortunes: recently, by reason of the example of another mans adventures, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to read the Discourse of things, which have formerly bene so well delivered by others: specially by me to whom the benefit of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to privilage and draw the hearts of men, as well both Young and Old, to read our History: And where is any man so depraved or silly, which desires not to vnderstand

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the means and manner of Government, by the which the Romans have subdued and brought vnder their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three yeares: the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he so much giuen and desiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceiue that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will see how great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the Roman Empire, and namely of those which haue bene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Persians.

The Empire and power of the Persians for a time hath bene great, but whensoever they did aduentre to passe the bounds and limits of Asia, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their liues. The Lacedemonians made a long warre for the Empire and command of Greece, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The Lacedemonians.

The Macedonians.

It is true, the Macedonians haue dominated and ruled in Europe, from Adria to the Danowe, which is but a small portion thereof. And since they haue held the Empire of Asia, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the Persians. And although that these haue in shew bene great Lords, and enioyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for Sicily, Sardinia, and Affricke, they neuer made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of Europe, and the most Westerne, they hardly in my opinion did euer know them: But the Romans haue not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by ouritselfe, how great the profit will be to such as aske the knowledge of History.

The Romans.

The beginning of the History.

21. Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time, since the hundred and eight and forty Olimpiade. As for the Actions, and first of the Grecians, we will begin with the so called warre, the which Philip (who was Sonne to Demetrius, and Father to Perseus) attempted first with the Aetolians, against the Boetians, and in regard of those which inhabite Asia, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of Syria, betwixt Antiochus, and Ptolemeus Philopater. But as for Italy and Affricke, we will begin with that betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, which many call the warre of Hanniball. The History shall begin at the end of that which Scipionius hath left in writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Clarity. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of Italy, and of Affricke, are mingled with those of Greece and Asia, and that attended to one and the same end. And therefore wee haue begun our weeke in those times, when the Romans had vanquished the Carthaginians in this War, thinking they had performed their greatest task, and to be able to subdue the whole world, they presumed precisely after to fall vpon the rest,

rest, and to passe into Greece and Asia with great forces.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of liuing, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great search, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of liuing, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of Rome and Carthage are vknowne to the greatest part of the Grecians, I haue held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should haue no occasion to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of Rome had to vnderake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Considering that they which shall requirit, shall see plainly by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the Romans had reasonable cause to vnderake the Empire and Souerainty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beloeue that the proper object of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consists principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the same end: So the force which shee hath vsed for the perfection of all publicke government, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chiefly incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vnderaken to write a generall History: neither would wee haue attempted it: But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their priuate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuersall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what issue they had: I conceived it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men: yet shee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that haue written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had lined in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seene them in picture, imagine presently they know them: and consequently the situation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vnderstanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no lesse from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a liuing Body, thinke by this meanes to haue the knowledge of all the perfections and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt, but if any one takes these distinct and separated parts, and doth presently ioine them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confesse that hee hath bene deceived,

A good Compariſon.

ceived, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue some apprehension of the whole by the parts: But it is not possible to haue a true and certaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape singular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subseqent to those things which *Timereus* hath last written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth *Olimpiade*. We must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meane they had to passe into *Sicily*: For this is the first voyage they euer made out of their Territories, whereof wee must set downe the reason simply and without disguising: to the end that by the search from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not prouedoubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subiects, and that it be knowne to all: the which they may consider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vknowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beliefe: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth easily content the Auditors care.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riuers *Egos*, and sixteene yeeres before the Warre of *Leuttra*, where the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Antalcides* King of *Persia*, when as *Denis* the old held the City of *Rhegium* in *Calabria* besieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limits of *Italy*, nere vnto the Riuers of *Eleporis*: and that the *Gauls* hauing wholly ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the *Romans* hauing made an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expectation, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the *Latins* had bene vanquished, aswell by their prowesse as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the *Tuscanes*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Samnites* which confine the Region of the *Latins*, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the *Tarrentines* seeing the outrage which they had committed against the *Romane* Embassadors, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King *D Pyrrhus* the yeere before the Descent of the *Gauls* into *Italy*, and before the Retreat of those which were defeated in Battell nere vnto *Delphos*. Then the *Romans* after they had vanquished the *Tuscanes* and *Samnites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre against the rest of *Italy*, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the *Celtes* and *Samnites*.

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The *Romans* then after that *Pyrrhus* and his forces had bene chased out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they pursued such as had followed his party. Being suddainly become Maisters of all according to their desires, and that all *Italy* was wholly subdued, except the *Celtes*, they presently besieged some of theirs which held *Rhegium*. One and the like fortune befell two Cities situated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, *Messina* and *Rhegium*. Some *Campanians* hauing bene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondring at the beauty and wealth of *Messina*, they suddainly when they found an opportunity, assailed it, breaking their Faith, they hauing bene receiued into it by Friendship: where they expell'd some of the Citizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wiues and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this suddaine and easie Conquest of so goodly a Country and City, they soone found others that did imitate their villanies.

They of *Rhegium* amazed with the descent of *Pyrrhus* at such time as hee past into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, being then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the *Romans*. Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius* the *Campanian*; they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Citizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamertins*, who solicited them to comit this base act, they falsified their faith, being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rhegium*; and chased away some Citizens and few others, finally, they sealed vpon the City as the *Mamertines* had done. And although the *Romans* were discontented at the misfortune of the *Rhegians*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they besieged them of *Rhegium*, and afterward they entred it by force, where as many were slaine: who being certaine of the punishments they were to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken aliue, who presently after their coming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads strooke off, after the manner of the Country. They did vse this punishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they D caused the Towne and Country to be deliuered to the *Rhegians*.

But whilest that the *Mamertins* (you must vnderstand that the *Campanians* caused themselves to be so called after the taking of *Messina*) were relieved by the *Romans* which held *Rhegium* by force, they not onely enjoyed the Country and Towne peaceably, but they committed great spoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the *Carthaginians* as of *Saragossa* (otherwise *Siracusas*): The greatest part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But soone after when they were deprived of those succours, and that they which held *Rhegium*

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Timereus an
Historiogra-
pher.

Denis.

Rhegium be-
sieged by the
Romans.

The taking of
Messina by
some *Campani-
ans*.

The taking of
Rhegium by
some *Campani-
ans* being there
in Garrison.

The taking of
Rhegium by the
Romans.

The punish-
ment of *Trenti-
tours*.

The *Campanians*
holding *Messina*
are called *Mam-
ertines*.

were besieged, they were in like manner by them of *Saragoffe*, for the causes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of *Saragoffe* camping nere unto *Mergase*, being in dissention with the Gentrymoors of the Common-weale, they chose for their Captaines *Artemidore* and *Hieron*, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally so wellendowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as he wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Having accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where having vanquished the Burgeses of the contrary faction, hee vsed the Victory with so great clemency and modesty, as by a common consent of all in generall he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

It is true that *Hieron* made knowne to men of iudgement and vnderstanding, that he had conceived greater designs in his minde then to be their Leader. First knowing well that the *Saragoffins* were mutinous and desirous of innovation, whensoever they sent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that *Leptine* was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Citizens, and that he was very pleasing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make an alliance with him, to the end he might leaue some report in the City for him, whensoever he should goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Having therefore taken the Daughter of *Leptine* to Wife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subiect to mutinies, he led his Army off set purpose against the *Barbarians*, who held the City of *Messina*: And having seated his Campe nere to *Gomazipe*, and put his men in battell close vpon the River of *Cinnasfure*, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the Enemy on the other side: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the *Barbarians*, and whilst the others fled, he makes his retreat safely with all the *Saragoffins* to the City. When he had by this pollicy brought his designe vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great levy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were settled in good order, *Hieron* seeing that the *Barbarians* were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the City with an Army of his Countrey souldiers, well retained and disciplined, and making diligence, he came to *Myle*, where along the Bankes of the River of *Longane*, he fought with them with all his forces. Having vanquished them and taken their Captaines, seeing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returned to *Saragoffe* with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and consent of all the Citizens saluted King by the Allies.

The *Mamertins* as we haue sayd, being deprivied of the succours of the *Romane* Legion, and having lost to great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the *Carthaginians*, and yeeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the *Romans*, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring succours

as

as to those that were of the same Nation. The *Romans* were long in suspense what to doe: For they found it strange, having lately punished their Citizens so seuerely, for violating their faith with the *Rhegins*, to send succours now vnto the *Mamertins* who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things: Yet considering that the *Carthaginians* had not onely drawne *Affricke* vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in *Spaine*, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themselves Lords of the rest of *Sicily*. They likewise vnderstood, that it would be easie to effect, if the *Mamertins* were not relieved: And there was no doubt, that if *Messina* had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently haue recouered *Saragoffe*, for that they held all the rest of *Sicily*. And as the *Romans* considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon *Messina*, nor to suffer the *Carthaginians* to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into *Italy* at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that assembly: for it seemed vnto them as vnreasonable as profitable to relieue the *Mamertins*. But as the Commons much weakened with their former Waries, seemed to haue need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they resolved to succour the *Mamertins*. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently they appoiated *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, to passe the Army into *Sicily*; and to relieue the *Mamertins*, who had put out of their Towne, as well by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the *Carthaginians* which (as we haue sayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them *Appius Claudius*, deliuering the City into his hands. The *Carthaginians* hung him on a Croffe which had had the Guard, supposing that he had yeelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddenly they drew their Sea-army nere vnto *Pellors*, and that at land about the Countrey called *Sene*, holding by this meanes *Messina* streightly besieged.

In the meane time *Hieron* thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chase the *Barbarians* which held *Messina* out of *Sicily*, followed the *Carthaginians* party. And going from *Saragoffe*, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other side nere vnto Mount *Calbidique*: By this meanes he took from the Towne when all meanes to fallly torch on that side. But the Consull, passing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end bearrived at *Messina*, where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dangerous vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he desired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things: To he the *Carthaginians* were freed. But the Enemies not vouchsaunting to heare him, he was in the end forced to vndergoe the hazard, and resolved first to giue battell to the *Saragoffins*. He therefore captein his Army to march, and put it in battell: to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

Appius

the Romans by the Mamertins.

The Romans resolve to succour the Mamertins by Appius Claudius. The Mamertins recover the Fort from the Carthaginians.

Hieron follows the Carthaginians party.

Hieron chosen King of the Saragoffins.

An alliance made by Hieron with Leptine.

The pollicy of Hieron.

The River of Cinnasfure.

The Mamertins deliuer their Towne and most vnto the Carthaginians, Succours receiued from

The defeat of
Hieron by Ap-
pius.

Appius had fought long, in the end he prevailed over his Enemies, pursuing them into their Fort. The Consul after the spoile of the dead, retires into the City: and Hieron being frustrate of all hope, recovered *Saragossa* speedily the Night following.

The defeat of
the Carthagin-
ians by Appius.

The next day Appius Claudius aduertised of the flight of the *Saragossians*, and having resumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to goe and fight with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enemies, whereof some were slaine, and the rest forced to save themselves in the neighbour-townes. By this means the Siege A being raised, he ravaged and spoyled the Countrey of *Saragossa* and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged *Saragossa*. Behold then (for the causes above mention- ed) the first Voyage which the *Romane Army* made out of *Italy*. And for that we have held it fit for the entrance of our designe, we have made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leave any occasion of doubt vpon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I have held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what means the *Romans* being in extreame danger to lose their Countrey, began to grow fortunate: And when likewise after they had subdued *Italy*, they began to conquer other Countreies; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was since, may seeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seek for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter: For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be such, as they may plainly vnderstand the means and reasons, by the which every City is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we have done here of the *Romans*.

It is now time that in leaving this Discourse we returne to our designe, in shewing first summarily and briefly the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* is the first, then followed the *Punicque*: In the which the deeds first of *Amilcar*, then of *Asdruball*, are ioyned with those of the *Carthaginians*: At what time the *Romans* began first to sayle into *Sicilia*, and other parts of *Europe*. Moreover their Battels against the *Gauls*, who at that time made a descent into *Italy*: The Warre also which was in *Greece* at the same time, called *Chelonicque*, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I have not held it necessary nor D profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my Intention to Write them, but only to touch that summarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefly, we will incheate by an order of continuation, to ioyn the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliver by way of preparation. By this means in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we have toucht that which others have left in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those which

which desire to know. It is true that we have had a speciall desire to write somewhat at large this first Warre of the *Romans* in *Sicily* against the *Carthaginians*, for that they shall hardly finde a longer Warre, not greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greater diversity of fortune on eyther side; For these two Nations in those times lived in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces: Wherefore if we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Cities, we cannot so well make a Comparison by the other subsequent Warres as by this. But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was

A for that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, who are esteemed to have written well, have in my Opinion strayed too much from the truth: Yet I would not take them to have done it maliciously, considering their life and intention: But I conceive, the affection which they beare vnto their Countrymen, hath deceived them after the manner of Lovers. In regard of *Philinus*, for the affection he beares to the *Carthaginians*, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduict, Prudence and Courage; and the *Romans* the contrary. As for *Fabius* he holds the contrary party. Peradventure a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to love B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes vpon him to Write a History, must vse such things with discretion, sometimes commending his Enemies, when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Believe me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beast, which hath the eyes pluckt out, remains vnprofitable: So if truth be wanting in a History, the Discourse proves fruitlesse. And therefore when censure is offered, he must not forbear to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a dishonest thing to praise those whom we have sometimes blamed. Neither is it likely, that they of whom we write, have alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We must therefore in leaving the persons, indage and speake of their actions sufficiently in our Commentaries.

To prove my assertion true, we shall easily see it by that which *Philinus* writes. Who in the beginning of his second Booke saith, the *Carthaginians* and *Saragossians* had *Asdruball* besieged, and when as the *Romane Army* after they had past the Sea, was armed, they made a sudden fall vpon the *Saragossians*, where they were vanquished and defeated, and D to retired into the Towne: they made a second vpon the *Carthaginians*, where they were not onely defeated, but most part of them taken: Presently after this Speech he saith, that *Hieron* after this Encounter had to great a feare, that he not onely set fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiring by night to *Saragossa*, but moreover abandoned the strong places lying betwixt *Asdruball* and *Saragossa*. He relates also that the *Carthaginians* being in like sort amazed, dispersed themselves here and there throughout the Townes of *Sicily*, and that they durst never after that keepe that field, and that moreover the *Carthaginians* seeing their men discouraged, gave a notice that they should no more pursue the danger of the way, nor hazard any thing. He saith moreover that the *Romans* in the

The blame of
Philinus and *Fa-
bius* Historio-
graphists.

Philin.

and Hieron
after the
victory
of the
Romans

which remained by the two Generals: *Antiochus* Town, was more than the whole of *Antioch*: the *Romans* which by this means they began to grow themselves in the *Enemys* faith, and another with the *Antiochians* in the *Enemys* faith, the *Scythians* were now fully settled in the *Enemys* faith, which were from the *Enemys* and the *Carthaginians* to the *Enemys* of all the *Antiochians* great diligence and industry to the *Enemys* of *Antioch*, and all things necessary for the *Enemys* to the *Enemys* of *Antioch* more than *Antioch* was now *Antioch*.

The *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* were fine Months in this state, *Antioch* being a little more favorable to the *Carthaginians* than to the *Romans*. But what happened by their shooting and casting of *Darts*: But when as hunger began to press, the *Carthaginians* by reason of the great multitude of Men which were cooped up within the Towne, (they were in truth above fifty thousand Men) *Hannibal* who was General of the Army, having no more hope, sends speedily to *Carthage*, to acquaint them with the Rampire and *Pallado* made about the Towne, and to demand succours. The *Carthaginians* moved at this Newes, raised an Army with a great number of Elephants, and sent them by Sea into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, who was another Capitaine General for them: who after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the City of *Hieraculum*, and at the first (after he had considered what way to be done) he took the Towne of *Agro* by Treason, the which untill that day had been a Store-house to the *Romans*. By this means he deprived them of Victuals and other things necessary for their Campe: wherefore the *Romans* were so little besieged, then they that were besieged. The Want of Victuals did often force them in manner to resolve to raise the Siege: the which undoubtedly they would have done, if *Barren* King of *Agro* had not vied great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries.

But when that *Hanno* (after all these things) saw that the *Romans* were much oppressed with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together above fifty Elephants: And whereas all the bands of Souldiers were assembled, he drawes his Army out of *Hieraculum*, and causeth the *Numbidian* Horse-men to march before, giving them charge to skirmish, and to doe all their incursions to draw the *Romane* Horse-men to fight, upon whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye untill they were returned vnto him. The *Numbidians* failed not to execute the Command of their Capitaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight. Presently the *Romane* Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indelicately: But the *Numbidians* observing the Commandment flye backe to *Hanno*, and re-charging the *Romans* againe, slew many, chasing the rest vnto their Campe.

After these things the *Carthaginians* marched, and planted themselves upon Mount *Tore*, which was not tenne Furlongs from the *Enemys* Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two Months,

Month, they attempted not to fight, but continued daily with their Arrows and Darts. In the meane time *Hannibal* made first offer to the *Romans* and the *Antiochians* to sacrifice him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were retired to the *Enemys* for want of Victuals. Finally, *Hannibal* moved by these reasons, but his Men in Battell, wherein the Conflikt vied no little diligence in regard of their Arrows. *Enno* Army drew forth in Battell in an equal place: Then they came to combat, whereas they charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and cruel.

Finally, the *Romans* brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants: who being terrified, opened the ranks of the *Carthaginians*. The Capitaines of Hundredts following the Route of the Elephants, forced the *Enemys* to turne head. By this means the *Carthaginians* having lost the Battell, and part of them slain, the rest retired to *Hieraculum*: and the *Romans* after the taking of most of the Elephants, and the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, retired to their Campe. But for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, as well for the great joy which men usually haue for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell past: *Hannibal* being frustrate of all hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to save himselfe and his Army, for the reason above mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his forces out of *Agro*, and passed thorough the *Enemys* Trenches, filling them with straw: By this means he escaped without any losse, and without their privity.

At the breake of day, when as the *Romans* were advertised of this Retreat, they followed the *Enemys* a little, but returning loone to take the Towne, they gave an assault vnto the Gates, where they found no resistance. The whole Army entred and spoyle: It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. When as the newes came to *Rome* of the taking of *Agro*, after the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* lifted vp their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Designes. They did no longer insult vpon the reasons for the which they were first moved; neither were they terrified, for that they had preferred the *Numbidians* and *Agro* to haue much weakened the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*: But hoping for greater Matters, they desired to chase them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to enlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentive to this businesse, and had no thoughts but of *Sicily*: knowing well that they were undoubtedly the stronger at land.

After the taking then of *Agro*, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Otacilius* being chosen Consuls they were sent into *Sicily* with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the *Carthaginians* were Masters of the Sea without contradiction; whereas this is the reason, for after the taking of *Agro*, most of the Townes which were in the heart of *Sicily*, yielded to the *Romans*, fearing their Army at Land: But when as the *Carthaginians* Army by Sea was attacked, many more Sea-townes yielded for feare to their Obedience.

A battell between the Carthaginians and Romans.

The Carthaginians lose the Battell.

The Retreat of Hannibal from Agro.

Agro spoiled by the Romans.

Fifty thousand men within Agro.

Askillmish offered the Romans by the Numbidians.

Illustration A
The Roman
Sixe Roers
vedels for the
Sea made spe-
dily by the Ro-
mans.

Illustration B
The Roman
Sixe Roers
vedels for the
Sea made spe-
dily by the Ro-
mans.

Illustration C
The Roman
Sixe Roers
vedels for the
Sea made spe-
dily by the Ro-
mans.

Illustration D
The Roman
Sixe Roers
vedels for the
Sea made spe-
dily by the Ro-
mans.

The Roman
invention to
lower their
men to the
Oare.

At that time many Carthaginian Ships scoured the Seas about Sicily, whereof a *Quinquagesima* flying from the rest, was broken by the Enemy, and afterwards taken by the Roman, which afterwards served them for a pattern to make the like, so as all their Ships were made like to this. Wherefore if this had not happened, they would have been at a great disadvantage in their enterprise. When therefore they did perceive a number of men to the Oars after the manner, they did let banks in order upon the Sand, upon the which the men that were to Row, were placed, being attentive to the voice of the Person or Command, who was in the middle of them, where as they did learn to stretch forth, and pull back their arms altogether, and did draw their Oars in the Sand, finally they began to end together according to the Persons will. By this means having learned the Art to Row, all their Ships guided, they got to Sea, and within few days after made a Tryall. And when as the Consul *Christian*, lately appointed Commander of the Sea Army, had given charge to the Sea Captains, to draw unto the Port where the Vessels should be ready, he went directly to *Messina* with fourteen hundred Ships, and left the rest upon the *Trapani* shore, whereas he

using made provision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships, he sailed upon necessity directly to *Lippari* sooner then was needfull. At that time *Haniball* Commander of the *Carthaginians*, kept his Sea Army at *Palermo*, who being advertised of the Consuls coming, sent one *Budea* a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty ships to draw into that Quarter: Who arriving by night, found the Roman ships, and besieged them in the Port, so as at the break of day, the multitude got to Land.

But *Gneius Cornelius* thus unfortunately surprised, could finde no other meanes but to yeild himselfe vnto the Enemy. The *Carthaginians* after this prise returned to *Haniball*; soone after this apparent and new defeat of *Cornelius*, *Haniball* (to whom Fortune was at that time gracious) received as great a losse. He had intelligence that the Romanes Army at Sea, which coasted about *Italy*, was not farre from *Sicily*. Wherefore desiring wonderfully to see their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and sailes into *Italy*. But for that he had a contrary Wind, the which was favourable to the Romanes by the reason of the Coast of *Italy*, he fell vnadvisedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, where he was suddainly charged, so as he lost in a manner all his ships, and saved himselfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opinion of all the *VWorld*.

The Romanes after this defeat, approached nearer vnto *Sicily*, and being advertised by the Prisoners of the Consuls over-throw, they sent speedily to *Caius Duellius* Consul, having at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where having attended some space, and received newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon every one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heavy, a kind of Engine, which was afterwards called a *Rauen*; behold the fashion of this Engine. They did set a Pillar or Mast of foure fathome long, and nine inches thicke vpon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the side was made an assent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broad and foure fathome long, the passage was turning about the Pillar, in the two first fathomes of the assent: About the which were barres of cyther side to the height of a mans knee, and they had set at the end of it an Iron like vnto a pestell, which went vp straight, the which had on the top of it a King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was fastned a cord by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ships, they fastned the *Rauens* by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ships. Sometimes at the Prowe, sometimes on the side in turning, when as they could not assaile them by the flanke, and after that the *Rauens* were fastned within the bands of the ships, and that the Vessels were grappled and fast, if they found themselves vpon the side, they entered it of all sides: And if it were by the Prowe, they match by the bridge two and two to the Combate, wherof the first covered their bowes with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flanks, and

Certaine of the
Roman ships
with their com-
mander Sur-
prised by a Car-
thaginian Con-
sul.

A defeat of
Haniball's ships,
for want of a
good Wind.

An Engine in-
vented by the
Romanes called
a *Rauen*.

and held their Targets even with the bars. When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a convenient time for the battell. When as *Caius Duclius* had bene suddenly advertised, of the misfortune of the Commander at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes hast to that at Sea. And being advertised that the *Carthaginians* spoyl'd the Countrey of *Myles*, hee drew thither with his whole Army: But when the Enemy was certayne of his coming, they were in great hope, thinking the *Romans* understood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of sixe score and ten Vessels, thinking this War not worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this *Haniball* who (as we sayd) retyred his Army by night, and past over the Enemies Trenches, was Commander. He had a Vessell of seaun banks which did sometimes belong to *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirotes*.

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called *Rauens* were discovered, the *Carthaginians* were a time in suspence for the novelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with great fury. The ships ioynd and graped, so as the *Romane* souldiers by means of their Engines called *B Rauens*, entred their enemies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the *Carthaginians*. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded: you would have sayd it had bene a battell at Land, where the danger is not lesse. The thirty Vessells of the *Carthaginians*, which gaue the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Caprayne, which we haue sayd had belonged vnto King *Pyrrhus*. *Haniball* whole Fortune was otherwise then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe: The rest of the *Carthaginian* Army came with great fury agaynst their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were advertised that their first ships had beene taken by the means of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoyde them, but came vpon their flanke, trusting to the lightnesse of their Vessells, thinking by this means to auoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in such sort as of what side soeuer the Enemy approached, they could easily grapple with them. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the losse of fifty of their ships.

The *Romans* being now become masters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, sayd about the Sea towards *Segepane*, and raysed the siege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they tooke the Towne of *Macell* by assault. After this battell at Sea, when as *Amilcar* (being then Caprayne Generall in *Sicily* of the Army by Land) was advertised, retreating at *Palerm*, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the *Romans* and their Allies, touching the prowess and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they had bene beaten, were retired apart betwixt *Prop* and *Termin*, hee marcht with all speed to the Allies Campe, and slew foure thousand by surprize. *Haniball* after all these Fortunes, retyred to *Carthage*,

with

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispatch to goe with an Army into *Sardinia*, with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was loone inforced to depart by the *Romans*, and in a manner lost his whole Army: And as he had escaped the Enemy, he was suddenly taken by the *Carthaginians* which had saued themselves, and was crucified. Moreover the *Romans* employed all their care to seize vpon *Sardinia*, being now Masters of the Sea.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in *Skilly* by the Roman Army. *Caius Sulpicius* and *Aulus Atilius* were afterwards made Consuls, and sent to *Palerm*, for that the *Carthaginians* forces wintered there. And after the *Romans* had past, they put themselves in battell before the Towne: But the *Carthaginians* being within it, presented themselves to battell. The which the *Romans* seeing, they left *Palerm*, and went to *Hippare*, the which toone after they tooke by assault: The Towne of *Myssina* was taken likewise by the Consuls, hauing held out sometime by reason of the situation of the place. And as they had besieged the City of the *Camerins*, which had lately abandoned the *Romans*, it was taken by force by the means of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards *Aeta* was carried by assault with many other Townes of the *Carthaginians*; *Lippare* was also besieged. The yeare following the Sea Army of the *Romans* lay in the Haven of the *Tindaretins* where the charge of *Aulus Atilius*, who seeing the *Carthaginian* Army before the floure, he sent word vnto his ships to make haste to follow him. In the mean time he put to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessels. But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that some did bene in league, they began to let fall, and the first were farre from their Fleet, and perished with them, they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compassed them in. Many of them were sunk, and the Consuls first had like to have fallen into the *Carthaginians* hands, with all that were within it: He hardly escaped by the force of his Oares and lightnesse.

In the meantime the rest of the Roman Army which had bene collected by the Consuls, encountered the Enemy, whereof many were taken and slain, and the rest recovered the Islands called *Stagira* and *Stagira*. But howsoeuer either of them parted from this *Carthage* had an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentive to Marine affaires. As for their Army at Land, during this time they did nothing worthy of Note, busying themselves about small matters, and of little efficacy. But the Summer following hauing given occasion for their Affaires, as we haue said, they prepared to Warre. In the month of the *Romans*, they made their assembly at *Ugent*, on the number of three hundred and thirty Vessels armed; and laying from thence towards *Sicily* on the right hand, and passing the Promontory of *Scylla*, they layed to *Echnom*, where the Army of *Carthage* had retired them. The *Carthaginians* in this manner put to Sea, with their hundred and fifty ships armed, and layed at *Lilybeum*, and from

A battle at Sea
betwixt the
Carthaginians
and *Romans*.

The flight of
the *Carthaginians*.

Macell taken
by assault.

A defeat of
four thousand
men, allied to
the *Romans* by
Amilcar.

Haniball cruci-
fied.

Hippare and
Myssina taken
with many o-
ther Townes.

Aulus Atilius
Consul.

The *Romans*
Army at Sea
The Promon-
tory of *Scylla*
The *Carthage*
more armed
three hundred
and fifty sayle.

Amilcar was
quitted.

Amilcar was taken, and forced to give up his Squadron. The *Carthaginiens* towed away the ships that were taken. In the morning the *Carthaginiens* having the advantage of the Wind, and of the ships which the *Romans* were, sailed privately to Sicily, and with the Victory of the second Battle, which was for whole and entire, when in the *Tunisy* who had come long and violently distressed by *Amilcar*, as they were in great danger, the *Carthaginiens* they put forward courage, and discharged him reluctantly. And after the *Carthaginiens* being much distressed to have an Enemy in the Sea, and to be attacked by Successes contrary to their expectation, called the open Sea, relying upon the high order of their Fleet, and saved themselves by flight. And *Lucius Junius* in the meantime took the third Battle, and the *Romans* were driven by the *Carthaginiens*, and *Amilcar* *Stellus* in his manner, leading the ships with the Horses and the *Triary* in safety, reformed both together to succour those that were in danger. For they were in a manner besieged, and almost the last hope, and had been defeated, if the *Carthaginiens* had not feared to joyn with them by reason of their Engines or Rammes. Neither did they press upon them, but on the whole they to the fire. Finally, the *Carthaginiens* were suddenly compassed in by the *Consuls*, whereof fifty of their ships were taken with the men. Some being driven unto the shore, and saved themselves. Before the direct general Combat, which the *Romans* and *Carthaginiens* had in one day. Yet the *Romans* in the end had the Victory of the whole Battle. In the which 24 of their ships were broken and above thirty of the *Carthaginiens*. There was not one *Roman* Vessel taken whole by the *Carthaginiens* with the men. But the *Carthaginiens* were taken from and some of the *Carthaginiens* with all the men. Some after this battle, the *Roman* passed with an intent to saile directly into *Lybia*, after they had made provision of Victuals, and all other munition, joyning to their Army the *Carthaginiens* being well repaid.

The Cape of
Mercur.

After this Battle, *Amilcar* which they call the Cape of *Mercur*, having made provision, and so directly sailed into *Lybia*, where the *Romans* arriving and receiving their Victory repaid all. Then passing the second, they sailed unto the *Clapet*, and there they put their Camp in a place where the *Romans* were, and retired their ships, rammes them with Darts and Pikes, and pushing as before, for that they which held it would not yield unto the *Romans*. It is true that the *Carthaginiens* who a little before had escaped from the Battle at *Lybia*, and some *Carthaginiens* by flight, furnished the most necessary places belonging to their City, with Food and Store, and with necessary Shipping, supposing that the *Roman* Army after the Victory would come directly unto them. But when they were advertised of their defence, and of the siege of *Aspis*, they laid down, and regarding no more the landing of the *Romans*, but having an open heart for foreign affairs as to their own Country, they omitted nothing of that which was necessary for the Guard of the City and Province. In the meantime the *Consuls* after they had taken *Aspis* by assault, and

Aspis taken by
the *Romans*.

part of *Aspis* into it, and in the Country, and had fear unto what he advertised the *Romans* of their success, so that they might conduct what was afterwards to be done. They drew the whole Army into the *Carthaginiens* Country, where they found a *Carthaginiens* Army, and setting fire on their goodly and pleasant buildings, to wit, to the City, and away a booty of all sorts of Beasts, with above twenty thousand Prisoners, which were Embarked.

In the meantime they received the word from *Amilcar*, by which the Senate sent them word, that one of the *Consuls* should remain in *Aspis*, with sufficient forces, and that the other should returne with the ships. The word of the Senate being knowne, *Amilcar* *Regulus* stayed in *Aspis* with forty ships, five thousand foote, and five hundred Horse, and *Amilcar* *Regulus* set saile with the rest of the ships and Army, leaving the Prisoners with him, and arrived first in *Sicily*, and then at *Rome* without any mischance. But the *Carthaginiens* fore-seeing that the *Roman* War would be long, they first made two General Captaynes in their Army, which were *Afruball* the sonne of *Numo*, and *Babar*. Moreover they sent for *Amilcar* who was in *Heracleum*, who Embarking presently with five thousand foote, and five hundred Horse, came to *Carthage*, and was constituted the third Captaynt of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with *Afruball* and *Babar*.

When as these Captaynes had held a Councell, concerning the Affaires of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to relieve the Province, and not to endure to great a pillage and spoil in the Country. *Amilcar* *Aspis* some few dayes before that coming to the Country, razed the western Cities, and besieged the strongest. When he was come to the City of *Aspis*, which was worthy of a siege, he plants himself before it, and industrious to force it. The *Carthaginiens* advertised hereof made haste to succour it, desiring to raise the siege. And therefore they march with all their power against the *Romans*, Recovering a little Hill to the prejudice of their Enemies, and very commodious for themselves. Whereto planting their Camp, they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the means of their Elephants. Leaving therefore the phryne, they drew into a high and uneven place, as if they would adventure the Enemy in that way to doe, the which undoubtedly they effected. For when the *Romans* had considered the little use of Elephants, for they were not accustomed to the *Carthaginiens* Country, in the which the Enemy had their chief hope, as of great effect and terrible, they advised to draw their Defence into the playne. Wherefore when the opportunity of the time, they shut them up in the breach of day in the middle of the field.

By this means their Cavalry and their Elephants were made very profitable. Their adventures only did their duties in the breach of the top, and had already forced the *Roman* Legions to give place, when as suddenly the rest which had gayed the top of the Mountain showed themselves. The *Carthaginiens* seeing themselves in the

all

all sides abandoned their Post, and fled into the defiles of the Mountains. The Numidians and Romans followed them, and killed them without danger. The Romans did some little service to the footmen, then they spoiled the Camels, and over-ran the whole Country, walling all, and turning the hills into a plain.

Some few dayes after they began to march, which they took by a fault, where they planted their Camp, for that the place seemed convenient unto them to manage the Warre, being nearer to Carthage and to the whole Province. The Carthaginians having a little before beene defeated at Sea and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their Soldiers, but by the boldnes of the Commanders, they fell into a miserable and desperate flight. For after their last defence and fight by the Romans, a great Troop of Numidians, giving their spoyle, fell upon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the Romans. It is a wandering and vagabond Nation and great thieves, carrying away all they finde.

The Carthaginians terrified by the Numidians abandoned the Country, and retired to Carthage, where they suffered much, as well by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreover the multitude being great they feared a long siege. And although that Marcus Attilius was perswaded that the Carthaginians were wonderfully weakened, as well by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time delivered unto him; yet fearing that the new Consul, whom they expected looke in Affright, would reape the honour of his prowesse and valour, he began to treat of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gave eare. Wherefore they sent the chiefe of their City in Embasie to the Consul, to make a treaty. But when as they were arrived, they were so farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without Choller heare the variegable things that were enioyn'd them. Make your account that Marcus Attilius did hope that his offer would be accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had perswaded in all his affaires: The Carthaginians on the other side, thought that when as fortune should deliver them out of necessity, the Consul could not make them a better offer.

Their Embassadors therefore went on, not only without any agreement, but drawing themselves to the Consuls answer, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the Carthaginians, they offered them so great an indignation upon the Consul's demand, and refused him a courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they refused to attend all overtures, and rather to try their fortune, and to attend the time, when to offer so ignominious a thing and unworthy of their valour. It happened in the meantime, that some one of those which had bene sent in Greece, in the beginning of the warre to Louis Men returned againe with them a good number of Soldiers, among the which there was one Xanthippus a Lacædemonian, a man of great courage and practice in the warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened, shewing also considered the equipage of the

about which
the Roman by
assault.

The Numidians
great robbers.

Embassadors
sent by the Car-
thaginians to
Marcus Attil-
lius.

Xanthippus a
Lacædemonian.

the Carthaginians, with the number of their Horse and Elephants, he returned suddenly to his Companions, saying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the Romans, had defeated the Carthaginians: This speech ran precisely throughout the whole City, and came unto the Princes.

The Carthaginians caused him to be called, and resolved to vie his Councell, who in their presence delivered plainly the Reasons of his speech, and the cause of their Defeat, and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leaving the hilly Country, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army should be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Captaines moved with the words of Xanthippus, presently Resigned unto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruit throughout the whole Campe of Xanthippus speech, with great Hope and Joy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was so great a difference betwixt his and that of the other Captaines, who understood not the Art of Warre, that precisely the common cry demanded nothing but to fight, so much they were assured vnder the leading of Xanthippus.

This done, the Carthaginian Captaines seeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marched to find out the Enemy. There were in the Carthaginians Army about twelve thousand foote, foure thousand Horse, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as Marcus Attilius heard of the coming of the Enemy, and that the Carthaginians kept their Horse upon an even Country, camping contrary unto their custome on the plaines, hee wondered as at a new accident: Yet hee marched directly to them desiring battell, and lodged within twelve hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the Carthaginian Captaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude desiring the combat, turned towards Xanthippus, calling him by his name, with a countenance seeming to be willing and ready to vndergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them speedily unto the battell. When as the Carthaginian Captaines saw their Men thus resolute, and desirous to fight, and that Xanthippus sayd the time was fitting and convenient, they desired them to prepare to battell, and gave him leave to do all at his pleasure. Who after hee had taken charge of the Captaines, hee ordered the battell, before the whole Army, the setting Elephants one after another. After which hee caused the Legion of foot to march, with some distance, and placed the Infantry upon the Wings. Then hee set forth that battell among the foot, to fight of Synter side betwixt the Wings of the Horse.

The Romans seeing the Carthaginians in battell, stayed not to do the like, yet fearing the violence of the Elephants, they put in from the backe side of their men, so as forcing abroade with many Edgelines, and driving their Horse upon the Wings of their Enemy, there was less then formerly, but more close, for that with the Elephants

The Leading
of the Carth-
ginian Army,
given to Xan-
thippus.

The order of
the battell by
Xanthippus.

about which
the Roman by
assault.

elephants should open them. But as the *Romans* had set a good order against the Elephants, so they had neglected to keep themselves from melting. For as the *Carthaginians* had a greater number of Horse, so the close Ordinance, gave them an easy means to break and separate them.

Barrell given
by the *Romans*
to the *Cartha-*
gians.

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first Charge; suddenly *Xantippus* causeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and brake the *Enemys* ranks; and that the Horse-men of both Wings should withall charge furiously. The *Romans* cause their Trumpets to sound after the manner of the Country; and charge where the *Enemys* forces were greatest. It is true that the *Roman* Horse-men terrified with the multitude of their *Enemys*, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foot-men of the left Wing waiting from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the *foreigne* Soldiers, charged the right Wing of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and put into flight, pursuing them unto their Fort. On the other side, they which induced the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden under their heavy heapes. It is true that the whole Ordinance continued for a time in battell, for that their supplies being in the Rear were very close. But after that the *Roman* Legions, (set in the Rearward, and compassed in of all sides by the *Carthaginian* Horse-men, were forced to make resistance there, and that they (who as we have said) were appointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulled into the thickest of the *Enemys* Battallion, where they were defeated and slain; then the *Romans* being assaulted on all sides, some were beaten downe and slain by the intolerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the close men; in the same place where they had their first posture slain them; Some few of them seeing no more hope, sought their safety by flight, of which (considering that the Country was very plaine) some were defeated by the Elephants, and the rest by the Horse-men. And some flying with *Marcus Attilius* were taken to the number of five hundred.

Marcus Attilius
was taken with
500 *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians* had that day but few hundred Adventurers slain, whose the left Wing of the *Romans* had defeated. But of all the *Roman* Army there remained but worthe and with their *Enemys* who (as we have said) pursued a troupe of *Carthians* into their Fort. All the rest were cut in pieces, except *Marcus Attilius* and a few Men which fled with him, in regard of those *Enemys* which being all hope ceased, they came into us. Finally the *Carthaginians* after the slaue of the Dead retired to *Carthage*, with the Consill and other *Dignities*, making great joy and triumph.

A remembrance
of *Polybius*.

If we shall duly consider this, we shall finde many things admirable for the conduct of *Marcus Attilius* which serve for a rare example to all the World; and how much they are to be admired, so put the hope of future success, and the desire of good success and enemies brought downe according to our desire. Who of this after so many *Carthaginian* Victories, had not any compassion on the *Carthaginians*, being reduced to extremity, refusing to grant them peace, which they

craved

craved with so much humility, hath beene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreover that which *Europe* hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Council of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Council of one man hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible, raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the means of so many desolate men. Beleeve mee, I have thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of these Commentaries.

For as there are two means easily corrected and amended our errors, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune; and the other the example of another mans Misfortune; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losse and prejudice of him to whom it happens. And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better, for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man embraceth the first means willingly; for that they cannot helpe without their owne trouble and losse. As for the second, every man follows it willingly. For wee may see by him (without any hazard or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee consider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Judges of reason without any losse: But wee have discoursed sufficiently of this Subject.

The *Carthaginians* having ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they rejoyced in many sorts, both in giving thanks unto God, and sacrificing after their manner; or in vying amongst themselves a mutuall benevolence and courtesie.

Soone after that *Xantippus* had raised the hearts of the *Carthaginians*, hee returned into his Country, as a man well advised: For the Promesse and Valour of men, and their Vertues, see many times the cause of greatness and detraction: Against the which Citizens that are well armed, and have many Friends, make easy resistance: But strangers which have not that support, are easily ruined and defeated. They fly like went away for some other reason, which wee will deliver when it shall be fitting.

Xantippus re-
turnes into his
Country.

After that beyond all hope the *Romans* had received News of the defeat of their Army in *Affricke*, and the taking of the *Consill*: And that the remainder of their men was besieged in *Afri*, consulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in *Affricke*, they appointed an Army to be raised to goe thither with all speede.

Afri besieged
by the *Carthi-*
gians.

In the meane time the *Carthaginians* besieged *Afri*, striving to force it, with hope soone to have this remainder of the Battell: But the Vertue and Courage of the *Romans* which defended it, was so great, as all the *Enemys* attempts could not prevail. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they raised the Siege. Soone after

Newes

One hundred
and fifty
of the Roman
Vessels left.

rose so great a storme as aboute a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven up and downe, and in the end perished. And although the *Romans* after so many losses, were of aduice to preferre the honor and Maistie of the Empire before all other things, yet they were broken with great miseries, as they resolved to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more confident and of better hope, the which they sent into *Sicily*, with the two Consuls, *Lucius Cecilius* and *Caius Cornus*: To whom they deliuered only three score Vessells for their Victuals: By this means the *Carthaginians*, became againe Maisters of the Sea with our contradiction, seeing the *Romans* had no more any Fleet at Sea. Moreover they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell giuen in *Affricke*, came to *Rome*, and that they vnderstood that the defeat of their men happened by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Ranks and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull slaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was so great, as for two yeares after they neuer durst charge the *Carthaginians*, although they made many encounters in *Affricke*, and in the Country of *Selinuntia*, nor Campe in the Plaines within five or sixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to saue themselves from the Elephants; so as they only forced *Theruse* and *Lipara*. Wherefore the *Romans* knowing the feare their Army had, resolved againe to put a Fleet to Sea.

At that time the *Roman* people being assembled, they chose vnto the Consulship *Caius Attilius*; and *Lucius Mælius*: They also made fifty new ships, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. When as *Asdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, knowing well the feare of the *Romans*, had bene aduertised by the *Pegizænes*, that one of the Consuls was returned vnto *Rome* with halfe the Army, and *Cecilius* remayned alone at *Palermo* with the other, he parts from *Lylibeum* (when as Harust approached) with his Army to spoile, and fall vpon the Territory of *Palermo*, planting his Campe vpon the Mountaynes. *Cecilius* hauing newes of their coming, and knowing that *Asdruball* desired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towne.

By this means *Asdruball* growing very confident, conceiuing that *Cecilius* kept himselfe close for feare, he caused his Army to March to *Palermo*, hauing raied and burnt all the Champaign Countries. The Consul was alwayes of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to passe the River, which runnes nere vnto the Towne Walls. But when he saw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he caused a fallie to be made by the nimblest and most active men of his Army, commanding them to skirmish with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards considering that matters had succeeded as he desired, he ordaines the lightest and most active, to plant themselves beyond the Towne

Theruse and
Lipara.

A new Army
at Sea, prepared
by the *Romans*.

The policy of
Cecilius to de-
feate the Ele-
phants.

the ditch, giving them charge to cast *Pertusiars*, *Darts*, and *Spits* a farre off at the Elephants: And if they came running vpon them with fury and violence, they should slip into the Ditch, and from thence cast their *Darts* at them. He also commaunded the Archers of the Market place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. In the meane time, he issued forth with all the Ensignes, by another side of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with *Darts*.

Presently after the skirmish beganne, the Maister of the Elephants, who with a desire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incited them against the enemies, not attending *Asdrubals* pleasure. The *Romans* observing the Consuls commandment, turned head presently, and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they slipped into the Ditch; the Elephants being vpon the side of it, they were suddenly charged with *Darts* and *Pertusiars*, as well by the Townsmen which were vpon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further, they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battalions with great slaughter.

In the meane time *Cecilius* goes suddenly to field, hauing his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and charged againe by the Consuls Troupes, were easily defeated. A part of them were slaine, the rest saued themselves by flight: There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Maisters; the rest were taken after the battell, their *Gouernours* being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to *Cecilius*, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had bene the cause that the *Romans* after that time refusing courage camped in the Plaines. When the *Romans* had newes of this Victory, it is not credible the ioy which they conceiued, not so much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the *Carthaginians* power was much decreased, as for that their men seemed to be grown more hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them: Wherefore they prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly resolved, and sent the Consuls into *Sicily* with two hundred Vessells, desiring to make an end of that Warre: Whither they past hauing made prouision of Victuals, and other things necessary. This was the foureteenth yeare since the beginning of the Warre.

The Consuls being arrived, and receiuing the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay siege to *Lylibeum*, hoping after the taking thereof, they might easily transport the Warre into *Affricke*: But the *Carthaginians* mooued with the like considerations, resolved by all means to keepe it, knowing well that after the losse of *Lylibeum*, they had nothing else remaining in *Sicily*. The *Romans* in truth held in a manner the whole Island, except *Trepanum*. But to the end that what wee speake of *Sicily*, may not seeme obscure to some one; by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliuer the Situation in few words.

A defeat of the
Carthaginians,
by the *Romans*.

An Army at
Sea prepared
by the *Romans*.

this *Rhodian*, and knowing the places presumed to doe the like.

The *Romans* discontented with this great assault and storme, used all diligence to fill vp the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants ships with sand, and sank them: Then they cast great store of earth vpon them, yet they lost their labour and time, for the great depth swallowed all, and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatsoever they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Barre or Benke, where suddenly a *Carthaginian Quadrireme* sent in the Night was stayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the *Romans* attended the coming of others, especially of the *Rhodian* A Vessel. By chance hee arrived with the accustomed celerity: But at his returne, the *Quadrireme* pursuing him, began to press him neere. The *Rhodian* at the first sight wondred at the lightnesse of the Vessel: But having well viewed it, hee knew that the *Carthaginian Quadrireme* had bene taken by the *Romans*. Wherefore having no more hope in flight, hee resolved to fight.

But when they came to ioyne, the *Romans* had the advantage, aswell by reason of the multitude of their shippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ship was easily taken with the *Rhodian*. B After which prize the *Romans* ioynd it to the *Quadrireme*, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which means they tooke from them all easie entrance into *Lylibeum*. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walls were overthrowne in diuers places with their Engines. But *Imilcon* built a new Wall where as the old had been overthrowne, having no more hope in his Sallies, nor be able to set fire on the Engines. And as they had continued some time in this manner, there did suddenly rise so great a storme, as all the Engines and Instruments were shaken by the vehemency of the Winde: so as the upper story of some Towers were overthrowne to the ground. C

Some *Grecian* Souldiers among the besieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discover their Opinion to the Governour, who finds this counsell good, and after that hee had made provision of things necessary, hee suddenly makes a Sally, and casts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done suddenly, the fire by reason of the violence of the Winde tooke easily, and consumed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had bene long burnt in the Sunne: Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In D truth they were so amazed at this new accident, as they had not judgement to see and consider what they had to doe, so as striving to succour their Engines, some fell, being overthrowne with great Firebrands falling from above, or blinded with smoake. And the more the *Romans* found themselves crossed and troubled for the reasons above mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the *Carthaginians*: For they might easily discover the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they they cast any thing against the *Romans* or their

The *Rhodian*
taken with his
ship.

A Sally of the
Carthaginians
vpon the *Romans*
Engines
of Battery.

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was so great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were set, were burnt, and the Heads of the *Ramasses* consumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, resolving to carry the Towne by a long siege: In causing a great Trench with a Rampart to be cast vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of *Lylibeum* had rampired all places necessary, they induced the Siege with great courage. But after the *Romans* had received newes of this Disaster, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they sent into *Sicily* to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this siege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: These sailed first vnto the Port, then they marched by Land vnto the Campe before *Lylibeum*.

Appius Claudius being now Consull, and chiefe of the Army, and the other Consuls vpon their returne to *Rome*, seeing the Succours also arrived, assembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to sayle to *Tripanum* with all their forces by Sea, to surprize *Adherball*, the Generall of the *Carthaginians* nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arrived into *Sicily*, and would neuer conceiue that the *Romane* Army would put to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of *Lylibeum*. When as this aduice was approved by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vnto the Enemy, and sayled directly vnto *Tripanum*.

But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discovering that they were *Romane* ships, *Adherball* recovered his spirits, and assured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their sudden arrivall, resolving to try the fortune of the fight, and to vndergoe the hazard rather then to be besieged shamefully in the Port. Wherefore he presently caused their Oares to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to sound, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duties, there was hope of Victory: But if they refused to fight, he layed them before the miseries of men besieged. And when as the Souldiers made shew of resolution, crying out that hee should make no stay to march against the Enemy, then *Adherball* commending their forwardnesse, causeth them all to imbarke, giving them charge to have an eye vnto his ship, and that they should follow with courage. Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary side to the *Romans*.

But the Consull seeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but seeking the Combat with great heate, hee called backe his shippes, whereof some were

An enterprize
of the *Romans*
vpon *Tripanum*

already in the Port, others in the entry, following them. And when as the first turned head, according to the Custom upon the Sea, and that the rest which followed farre off made hast to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the turning forth, so, the *Romans* were in danger to have lost all. Finally after the Vessells had recovered the open Sea, the *Carthaginians* placed themselves along the shore one after another, turning their prow to the enemy. But the Consull who from the beginning had wayes followed the Army, made helich Wing, casting himself into the open Sea.

In the meane time, *Adherball* having gotten about the left Wing of the *Romans* with five Vessells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himself by the Sea, commanding other foule which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the enemy, he gives them a signe to charge the *Romans*, whose ships (as we have sayd) were Rank'd along the shore. It is true they had done it, to the end that the enemies Vessells which should part out of the Port, might be incountried with more ease. The Battell was long and furious, so as the danger seemed equall; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the *Carthaginians* had alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreover they were in the open Sea, where they might turne up and downe at their pleasure. If any one were preest by the Enemy, he knew how to save himselfe suddainly, by the lightnesse of his ship. And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning presently together, compassed and bomb'd them in by their lightnesse.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes sunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they rescued him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shore neere unto the *Romans* did annoy them much; for being forced in a strait, they could not Re tyre in necessary, nor defend themselves, nor succour them that were preest, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe. Which is a most dangerous thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were closed vp in a strait, and their Vessells were heavy, and their Mariners unskillfull in Sea combat, nor well practised to Rowe. The Consull seeing that all went from him to worse, some of his ships being broken vpon the shore, others linke, and finally being void of all hope, he flies away first. There were about thirty Vessells remaining of the whole Army, which by chance were accer him, and followed him; all the rest to the number of fourescore and thirtene were taken by the *Carthaginians*. Moreover all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wreake.

Adherball was in wonderfull great esteeme among the *Carthaginians* for this Victory, having well managed the Affaires by his onely Witdome and great Courage. Whereas on the other side, *Appius Claudius* was infamous, and incurd a thousand injuries by the *Romane* people, for that he had carried himselfe so indiscreetly, and had drawne

A Combat at Sea betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

A Victory at Sea by *Adherball* against the *Romans*.

drawne the *Romane* Common wealth into so great danger. Finally being deposed from the Consallship, he dyed by the hand of Iustice with great poyny and shame.

And although the *Romans* were very sensible of this great Defeat, yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddainly prepare a Fleete at Sea with a new Leup of Men; and send *Lucius Iunius* the Consull into *Sicily*, to whom they gave charge to Relieve the Campe before *Lylibrum*, and to carry thence Victualls and other necessary Munitions. He saide directly to *Messina* with threescore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Vessells with Beake heads in *Sicily* but of *Lylibrum*, and makes a Fleete of sixscore Men of Warre, besides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victuals, to the number of eight hundred; of which he gave in a manner the one halfe to the Quetor, with some shur had Beake heads, to copadde the Victuals unto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at *Sarragoffe*, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from *Messina*, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time *Adherball* sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to *Carthage*. Then he dispatch'd Captaine *Carthalo* with thirty Vessells, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threescore and ten others.

Moreover he gave charge to *Carthalo*, to take what ships he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as *Carthalo* (using diligence to saile all night) had surprized the *Romane* Fleete suddainly, which was retired into the Port of *Lylibrum*, and had burnt some, and taken others, hee drew the *Romans* into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gaue an Allarum, *Imilcon* hearing the noyse, and seeing theirs coming at the breake of day, he presently made a sally vpon the Enemy. By this meanes the *Romane* Army being inuironed on all sides, was in great danger.

After that *Carthalo* had taken and burnt some *Romane* ships, he went to *Hezacum*, to cut off the Victuals which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, some Discoverers bring him newes that they had seene a great multitude of ships. After which newes, *Carthalo* without making any shew; (for that hee did not much esteeme the *Romans* in regard of the former Victories) makes hast to meete them. The *Romans* were likewise advertised that the *Carthaginian* Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselves able to incounter them at Sea, they cast themselves by Fortune vpon the nearest shore, where there were some retreates and turnings. Over the which did hang some Rocks, whether the *Romans* retiring, they repul'd the Enemies ships with stones and slings; And although at the first the *Carthaginians* were resolu'd to keepe them besieged vntill they had taken them. Yet seeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that *Romans*, resistance was greater then they expected, they sailed in the end (after they had taken some Merchants vessels) to a River which lay neere unto them, to observe the parting of the *Romans*. In the meane

Appius Claudius is deposed from the Consallship, and condemn'd to dye.

Lucius Iunius.

The *Romans* surprized by *Carthalo*.

time the Confull having dispatch'd the Affaires for the which he staid at *Sarragissa*, he past the Cape of *Pachinus* to come vnto *Lilybæum*, having no advertisement of that which had hapned vnto his men some dayes before.

The *Carthaginian* Captaine having newes by his Scouts of the Confulls coming, used all diligence to encounter him farre from the other ships. But when as *Lucius Iunius* saw the enemies Army a far off, he was amazed at the great number, so he durst not fight; neither could he well flye being so neare vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, he staid in the first Port, resolving rather to indure all extremities, then to suffer the *Roman* Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which *Carthalo* Commander of the *Carthaginians* perceiving, he made no more pursue, but retyr'd into a Port betwixt the two *Roman* Armies, hoping by this meane to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there soke a great storme, the which the *Carthaginians* perceiving, as Men which had great experience in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they were, informed *Carthalo* that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of *Pachinus*, he should avoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they preferred all his Fleet. But the *Romans* were so beaten with the storm, for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in such sort, that there remain'd not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vse. By the meanes of these mis-fortunes at Sea, the *Carthaginians* were afterwards the stronger.

The *Romans* having lately made so great a losse at *Tripanum*, and now agayne having lost all their Equippage abandoned the Sea, relying only vpon the Land. The *Carthaginians* on the other side were Malters without contradiction: neither were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senate, and they which were at the siege at *Lilybæum*, were of aduice to continue the siege, although they had bin afflicted with the former mis-fortunes. By this meane the *Romans* sent to the Campe at *Lilybæum* whatsoeuer they thought necessary, and they of the Campe used all possible meane to continue the siege. *Lucius Iunius* after this great shipwracke arriv'd at *Lilybæum* much discontented, finding continually how he might performe some Act, whereby he might in some sort Repayne his disgrace for the last losse. Wherefore some after he tooke by Treason without any great occasion Mount *Erix*, the Temple of *Venus* and the Towne. *Erix* is a Mountayne of *Sicily*, which hath his Aspect vpon the Sea towards *Italy*, betwixt *Tripanum* and *Palermo*, but neerer to *Palermo*. It is the greatest in all *Sicily*, but *Erix*. It hath a playne vpon the top, where stands the Temple of *Venus Eriens*, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beautifull of all *Sicily*. A little vnder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name, which is very long, and hath the accesses very vncleay and difficult on all sides.

The Confull set a Garrison vpon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from *Tripanum*, thinking by this meane that

The *Romans* Fleet broken at Sea by the Violence of a storme.

Mount *Erix*.

Mount *Erix*.

that he should be able to keep the Towne and all the Mountayne safely. After the taking of *Erix*, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar* turne *Baris* Captaine General of their Army in *Sicily*. This man falling vpon *Italy* with his Army spoyle all the coast: it was then the eighteenth year since the beginning of the War, and from thence came that he made great spoiles in the Countries of the *Lecornes*, and *Calabria*: he returned into the Territory of *Apulia* with the whole Army, where he planted himselfe in a Place betwixt *Adriam* and *Palermo*, the which lay high above the Sea, and was fortified by nature; and late for his Campe.

It is a Mountayne thronged with caves and holes, vpon the which there is a playne not lesse then twelue miles in compass, the which is common and fit for labour. To hath moreover all the Star Windes, and is not infected with any venomous Beasts. Moreover it is surrounded both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rocks, in regard of the places which are betwixt both there is no great need of buildings: At the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortification hath like wise a very pleasant and commodious Port; for such as pass from *Tripanum* to *Lilybæum* into *Italy*, and it hath store of Water. There also be barren wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vncleay, two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea to *Amilcar*. Planted his Campe there, where there was no convenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not suffer to lurk in secret. For many times he went to Sea, and spoyle the coast of *Italy* vnto *Cosus*, and then he led his Army by Land vnto *Palermo*, and beleagged it with eight hundred Fortinge of the *Roman* Campe: where he staided neere three yeares, performing many brave Actes which were difficult to relate in particular. For such as which excellent Commandants redoubting their blowes with celerity and fesse, the prize of the Victory being propounded; it is neither possible for them, nor for the *Romans* to yeild a reason of every charge and blow; vntil in generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, as well by the Frowles of the Men, as by their muall indeuours; and by their Experience and View, we might conclude the like of the Commanders of whom we now speake.

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Ambushes, and interrayne skirmishes and encounters, he should not be able to number them, and would cause a great trouble vnto any profitto the Reader; where we may better aduise to the knowledge of things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewise cannot perceine in this present War, any thing by the History of the great policies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the present case by things done, which have bin decided with an overcoming and violent boldnesse. There are many causes for the which they could not discern betwixt the two Campes, for the Armies were equal and their Ports not easie to be approached vnto, for that the space betwixt both was very strong and little, so as there daily hapned parricular combats. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

Amilcar spoiles the Coast of *Italy*.

Amilcar.

end of the Warre: For many times in desperate fights were slayne, and others running away, and escaping the danger assured themselves, and fought againe, when Fortune was going like a great Disburser, changing them from Front to Front; but he closed them in a narrow combat, and some dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

While the *Romans* (as we have sayd) beset the top and foot of the Mountaine of *Erix*, *Amilcar* surprised the Towne, which was betweene the top of the Hill, and the state of it, where the *Roman* garison lay. By this means the *Romans* which held the top, were besieged by the *Carthaginians*, with great danger: The *Carthaginians* likewise were no lesse in the Towne, being they were besieged from the top of the Mountaine, and from the foot; and having but one way, they could hardly draw vnto them that which was necessary. Thus either Party persistered one against another with extreme obstinacy: Suffering great extremities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased a sacred Truce, not as *Fabius* sayth, as Men weakened and tired, but constant and not vanquished: For before that one party overcame the other, although the War continued two years, yet beganne to have an end by another means. Finally the Affaires of *Erix*, and the forces were in this estate.

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales, did like vnto Raining Birds fighting among themselves vnto the last gaspe: For although that sometimes their fight fasted them for want of breath, yet they repulse the assaults with great courage, vntill that hiding themselves willingly, they fled away easily, this does some take their flight before the rest. In like manner the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* tired with toyle, grew cold in their continual combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the *Romans* had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for sixtene years, as well for their mis fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre by the Army at Land, yet seeing their designe not successfull, considering likewise the courage of *Amilcar*, they conceived a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They advised well, that if their designe were successfull, it would be a means to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

First, they left the Sea yielding vnto their mis fortunes: And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished nere vnto *Trepanum*, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from *Erix*, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most part was like a Combate of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge: But the Citizens contributing every Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expences, so much the peoples hearts were inflamed to Armes, and to augment the *Roman* Empire. By this means they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the pattern of the *Rhodes*, the which as we have sayd had bene taken before *Lylibeum*: Wherefore they

they afterwards gaue the command vnto *Lucius Lutatius* Consull, and sent him in the Spring against the *Carthaginians*, who being suddenly arrived in *Sicily* with his Army, tooke the Port of *Trepanum* at his entry, and all the rest which were about *Lylibeum*.

In the meane time all the *Carthaginians* ships retired to their Captaine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take *Trepanum* with his Engines, and other things necessary to force a Towne: But for that the *Carthaginian* Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things past, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not idle nor negligent, causing his Rowers and Martiners to bee continually kept in practice, not suffering any one to be idle. By this means the Soldiers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The *Carthaginians* contrary to their hope, hauing newes of the *Roman* Army at Sea, presently prepared their ships, and traigted them with Corne & other Munition, to the end the besieged within the Towne of *Erix* should not haue any want of things necessary. *Hanno* had the charge of this Army, who first to the Island of *Hieraculus*, and from thence he made haste to saile about the Enemy to *Amilcars* Campe, to discharge his ships, and to victuall it. But *Lucius* being aduertised of their coming, and doubting of their enterprise, (for it was not hard to coniecture) made choice of the ablest men of the Army at Land, and sailed directly to the Island of *Egusa*, which is not farre from *Lylibeum*. Then hauing giuen courage to the Soldiers, he makes a Proclamation that every man should be ready the next day to fight.

Three daies after the Consull seeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and prosperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army, and that the Sea was much troubled with a storme, he was long in suspense what he should doe: but suddenly he resolved, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he should haue nothing to doe but with *Hanno* and his Army at Sea, and with ships that were laden and incumbered: But if he should delay the fight vntill the Sea were calme, he should haue to dole with ships that were light and very swift, and with the choice of the Land soldiers, and moreover with the courage of *Amilcar*, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he resolved to fight with the Enemy notwithstanding the storme and the contrary Winde. The *Carthaginians* coming with full saile, put himselfe before them with his Army ready and in Battell. When the *Carthaginians* saw themselves to be hindered by the Enemy, they their ships in battell, this strooke saile, and prepared to fight, where they charged either side with great courage: But for that things were managed in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of *Trepanum*, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had another success.

In regard of the *Romans*, their ships were very light, and free from all incumbrance, but of that which was necessary for the Warre. Their Rowers had bene long practised, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had also made choice of the best men in their Army at Land: the which fell out contrary with the *Carthaginians*, and was to no purpose.

The Port of *Trepanum* taken by *Lucius*, the Command of the *Roman* Army.

An Army at Sea prepared by *Lucius*, the Command of the *Roman* Army.

A fight at Sea between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

The Towne of *Erix* taken from the *Romans* by *Amilcar*.

A good Compection.

ans. Their ships were laden, and therefore unfit to fight: Their Rowers and Mariners were men gathered together by chance, and not accustomed to the War: their Souldiers were also new, and had not scene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the *Romans* would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as soone as the Battell began, the *Romans* had the Victory: whereas fifty of the *Carthaginians* ships were broken or sunke, and three score and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest for sayle and got the Winde, and recovered *Hierone* with incredible swiftnesse, by a sudden change of the Winde. After the Battell the Confull retired to *Lybicum* with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Prisoners were divided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were about ten thousand men taken.

The *Carthaginians* amazed at this heavy and great defeat, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were always inclin'd to Warres. First they had no means to victual those that were in *Sicily*, after the defeat of their Army at Sea: Considering that their Enemies were Masters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to suffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had served their Common-wealth to be lost. In regard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to manage it: wherefore they sent a Man to *Amilcar*, and gave him full power and Authority to doe what he should thinke fitting for the good of the Common-wealth. *Amilcar* performed the duty of a good and wise Captaine: For whilst there was any hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, he never complained of his paines, nor avoided perill, but being a man of great industry and courage, he thrust himself continually into all dangers, to vanquish as well as any of the other Captaines. But when as he saw there was no more hope in the *Carthaginians* affaires, hee sent Embassadors to the Confull, to treat upon an accord, yielding willingly and discretely unto the time. For we must know that the duty of a good Captaine consists as well in considering of the time, not onely to vanquish, but also to strike sayle. Whence *Scipio* did willingly give care, knowing well the necessities which the people of *Rome* endured by this tedious War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* should live in amity and friendship, if the people of *Rome* would consent thereto: And that the *Carthaginians* should leave *Sicily*. Neither should they hereafter make War against *Hierone*, nor against the *Syracusians*, or their Allies, and that they should restore all the Prisoners without rancome: And moreover they should pay thirtiee hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, which the people notwithstanding would not yield unto: but committed ten men with power from them who were sent into *Sicily*: Being arrived, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they shortened, augmenting the summe with 600000 Crownes more. Moreover they did articulate, that they should not onely dislodge out of *Sicily*, but also

also out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and *Italy*.

Behold the end of the first Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* for *Sicily*. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath bene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they have fought at one instant with above five hundred *Quinqueremes* on both sides: Afterwards with not much lesse then seven hundred. The *Romans* have lost seven hundred *Quinqueremes*, besides those which at sundry times the torments have broke, and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred. Wherefore they which formerly have admired *Arms* as well by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of *Athenians*, *Prospians*, and *Demetrians*, have reason to cease, considering the great death of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. But if they will consider how great a difference there is betwixt the *Quinqueremes* and *Triremes*, which the *Persians* made use against the *Greeks*, and which the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians* used in their Warre, they shall undoubtedly see that there was never scene such great forces fight at Sea: wherefore that appears plainly which we have propounded in the beginning, that the *Romans* have not onely endeavour'd to conquer the whole world by valour, but they have also accomplished their desire, not by good fortune as some *Greeks* suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderful experience and practice in such great affaires.

Although that some may demand, how it happeneth that the *Romans*, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, cannot draw together so many Vessels, nor raise so great an Army at Sea at one instant. The reason will be easily when they shall see them understand what the *Romans* Common-wealth was when their Fleet and their manner of living, although that will not be profitable neither for us nor for the *Romans*, of our Works, to make mention of things which concern not our purpose. Without doubt the Reason is great: the whole world taken in many Opinions men have thought, who this day by the strength of *Arms* and *Arts*, what of *Arms* and *Arts* for what they wrote, thought, or understood them, they have made them obscure and unprofitable. If the *Romans* had only counted this War, they shall finde that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were equal, and the like desire of glory and *Arms* was in both the better Souldiers: But *Amilcar* General of the *Carthaginians*, furnished

D. *Scipio*, Father to *Emilius*, who afterwards made Warre against the *Romans*, and for his valour in peace and warre. When as the peace had bene concluded, wither of both sides manner unto the like experiences: for *Quintus* followed after: The *Romans* had in the Warre against the *Inhabitants* of *Mount Pelion*, the which was soon decided, and their Tongue was low. The *Carthaginians* being allied at the same time by *Strabo*, *Demetrius*, and other people of *Asiaticke*, who assisted with them were in a nation quite ruined. Finally, they came to fight the only

A Victory of the Romans against the Carthaginians.

Antiochus Father to Hannibal.

